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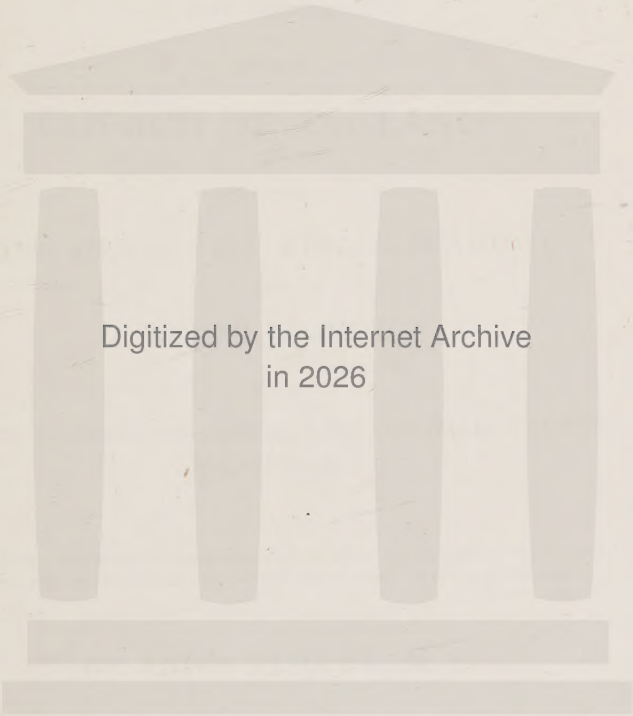
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ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT,

AND THE EMERGENCIES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

UNDER

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY I.

WITH

LARGE APPENDIXES, CONTAINING ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

One generation shall praise thy works unto another, and declare thy power —The memorial of thine abundant kindness shall be shewed; and men shall sing of thy righteousness.

Psalm cxlv. 4, 7.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. III. PART I.

OXFORD,

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HISTORICAL MEMORIALS,

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL,

OF

EVENTS

UNDER

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY I.

WHEREIN ARE BROUGHT TO LIGHT

VARIOUS THINGS CONCERNING THE MANAGEMENT OF AFFAIRS,
DURING THE FIVE YEARS OF HER GOVERNMENT:

AND, MORE PARTICULARLY,

The restoring of the Pope's authority and the Popish religion in this kingdom:
and the rigorous methods of burning, and other severities, for the
replanting of it, used towards such as adhered to the
religion reformed under King Edward VI.

THE

PREFACE.

A DISMAL face of things appeared to the professors of the gospel, upon this Queen's access to the throne; occasioned by the fierce resolutions taken of undoing all that had been done many years before, in the reigns of her father and brother, towards the reforming of religion; and for bringing back again into practice the old religion and superstitions. The chief managery of this work was left in the hands of two disobliged and bloody-minded bishops, London, and Winchester, lord chancellor. And what severe methods were pursued to bring this about, the ensuing Memorials will shew in divers particulars, besides what Mr. Fox and others since him have published. And since my writing of this history, I have met with some other informations about it; and that from the pen of a very eminent foreigner and sojourner, but well acquainted with the affairs of England; who lived here in those very days; having been sent for over hither by the former Prince, to read divinity in one of our Universities, and to assist in the reformation of religion. It was Dr. Peter Martyr; who, after his fleeing away hence in the beginning of this Queen's reign, wrote several letters to his correspondents concerning himself and the overthrow of religion here, and of the condition of the English professors of the gospel, both at home and abroad, soon after the Queen's coming to reign. As,

In November 1553, when he made a narrow escape out of England: which he looked upon as an extraordinary piece of God's good providence towards him: thus he described it in a letter writ to Calvin, from Strasburgh. *Qua ratione* Theol.

Peter Martyr's escape out of England, Epist.

Deus eripuerit me, &c. i. e. " By what means God snatched " him from the mouth of the lion, as yet he knew not him- " self; and much less could he signify to him [Calvin]: " but that as Peter, brought out of prison by an angel, " thought the things that were done but in a dream; so he " even yet could scarce think it true, that he was there at " Strasburgh, safe and sound. And this, as he wrote, he " was minded first of all to shew to him, that he, together " with himself and all other good brethren, might give God " thanks: and that he would exhort his holy Church, that " they, earnestly, with most ardent prayers, would beg of " God to obtain help; whereby that evil, which then pressed " the English Church, might be eased.

" That the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, *viz.* " Cranmer and Holgate, and the Bishops of Worcester and " Exon, *viz.* Hooper and Coverdale, besides many other " learned and godly divines, were taken up and committed " to gaols, and were like to suffer death for the gospel; spe- " cially since Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a man of a " severe and cruel disposition, now managed all church " matters." But there was one thing that had something very remarkable, which he on this occasion communicated to Calvin, *viz.* " That even in this dismal prospect of mi- " sery and persecution, it was the judgment almost of all, " that this reign would not last long; and that they were " wise men, who had no light conjectures thereof." Which indeed proved true.

Sad news from England. Papatus in Anglia restauratus.

By another letter, wrote in May 1554, to the same person, he informed him, " that very sad news was brought " from England; that is, that the Parliament there had " assented to restore to the Pope his tyrannies, [*sua tyran-* " *nissima.*] And that Philip be, and so held, King of " England: that there was every where a flight of good " men, who could possibly get away: that there was " then with them [at Strasburgh] three very excellent " knights, Morison, Cheek, and Cook; men not less emi- " nent for piety than learning: that the state of religion " was in that kingdom, in effect, not only afflicted, but de-

" stroyed: which he recommended to his prayers and his " Church's. That it was certain, that the Archbishop of " Canterbury and the rest of the bishops, detained captives, " were in extreme danger."

The present sad state of England, *amico cuidam.*

And in another letter written by him in January the same year, to another person of quality unknown, (whom he styled, *Vir clarissimus*,) thus he relates the sad state of this kingdom; " That he was daily more and more taught " by experience itself, that death, by the death of Edward, " that most holy King of England, was become the lot of a " great many members of the Church: and that it was " bringing with it such loss as many then did not see. " But he beseeched God, the Father of our Lord Jesus " Christ, to grant, that they might not see it; and that " much sorrow, within a short time after, they might not " also feel. But that for his part, he should be a stone " and a lump of lead, if, what share soever he had felt of " those things, he should not groan bitterly for the miser- " able case of his most famous brethren, [ministers and " learned professors of the gospel,] and their present dan- " gers both of mind and body: yea, if he should not accom- " pany every day with just fears the so great evils and " miseries of that people: while they were then exceedingly " afflicted, and exposed every where to offences; set on fire " at all hours with flames of temptation: while the Church " was trodden upon, and laid under foot with the highest " impiety of hypocrites." And then he asketh this question, " How could it possibly be, that he, and such as he, should " grieve slightly and but a little, [*temperate ac mediocriter*,] " while he had read to, and taught there, many learned per- " sons, and students of divinity, and such as were profi- " cients, not to be repented of; whose harvest was near ripe: " whom now he was forced to see wandering in uncertain " places, or else remaining at home unhappily subverted?"

He proceeded further to describe these miseries in the ruin of a noble Church, as he styled this begun reformation of the Church of England under King Edward; and of the imprisonment of the learned and godly bishops; and of

their barbarous executions like to follow, as though they were rogues and the worst of malefactors. And then concludes, "how these and other things, that called for sor-"row, would not suffer him to abide with a quiet mind and "spirit. Wherefore he prayed God from his heart, that "he would remit something of these heavy punishments: "and for Christ's sake forbear, in some measure, pouring "out his so great displeasure: otherwise, they should soon "be utterly oppressed with the weight of these huge evils. "And that at length, which he earnestly begged of his "friend to whom he wrote this sad account, that he would "now and then beseech God, that he would at last take "pity of miserable England, and of the state of good learn-"ing there."

Many of the English nation fled abroad; and, among the rest, divers that were students in divinity: who took this opportunity to follow their studies in such places where they came, and had the benefit of hearing learned men's lectures. And namely, among other cities, Zurich, or Tigur in Helvetia; where they were entertained with all respect and tenderness by Bullinger, and Gualter, and Wolphius, and other chief ministers and magistrates there. Horn, a learned man, and who was afterwards Bishop of Winchester, passing by Strasburgh, visited Peter Martyr aforesaid, and acquainted him with the settlement of the English there; and of their good and commendable progress in their studies and adherence to religion: and, as it may be concluded, counselled that learned professor to write a comfortable and exhortatory letter to them: which he did in September 1554, with this superscription, *Omnibus Anglis, qui Tiguri degunt in sancta societate, dilectis Deo, et mihi in Christo charissimis.* The tenor whereof was:

P. Martyr's letter to the exiles, students at Zuric. Epist. Theol.

"That when his good brother, Mr. Horn, passed that "way, [*viz.* Strasburgh,] he had much discourse with him "concerning them, his most dear and most desired brethren "in Christ. That although he was absent in body from "the sight of them, yet he was most nearly joined with "them in a living spirit. That from him he heard such

" things of them, as he wished and desired: and which (he " thanked God) exceedingly delighted him. For he re- " lated, how they cherished godliness among them, and in- " creased in it: and that every one of them set himself to " learning and study: and how they strove among them- " selves in an innocent conversation, and in profitable and " honest exercises, with a very commendable emulation. " He therefore blessed God for his goodness, whom it had " pleased so notably to gather such a fruit from so great a " shipwreck. That he was wont so to do; and that it was " the manner of the divine clemency, that from ruins, by a " wonderful counsel, he snatched out some remnants, to the " glory of his name: whereby he restored things over- " thrown, and builded up things gone to decay.

" Moreover, this their recess he did wonderfully congra- " tulate, in which he heard they so behaved themselves, " that they not only lived to themselves, but to the edify- " ing of one Christ and his members, [meaning in love and " unity.] That which remained was, that they should fi- " nish what they had begun: because, as they well knew, " to begin excellent things, was wont to excite the expecta- " tions of men: which at length should end in plentiful " and pious thanksgivings; when such things as were ho- " lily begun, were vigorously concluded. Which, if they " were left imperfect, would begin a just grief to godly " men and their friends; and besides cause laughter to the " enemies and wicked sort.

" Nor did what he said tend, as though he any thing " doubted of their perseverance. For concerning that he " promised himself, that he that had begun in them a good " work would carry the same on to the end. And besides, " he saw them endued from God with so great strength " and constancy, that he doubted not their house was not " built upon the sand, but a firm rock: but his intent in " thus addressing to them, was only to applaud them who " ran well; and to discourse with them of the end, which " he was persuaded they propounded to themselves in this " their enterprise, and which he understood was expected

" of all good men from them. Nor did he think it needed " his pains to praise their holy counsel and pious purpose; " because the profit was of itself evident."

And so he went on, exhorting them to follow their studies, and shewing the advantage of this retirement for that purpose and end; with his prayer for them, and begging their prayers for him. Dated from Argentine, (that is, Strasburgh,) the 30th of September, 1554.

And it was a happy retreat, both to them and the whole nation, being a means of improving them, in this vacation, in good and useful learning; and hence supplying the Church with pious, learned, and able men. For this sorrowful scene of misery lasted not long, and ended with that Queen. The exiles returned: religion was restored: the Church furnished with excellent bishops and pastors. And what steps were taken, and holy methods pursued, in settling religion under Queen Elizabeth, may be seen partly in the conclusion of the History of the Reformation, by Bishop Burnet; and more at large in the Annals of the Reformation, in the first twelve years of that Queen's reign; and also in the Life and Acts of Archbishop Parker. Which books may serve for a continuance of these Ecclesiastical Memorials: wherein the account of the affairs of the Church are carried on to a greater length: and whither I betake the reader.

J. S.

THE

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HISTORICAL MEMORIALS,

CHIEFLY

ECCLESIASTICAL,

IN A

REVIEW TAKEN OF THE REIGN

OF

QUEEN MARY I.

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THE INTRODUCTION.

The interregnum under the Lady Jane. She sends Richard Shelley ambassador to the Emperor. Her's and the Council's letters to the ambassadors there. Addresses of some of the Emperor's court to the ambassadors upon the King's death; and the new succession. The ambassadors repair to the Emperor with the news of King Edward's death. The Emperor condoles. Shelley returns.

ALTHOUGH the Lady Mary ought immediately to have succeeded to the imperial crown of these realms after her brother King Edward's death, (which happened on Thursday, July the 6th, at night,) yet that King's conveyance thereof to the Lady Jane Grey, wife of the Lord Guilford Duddley, and the obligations of the Privy Counsellors, by their oaths and subscriptions, to stand by her, put some days stop thereto; which our historians relate at large. I shall insert some select matters wherein they are silent, happening in this short reign, or interregnum of Jane, a high-born, virtuous, and learned lady; happy in

Anno 1553. Some stop to the Lady Mary's succession.

INTROD. all other respects, but most unhappy in this her advance-
Anno 1553. ment.

2 The days next following the departure of the King, things appeared propitious to her, and looked towards a fair assurance of her quiet succession. For though there were some, in the countries where the Lady Mary was, appeared on her side; yet they were generally of the meaner and popular sort, few of the nobility or gentry joining with them, but rather opposing them: whom, therefore, Jane and her court made no doubt of quelling, by the forces going against them under the conduct of the mighty Duke of Northumberland.

The popular sort appear for her.

The day ensuing King Edward's death, the Lord Admiral made Constable of the Tower.

And, to strengthen her interest, as it was supposed, there came to the Tower three great Lords the day next ensuing the King's death, that is to say, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Admiral, (in whom, it seems, the Duke of Northumberland reposed a confidence,) with some others. And there they discharged Sir James Croft of the constableship of the Tower, to whom it had been lately committed, and put in the said Lord Admiral, who had been by mouth before appointed to the said place by King Edward. And he accordingly took the oath, and the charge of the Tower. And the morrow after, he conveyed into all places of the Tower great guns, and into other convenient places within the Tower: as above upon the White Tower.

The officers sworn to Q. Jane.

On the 9th day of July were sworn unto Queen Jane, at Greenwich, all the head officers, and the guard, as Queen of England.

She enters the Tower.

On the day following she publicly took upon her the royal state and government of the kingdom: and, in order to that, made her entry into the Tower that day, between four and five of the clock in the afternoon, with a great company of lords and nobles, the Duchess of Suffolk her mother bearing up her train, with many great ladies, and such a volley-shot of guns and chambers, as had rarely been heard before. And by six of the clock she set forth her

Proclaimed. proclamation (which is exemplified in the late History of

the Reformation, by Bishop Burnet) to declare her title to the people, and to require their allegiance; and therein it was asserted, that the Lady Mary was unlawfully begotten. It was performed by two heralds and a trumpet blowing, in Cheapside first, and then in Fleet-street. Nor did there seem now any opposition to be made, or so much as murmuring against this proclamation; unless that a young man, a vintner's apprentice, had the boldness to speak certain words of Queen Mary's true right and title; for which he was immediately taken up, and the next day, at eight of the clock in the morning, set on the pillory, and both his ears cut off, an herald present, and trumpet blowing: and incontinently he was taken down, and carried to the Counter.

INTROD. Anno 1553. Vol. ii. Collect. p. 239.

Confirms the Lords Lieutenants.

And to keep the counties secure to her against the Lady Mary, the same 10th day she confirmed the respective Lords Lieutenants in the same authority they were invested with before by commission from King Edward. And so I find a letter dated this 10th of July from the Tower, signed on the top by *Jane, the Queen*, written to the Marquis of Northampton, who was Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, Northampton, Bedford, and Berks: wherein she intimated, "how the late King, for the security and wealth "of the realm, had established certain ordinances, by virtue "whereof she was entered into the possession of the king- "dom, (which she styled her *rightful possession*,) as might "more evidently appear, as she added, by the will of her "cousin the late King, and several other instructions to "that effect, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his "great seal in his own presence: whereunto the nobles of "the realm, for the most part, and all the Council and "Judges, with the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Lon- "don, and divers other grave personages, subscribed their "names. She let him understand, therefore, that by the "ordinance and sufferance of the heavenly Lord, and by the "consent and assent of the said nobles, counsellors, and "others, she made her entrance that day into the Tower "as rightful Queen of England; and she expected that he

Writes to the Marquis of Northampton.

INTROD. Anno 1553.

"should, in all things, to the utmost of his power, endeavour to defend her just title, and to assist her in the possession of her kingdom, and to disturb, repel, and resist "the feigned and untrue claim of the Lady Mary, bastard-daughter to her great uncle King Henry the VIIIth: "which she would remember to the benefit of him and his. "And her further pleasure was, to continue him to do and "execute every thing as her lieutenant within all places, "according to the tenor of the commission addressed unto "him from her cousin the late King. Which commission "she intended shortly to renew and confirm under the "great seal." This letter was indited by the Duke of Northumberland, as appears by the minutes thereof, which I have seen under that Duke's own hand.

Ammunition fetched from the Tower.

On the 12th of July, by night, came three carts to the Tower, and carried thence all manner of ordnance, as great guns and small, bows, bills, spears, morice-pikes, arms, arrows, gunpowder, victuals, many tents, gun-stones, &c. and a great number of men of arms accompanied; all for the use of the army sent towards Cambridge. And two days after followed the Duke, and divers lords and knights, and many gentlemen and gunners, and many of the guards and men of arms. And with this company he marched towards Bury against the Lady Mary: but all proved against himself; for his men forsook him.

Two Paul's Cross sermons.

There were but two Paul's Cross sermons preached during the Lady Jane's government, lasting but two Lord's-days: the former was delivered July 9, by Ridley Bishop of London, by order of the Council. He told his auditory of the danger the nation would have been in, had the Lady Mary succeeded, who was a stiff Papist; of which himself had former experience, when, being once in his diocese, he had endeavoured to bring her to the knowledge of the Gospel. That therefore, were she Queen, it must be expected she would overturn all the religion so happily established under King Edward, and would betray the kingdom to a foreign power. This sermon rose up in judgment against him soon after. The next Sunday, being July 16, was

supplied by Mr. Rogers, the learned Reader of St. Paul's, who was more wary, preaching only upon the Gospel of the day: but both burnt after, when she got the crown. INTROD. Anno 1553.

On the same 16th day, in the morning, some, to shew their good-will to the Lady Mary, ventured to fasten up upon Queenhith church-wall a writing in way of a declaration, importing, that the Lady Mary was proclaimed in every country Queen of England, France, and Ireland, (being an officious lie to do her service,) and likewise treating of divers matters relating to the present state of affairs. 4 A paper in favour of Queen Mary fastened at Queenhith.

The first things this new Queen and her Privy Council did, were these that follow. The Council addressed their letters to the Lady Mary, advising her to make no disturbance, but to be quiet. To which, nevertheless, she gave little heed. And because the Emperor's ambassadors would be very apt to bestir themselves for their master's kinswoman, and did begin already to intermeddle, the Council sent the Lord Cobham and Sir John Mason to them, to give them notice of the Lady Mary's proceedings against the state of the realm, and to put them in remembrance of the nature of their office; which was, not to meddle in these causes of polity, neither directly nor indirectly: and so to charge them to use themselves, as they gave no occasion of unkindness to be ministered unto them, whereof they would be most sorry; for the amity which, on their parts, as they sent them word, they meant to conserve and maintain with the Emperor. Queen Jane's Council advise the Lady Mary to be quiet.

Now did Queen Jane (for so let me call her for a few days) despatch her letters and messengers to foreign princes, signifying her title and possession of the crown; and her instructions to the English ambassadors at their courts, for their respective behaviours. She sends to foreign princes; and to the ambassadors at their courts.

At the Emperor's court at Brussels now were Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Richard Morison, and the Bishop of Norwich, that had been appointed Commissioners by the late King for mediating a peace between the said Emperor and the French King. To them letters were sent from the Council, dated July the 8th and 9th, informing them of the heavy

INTROD. news of the King's death, with the disease that took him away, namely, the putrifaction of his lungs; and willing them to declare the same to the Emperor, not doubting that he would remember the ancient amity between the two crowns; and to assure him, that nothing should be wanting in them to continue and maintain the same. July 11, was despatched to the Emperor one Shelley, with the Council's letters to the ambassadors there, and Queen Jane's to the Emperor; in which letters of the Council they styled her, *Our sovereign Lady.*

Anno 1553.

Shelley despatched to the Emperor.

The Council's orders to the ambassadors there.

The import of the Council's said letters to the ambassadors was, to shew the cause of the present message, and what was then to be done by them: namely, first, to signify to the Emperor the King's death: next, the possession of Queen Jane in the crown of this realm: thirdly, that Sir Philip Hoby was placed there as ambassador resident: fourthly, to make offer to the Emperor of both the other ambassadors remaining there, as they had done before, to proceed in the treaty of the peace, if it should like the Emperor. By this letter they informed the ambassadors of the state of things at home; *viz.* "that although the Lady "Mary [for no other title they bestowed upon her yet] "had been writ unto from them to remain quiet; yet, "nevertheless, they saw her not so to weigh the matter, "but that, if she might, she would disturb the state of the "realm; having thereunto as yet no manner of appearance "of help or comfort, but only the concurrence of a few "lewd base people: all other the nobility and gentlemen "remaining in their duties to their sovereign Lady Queen "Jane. And yet, nevertheless, because the conditions of "the baser sort of people were known to be unruly, if they "were not governed and kept in order, therefore, for the "meeting with all events, the Duke of Northumberland's "Grace, accompanied with the Lord Marquis of Northamp-"ton, had proceeded with a convenient power into the "parts of Norfolk, to keep those countries in stay and obe-"dience."

The state of things at home.

A letter also from Queen Jane, dated July 12, was

brought to the said ambassadors; wherein she declared at large her intentions: where her title is set out to the best advantage, the better to instruct the ambassadors in their address to the Emperor upon her access to the throne, which would not be very acceptable unto him. The letter, in my judgment, ought not to be epitomised or curtailed, but for the material contents thereof to be delivered to the reader at length; which was in these words:

INTROD. Anno 1553. Queen Jane writes to them.

" Trusty and wel beloved, we greet ye wel. It hath so " pleased God of his providence, by calling of our most " dread cousin of famous memory, King Edward VI. out " of this life, to our very natural sorrow, that we, both by " our said cousin's lawful determination in his lifetime, " with the assent of the nobility and states of this our " realm, and also as the lawful heir and successor in the " whole bloud royal, are possessed of this our realm of " England and Ireland: wherefore, we have presently sent " to our good brother, the Emperor, this present bearer " here, our trusty servant Mr. Richard Shelley, with letters " of recommendations and credence from us; thereby sig- " nifying unto him, as wel the sorrowful death of our said " cousin the King, as also our succession in the crown of " this realm: motioning unto our said good brother the " continuance in such amity and league, as our said cousin " and predecesser had with him. For which purpose we " have furthermore signified, by our said letters, not only " our order, that you, Sir Philip Hoby, shall there remain " and reside with our good brother the Emperor, as our " ambassador resident; praying you to give him credit ap- " pertaining to such an office; but also, that for the like " zele and desire we have to the weal of Christendom, as " our said cousin King Edward had, wherin we do covet " to follow his steps, we have given order, that ye, the " whole number of our ambassadors, shall remain, to con- " tinue to procede in the former commission which ye had " from our auncester the King, if it shal please our said " good brother. The copy of which our letters we send to " you herewith, for your more ample understanding of our

Her letter. Cott. Libr. Galba, B. 12.

INTROD. Anno 1553. "determination; which considered and pondered, we would "ye made your most speedy acces to our said good bro- "ther, in order to execute the matters contained in the "said letters, on your parts to be declared: first, the signi- 6 "fication of the death of our said auncester and cousin the "King; wherof as we by nature must take great grief, so "we doubt not but our said good brother wil, for friend- "ship and great amity, sorrow and condole with us: next, "that you Sir Philip Hoby have expres order there to re- "side, and attend upon our good brother as our minister, "for the continuance and entertainment of the intelligence "and firm amity, heretofore had and concluded between "our said auncester and cousin the King, and our said good "brother; the maintenance wherof, we, with the assent of "our nobility and Council, do much desire; and for our "parts will not fail, but confirm and maintain the same.

"In the end you shal shew to our said good brother, "that as we do, by God's providence, succede to our said "auncester and cousin King Edward, in this our crown and "dominion, so do we find in our heart and mind the very "descent and inheritance of his most Christian devotion "and affection to the commonwealth of Christendom: "which moveth us, with the advice of our nobility and "Council, to offer to our said good brother the ministry "and office of you, our ambassadors, to remain there, and "proceed in the former commission, for the conciliation of "some good peace between our said good brother and the "French King; wherin we refer our good purpose and "meaning to the mind and contentation of our said good "brother.

"Thus don, whatsoever our good brother shal answer, "ye may thereunto reply as ye think expedient, tending to "the continuance of our auncester's amity. For the rest of "the proceedings ye shal understand by the bearers: to "whom we would ye should give credit. Yeven under "our signet at our Tower of London, the xiith of July, "1553."

On the 15th day of July, the forementioned letters from

England being as yet not come to hand, while Hoby and Morison were walking together in their host's garden, Don Diego, one of the Emperor's servants, came to them, and entered into a long talk, how much he was bound to owe his good-will and service to England: and therefore that he could not but at one time both sorrow with them for the loss of their old master, a Prince of such virtue and towardness; and also rejoice with them, that their master, which was departed, had, ere he went, provided them of a King, [meaning, as it seems, Queen Jane's husband, the Lord Guilford Duddley,] in whom they had so much cause to rejoice. He made his excuse, that he had not come to them the day before, laying the stay thereof in De Arras: to whom, when he said that he would go to the English ambassadors, and shew himself a partaker both of their sorrow and gladness, and offer to the King's Majesty by them both as much service as could lie in him, and as much as his friends and kinsmen were able to do, in case the said De Arras did think such his offer could not offend the Emperor his master; he advised him, that he should for a season defer his going to them. Which he told them now, that as he did somewhat against his will, so was he then very glad that he so did. For Arras now told him, that he might come to them, and sorrow with them, and rejoice with them; and make all the offers he could to the King's Majesty. For he should not only not offend him in so doing, but should much please his Majesty therewith. And therefore, said Diego to the ambassadors, as he was sorry that they lost so good a King, so he did much rejoice that they had so noble and so toward a Prince to succeed him: and promised them, by the word of a gentleman, that he would at all times serve his Highness himself, and as many as he should be able to bring with him, if the Emperor called him to serve him.

INTROD. Anno 1553. The ambassadors visited by Don Diego. His kind speech to them.

The ambassadors told him, they had received the sorrowful news, but the glad tidings were not, as yet, come unto them by any letters: that they were glad to hear thus much, and wished they were able to tell him all how things

Their answer to him.

INTROD. went at home. He answered, he could tell them thus much,

Anno 1553. He relates to them the news of the succession.

that the King's Majesty, for the discharge of his conscience, wrote a good piece of his testament with his own hand; barring both his sisters of the crown, and leaving it to the Lady Jane, niece [he means grandaughter] to the French Queen. Whether the two daughters were bastards or no, or why it was done, they, he said, that were strangers, had nothing to do with the matter; but they, the ambassadors, were bound to obey and serve his Majesty: and that, therefore, it was reason they should take him for their King, which the nobles of the country had, with their consent, allowed for their King. He added, that he, for his part, of all others, was bound to be glad that his Majesty was set in that office. For he [Diego] was his god-father; and would as willingly spend his blood in his service, as any subject that he had, as long as he should see the Emperor, his master, so willing to embrace his Majesty's amity.

Don Francisco's address to the ambassadors.

And Don Francisco d'Est, General of all the foot Italians, who was newly gone to his charge in Milain, at his departure made the like offer, as long as his master and theirs should be friends; which he trusted should be ever; and prayed the ambassadors, at their return, to utter it to the King's Majesty. And this was all the concern now that the nobles at the Emperor's court had for the Lady Mary, being resolved to make a fair compliment to the English court; though the Emperor must needs have been in no such indifferency for his cousin.

The ambassadors have audience of the Emperor.

It was not before the 16th day of July the ambassadors waited upon the Emperor, and declared their heavy and sorrowful news. After which, they set forth the Lords' goodwills, and readiness at all times to observe and maintain the amities which had been always between the realm of England, and those of Burgundy, and other the Emperor's dominions. For answer whereunto, the Emperor said, "that

The Emperor's words to them.

"he was right sorry, for his part, for those heavy news, "whereby he perceived the loss of such a brother, and so "good a friend both to him and his countries: and, consi- "dering that he was of such a great towardness, and of

" such a hope to do good, and to be a stay to Christendom, INTROD.
" his loss was so much the greater: and used, in this be- Anno 1553.
" half, many good words to his commendation, and declara-
" tion of his grief for his death. And, touching the amity
" which had been between him and his late good brother, 8
" their countries and subjects, as he always had a good-will
" to the observance of the same, according to such treaties
" as had been between them; so now understanding by
" them, the ambassadors, the Lords of the Council's good
" inclination and minds to entertain and observe this amity
" for correspondence, he had at that present, and should
" have like good-will to keep and continue the same." He thanked them also for making him understand their good-will therein; with compliment of many other good words to this purpose. This answer of the Emperor the ambassadors signified the next day, *viz.* July 17, by letters to the Lords, telling them, that, as far as they could perceive, by the Emperor's words, he minded assuredly to keep amity with them. Yet, to decipher him better herein, they judged it not amiss, in their opinions, if their Lordships should feel him either with some new league, or to tempt him, what he would say to the old, or by some other means, as their wisdoms could better devise: for it was, in effect, taken for granted, that the Emperor would be not well pleased, when he should be informed that the Lady Mary should be put by the crown.

Their relation thereof in their letters to the Council.

Shelley, before spoken of, being now arrived at the Emperor's court, seemed to make no haste of the delivery of his letters from Queen Jane and the Council to him; waiting to see the issue and success of the contests in England, between her party and that of the Lady Mary: which latter soon prevailing, he delivered not his letters at all. Nor did the three ambassadors make any repair to the Emperor on Queen Jane's account, whereof they had their instructions, mentioned before.

Upon Mary's access to the throne, Shelley returns;

But when the news fled thither of Queen Mary's possessing of the kingdom, Shelley returned, and brought with him a short letter to the Lords from the ambassadors at

With letters from the ambassadors.

INTROD. that court; importing, "that since it had pleased God to
Anno 1553. "call my Lady Mary her Grace to the state and possession "of the realm, according to the King's Majesty her father's "last will, and the laws of the realm, they being there in "great discourage, for that they could not know the cer- "tainty of these so great and weighty matters, but by the "report of them there," [for from July 12, hitherto, they had not a word sent them, till August 5, when Queen Mary was surely settled,] "did humbly beseech their Lord- "ships, that they might not only be advertised of the same, "but also, that they might know her Majesty's pleasure, "what they should do: whereunto they should conform "themselves most willingly, as they wrote, according to "their most bounden duties." This bore date July 29.

But now let us turn our eyes more directly to the history of Queen Mary, and consider the first attempts she made to invest herself in her just possessions.

CHAP. I.

Queen Mary's access to the crown. How the people stood affected to her. Proclaimed. Many taken up, and sent to the Tower. King Edward's funerals.

The Lady Mary writes to her friends for aid; *viz.*

UPON the tidings of her brother's departure into a better world, the Lady Mary thought it worth bestirring herself for her crowns, that were now fallen to her. To all her friends therefore, and such as were of interest, she wrote letters, to recognize and own her for their Sovereign, and to assist her in the instating of herself in the kingdom. And being at her manor of Kenningale in Norfolk, she began to prepare for action, and to gather to herself what countenance and strength she could from the gentry of those parts. On the 8th of July, she wrote to Sir George Somerset, Sir William Drury, Sir William Waldgrave, Knights, and Clement Higham, Esq. signifying unto them the King's death, and thereby her right to the crown; requiring them to obey no

To Somerset, Drury, Waldgrave, Higham.

commandment to be issued out upon any pretence or gloss of the deceased King's authority, being bound now to be true liegemen to her only: and lastly, charging them, in all haste possible, to prepare and put themselves in order to repair to her at Kenningale; where, at their coming, they should know further of her pleasure. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

The next day, *viz.* July 9, (the very day the Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen,) she wrote another letter from Kenningale to Sir Edward Hastings, the Earl of Huntingdon's brother, and a zealous Papist. Therein "she asserted her "right to inherit, both by Parliament and her father's will: "and gave him to understand, that he was obliged no "longer to observe or execute any command heretofore or "hereafter to be addressed to him, from or in the name, or "by colour of authority, of the late King Edward. She re- "quired him to have a diligent regard to her honour, and "the surety of her person, in the counties of Middlesex "and Bucks, where he dwelt: and charged him, that he "should not stir in any forcible array by the command of "any, except of herself only, unless in case of any attempts "to her prejudice: and, to the best of his power, to pre- "pare himself to serve her at her command. And this letter "should be his warrant and discharge." Thus she wrote, without taking any notice at all of King Edward's late will, or the pretences of the Lady Jane, throughout her letter; which, if the reader please, he may read at length in the Catalogue of Records, at the end of this volume. To the same purport with this did her letters, I suppose, to other noblemen and gentlemen run. To Sir Edw. Hastings. Numb. I.

Certain it is, such a considerable head of men in a short time had got together in Buckinghamshire, by Sir Edward Hastings's means, and some other of the Lady Mary's friends in those parts, that they became very formidable to the ruling side. And great consultation was had to send strong forces thither. On the 18th day a letter was sent from Jane to Sir John St. Lowe, and Sir Anthony Kingstone, Knights, signed *Jane the Queen;* therein asserting her lawful possession of the crown, by the free consent of Bucks up for the Lady Mary.

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Anno 1553.

the nobility, and the other states of the realm. Requiring them, therefore, to raise all the power they could of horse and foot round about them, (yet excepting the tenants and servants of the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke,) and, with the same, to repair to the said shire, to repress and subdue certain tumults and rebellions moved there against her and her crown. And the like orders she sent to divers other gentlemen, whom she looked upon to be true to her. She aggravated to them, how these, that now appeared in hostility, sought the destruction of their native country, and the subversion of all men in their degrees, being a *base multitude*, as she styled them, stirred in rage: which, as by former experience it had been proved, must needs be the confusion of the whole commonwealth. Wherefore, she trusted in their courage, wisdom, and fidelities, to undertake this enterprize, as by the nobility and Council should be prescribed them. And to bear their charges, she shewed them, that she had directed her Council to take order for their satisfaction; which her said Council, for that purpose, sent their letters also to them. And, finally, she seemed not to doubt of their success: and that upon their very access to the place where these seditions were got together, they would soon faint and despair, or receive their punishments. This letter, being an original, may not be improper to be preserved. See the Numb. II. Catalogue.

She is aided by Protestants.

Mary had retired upon the King's death into the parts of Suffolk and Norfolk; there making what strength she could to seat herself on the throne, and to oppose the army that was sent against her, headed by the Duke of Northumberland, father-in-law to the Lady Jane, now set up for Queen. The two great counties aforesaid afforded many that gathered themselves together, and took up arms to aid Queen Mary. For though the people of Suffolk and Norfolk were generally professors and favourers of the Gospel; yet the consideration that she was established by the King her father and the Parliament, to be successor to her brother, and heir to the crown after him; and their knowledge from the word of God, that obedience was therefore due to her,

made them vigorously assist her with their lives. And so they professed in the *supplication* they put up afterwards to her Commissioners: "We protest before God, we think "if the holy word of God had not taken some root among "us, we could not in time past have done that poor duty of "ours, which was done in assisting the Queen, our most "dear Sovereign, against her Grace's mortal foe, that then "sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty: and "we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, "that we then did some part of our bounden service." Thus they. So that it was neither the popish interest, nor the people's zeal for papal religion, that placed the Queen upon the throne, as Parsons most falsely speaks in one of his books, where he hath these words: "The only zeal of "the common Catholic people for recovering the use of "Catholic religion again, overthrew all, and placed Queen "Mary, as is notorious to the world." Whereas it is notorious to the world, that they were Protestants chiefly that placed her in her kingdom; and the consideration of her religion did but little advance her designs. For at this time the interest of the Papists was but little; and the people generally was earnestly disposed to, and highly pleased with King Edward's reformation.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1553. And why.

Three Conversions, part i. p. 263.

So that the generality of the Protestants did readily receive Mary to be their Sovereign: yet many others there were for the Lady Jane, rather because she was one who would have maintained the good religion settled by King Edward. Some of these were Ridley, Bishop of London; Sir John Cheeke; Dr. Sandys, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. There was yet a third sort, that held all government by women unlawful; especially if they were idolaters. These spake of two notes set down in Scripture to know, whether a prince be chosen of God, or no: and those notes given by God to Israel. "The one was, if he were a man "that had the fear of God before his eyes, and zealously "stood to set forth the same. For this cause God willed, "that he should be chosen from among his brethren, and

Bishop Ridley for the Lady Jane: and why.

Goodman's book, p. 50.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1553.

" be no stranger; because such had not the fear of God. " And therefore they inferred, it was manifest he was not " chosen by God that was such an one: nor, as they went " on, ought he to be anointed or elected the people's king " or governor, what right or title soever he seemed to have " thereunto by civil policy; except he be a promoter and " setter forth of God's law and glory: for which cause " chiefly this office was ordained."

Some thought a woman's government unlawful.

The second rule was, " that he should be one of his " brethren, meaning of the Israelites: partly, to exclude the " oppression and idolatry which would come in by strangers; " and partly, for that strangers could not bear such a na- " tural zeal to strange realms and people, as became brethren; " but chiefly, to avoid that monster in nature, and disorder " among men, which was the empire and government of a " woman; saying expressly, *From the middle of thy* brethren " *shalt thou choose thee a king:* and not *from among thy* " sisters. For God is not contrary to himself, which at the " beginning appointed the woman to be in subjection to " her husband, and the man to be the head of the woman, " as saith the Apostle; who would not permit the woman " so much as to speak in the assembly of men, much less to " be a ruler of a realm or nation. If women be not per- " mitted by civil policies to rule in inferior offices, to be " counsellors, peers of a realm, justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and " such like; I make yourselves judges," saith this author, " whether it be meet for them to govern whole realms and " nations." These were the fancies of some, though but few; and they John Knox's disciples; whose conceit in this point chiefly sprung, I presume, from the fears they apprehended of the severity of the Lady Mary's government, and of her marrying a foreigner.

The Papists extol the Lady Mary.

But the Papists, on the other hand, did now especially, as they had not ceased to do before, (to bear her up in the esteem of the people,) highly extol her. They bruited much abroad, in all companies, her sobriety, her mercy, and the love she had to the commonwealth of this kingdom.

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They called her *a mirror* for these virtues. They delighted to style her *Mary the virgin*, nay, blasphemously, *the most blessed virgin*.

The fears of the Protestants.

Now, while all was in confusion and disturbance, every one running to arms, as he stood affected either to Jane or Mary; and the realm seemed generally to verge towards the latter; great were the fears and anxieties that possessed the hearts of the best men, and such as loved King Edward's reformation. For they were very apprehensive, that the good religion and pious orders established in his reign were going to wreck. They dreaded Mary's marriage with some popish foreigner; and they foresaw how she, being so nearly related to the Emperor, that professed enemy of *reformation*, would take her measures of rule and government by his influence and direction.

The subject of the faithful preachers' discourses.

The faithful preachers very painfully, in their several places, set before the people their imminent danger, and shewed them, that this judgment of the loss of their excellent King was come upon them for their unprofitableness under those opportunities of grace and spiritual knowledge they enjoyed under him; and that this was the effect of God's angry hand. They exhorted them much to steadfastness, and by no means to comply with the popish superstitions that were now ready to break in upon them. Which if they did, they assured them utter destruction was at hand: otherwise, that there was a door open, after some sorrowful days, for their deliverance.

Knox preaches at Amersham.

Knox, the Scotchman, who was one of the chief preachers of the nation then, at this time, and for some time before, preached in Buckinghamshire: and just while the great tumult was in England, and Sir Edward Hastings, Sir Edmund Peckham, and others, were busy in that county raising forces, he preached at Amersham before a great assembly: where, with sorrowful heart and weeping eyes, (as he tells us of himself,) he fell into this exclamation: "O England! now is God's "wrath kindled against thee; now hath he begun to punish, "as he hath threatened a long while by his true prophets and "messengers. He hath taken from thee the crown of thy "glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body with-

His book entitled, A Faithful Admonition.

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" out a head. And this appeareth to be only the beginning " of sorrows, which appear to increase. For I perceive that " the heart, the tongue, and hand of one Englishman is " bent against another, and division to be in the whole " realm: which is an assured sign of desolation to come. O " England, England! dost thou not consider, that thy " commonwealth is like a ship sailing on the sea? If thy " mariners and governors shall one consume another, shalt " thou not suffer shipwreck in short process of time? O " England, England! alas! these plagues are poured upon " thee, for that thou wouldest not know the most happy " time of thy gentle visitation. But wilt thou yet obey the " voice of thy God, and submit thyself to his holy word? " Truly, if thou wilt, thou shalt find mercy in his sight, and " the state of thy commonweal shall be preserved. But, O " England, England! if thou obstinately wilt return into 13 " Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or " league with such princes as do maintain and advance " idolatry, such as the Emperor, which is no less enemy " unto Christ, than ever was Nero; if for the pleasure and " friendship of such princes, I say, thou return to thine old " abominations before used under Papistry; then, assured- " ly, O England! thou shalt be plagued and brought to " desolation, by the means of those whose favour thou seek- " est, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, " and to serve Antichrist." These were the lessons now inculcated upon the people.

Mary proclaimed Queen.

Mary, therefore, the only child surviving of Queen Katharine of Spain, King Henry's first wife, succeeded Queen of England; one very much addicted to the Pope and papal superstitions. She, or rather some of her friends in London for her, on the 19th day of July, that is, thirteen days after King Edward's death, issued out a proclamation, entitling herself *supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland*, signifying to her loving subjects, " that she took upon her the crown imperial of the realms " of England and Ireland, and title of France; and that " she was in lawful and just possession of the same: assur-

" ing them, that in reputing and taking her for their na- CHAP. I.
" tural liege sovereign Lady and Queen, they should find
" her their benign and gracious Lady, as others her most Anno 1553.
" noble progenitors had been." But Grafton, the printer Grafton the printer.
of this proclamation, found her not so; soon after turning him out of his place of printing state-papers, (which he seems to have had by letters patents from King Edward, or his father,) and constituting John Cawood her printer in his room. And this, no question, because Grafton was a Protestant, and had printed the Bible in English, and the public books of religion in the former reign: nor was this all the hard measure he found; for the next month he was clapped up in prison.

She was proclaimed between five and six of the clock in the afternoon, by four trumpeters and three heralds of arms. There were present the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, also the Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir John Mason, the Lord Mayor, and divers other noblemen. This proclamation was published at the Cross in Cheap: from whence they went unto St. Paul's; and there was sung *Te Deum laudamus*, with songs, and the organs playing. All the bells throughout London rung; every street enlightened with bonfires, and every where tables set out furnished with beer and wine for all comers; and much money thrown about. By which significations the people shewed their complacency in the right legal heir's succession. The proclamation attended with much splendor and joy.

The Duke of Northumberland, who was departed a few days ago with a force against the Queen, to establish his daughter-in-law, (who, by his means, was seated upon the throne,) thought he had secured all at home: but the nobles, as soon as he was gone, and some of them his confidents, turned about for Mary. And on the 21st of July, the Duke being then in Cambridge, was seized as a traitor, with divers lords and knights in his company. And, on the same day, was Queen Mary proclaimed in the same town; and so throughout all England. And thus, on a sudden, all that fine-spun laboured artifice of constituting Northumberland seized.

CHAP. I.

a new Queen, contrary to a law in force, came to nothing, and brought ruin upon the contrivers.

Anno 1553. One pillorized.

And as one had been pillorized for speaking some words for Queen Mary, on the 11th of this month; so, on the 29th of the same, a fellow was set on the pillory for speaking somewhat against her.

Lady Elizabeth comes to London.

The same day the Lady Elizabeth came out of the country, to be ready to congratulate her sister, and now her sovereign; riding through London, along Fleet-street, and so to the Duke of Somerset's place, which now belonged unto her; being attended, saith the MS. with 2000 horse, with spears, and bows, and guns, and other weapons. Among the rest in her retinue were Sir John Williams, Sir John Bridges, (both of them afterwards made noble,) Mr. Chamberlain, all in green, guarded either with white velvet, satin, taffeta, and cloth, according to their qualities.

Cott. Libr. Vitellius, F. 5.

The Queen proclaimed at Guisnes.

The Queen's pieces on the French shore soon complied, and followed the example of England, excepting that the Lord Gray of Wilton, chief captain of Guisnes, had stood with Jane's party against the Queen; for he went along with the Duke of Northumberland. Notwithstanding, Sir Richard Windebank, deputy of Guisnes, William Sparrow, chief constable, and Walter Vaughan, chief porter, and other officers there, proclaimed Queen Mary, by the four or five and twentieth day of July. Which, by their letters, dated July 25, they took care to signify to the Queen: and withal, as though they had done no otherwise than the Lord Gray, their chief, would have approved of, they mentioned in their said letter their experience of his honour, fidelity, and service toward the crown of England; and therefore, concluding the rumours that went of him, of his being in arms against the Queen's person, to be false. They promised her to hold that piece for her service, and in her right and title, until she should otherwise declare her pleasure. Sir Anthony Aucher, high marshal of Calais, had lately been appointed, (perhaps by Northumberland and his party,) to go to Guisnes, for the better aid and security of that place. But these officers would not admit him, nor

any other person, to bear rule there, until they had received instructions from her Majesty. Henry Duddley, a relation and creature of the Duke, and in with him, had, with four servants and certain letters, escaped, and got hither to Guisnes. Him these officers detained, seizing his men and letters; which they sent by a special messenger to the Queen, keeping him in sure custody till her pleasure were further known. All this they declared to her in their letter, protesting their steadfast loyalty and obedience. Which letter may be seen in the Catalogue. Duddley was soon after conveyed to Calais, and so to England. CHAP. I. Anno 1553. Numb. III.

As soon as these confusions were appeased, and arms laid down, and Mary acknowledged Queen, Dr. Walter Haddon, that excellent poet as well as orator, congratulated her with a copy of verses: which were so well taken, that, I conjecture, to this it was that his peace and safety under her reign must be attributed, being himself a good Protestant. In these verses he acknowledged it the singular mercy of God to England, that the war was so happily ended, and the storm so well ceased. He set out elegantly the sad condition the kingdom was newly recovered out of, occasioned by the ambition of ruling, which some had been lately affected with: how the Council were divided among themselves, the nobility raged, the commons murmured, as they stood affected; routs and disturbances every where; thus described by him: Dr. Haddon congratulates the Queen in verse.

Cum ratione furor pugnat, cum jure libido,
Vis trahit invitos, armis terretur honestas,
Officium pavor, et verum violentia frangit.
O tenebras regni spissas! O tempora dura!

But that after this, God looked down and pitied the nation, quelled the wars, checked the commotions, restored joyful peace, calmed the minds of the people, and united their jarring spirits, by the setting Mary upon her throne. And then the poet addresseth himself to her with divers good monitories and seasonable counsels; but tenderly and inoffensively propounded: *viz.* that she would assist towards His counsel to her therein.

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Anno 1553.

the repairing the broken condition of the state; that as she was the heir of her brother's kingdom, so she would be of his piety; that she would preserve justice, spare the humble, crush the proud, honour virtue and learning, defend her good subjects, punish slander, and love her people, that she might be loved again by them: to remember, that the King her brother was taken off by death, and that though she his sister was a Queen, yet she must die too. And, lastly, he concludes his poem with invocation to the Deity, that the God who had placed her on the throne of her ancestors, would imbue her heart with divine dispositions, always to lift up her eyes to him; and that the whole community might live in love and peace, and serve God in concord. But he that will have the elegancy and spirit of the poem, must read it as it fell from Haddon's own pen: which hath inclined me to lay it in the Catalogue.

Numb. IV.

Q. Jane's party made prisoners.

Now were many of Queen Jane's friends, and Northumberland's creatures, made prisoners. And July 25, being St. James's day, these persons following were brought from Cambridge to London, and so to the Tower: first, Dr. Sandys, priest, who had preached at Cambridge in favour of Queen Jane's title: next him, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Herry Gates, Sir John Gates, Captain of the guards to King Edward; Sir Andrew Duddley, the Duke of Northumberland's brother; the Lord Herry Duddley, Lord Ambrose Duddley, John Earl of Warwick, the said Duke's three sons; the Lord Hastings, the Earl of Huntingdon; and lastly, the Duke himself; attended with 4000 men, besides the guard. On the next day, the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Robert Duddley, another of the Duke's sons, the Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Corbet, were committed to the Tower. And after came in the Lord Chief Justices Cholmely and Mountague, at five of the clock. And on
16 the next day, *viz.* the 27th, were committed to the same place, the Duke of Suffolk, Sir John Cheeke, Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir John York, mint-master: but the said Duke on the 31st day was delivered again, (not on the 21st, as it is mistaken in Holingshed's history;) which came to pass

by the earnest intercession of his Duchess. And, the same day, the Earl of Rutland and the Lord Russel were put in hold in the Fleet.

She comes to Wansted house.

The Queen was not yet come to London; but about the latter end of July she was arrived as near as Wansted house in Essex; (which then belonged, I think, to the Lord Rich;) where she took up her rest for a few days, in order to her entrance into the City. And there flocked unto her there great numbers of her nobility and gentry. On the 28th day, in the afternoon, most of the Lords of her Council repaired to her. Yet some few, for the necessary carrying on of business, tarried at Westminster; and among the rest, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Secretary Petre. In this interval, the French ambassador desired audience at their hands; and was answered, that he might be sure to be at all times welcome, but that the board was not so full as for the presence of such an estate were requisite, by reason of a number of the same that were that afternoon departed; referring, nevertheless, his coming or staying to his own mind or pleasure. On the next morning, July 29, his secretary brought word again from him to the Council, that understanding the departure of part of the Council to her Highness, he was contented to take patience until their return: and in the mean time desired to know, where her Grace was? and when they thought she would be at London? minding either to-morrow, or the next day, to make his repair towards her Majesty. He was answered, that for her coming, themselves were as yet uncertain; but upon Monday they trusted to give more sure knowledge thereof. The ambassador desired also a passport for a gentleman to go into Scotland with a packet of letters. Answer was made, that they would declare his request to her Highness's Council attending upon her person: and upon answer to them, such order should be taken, as by them they should understand to be her pleasure. For they were loath, as they wrote to the Council attending the Queen, to do more than they thought they might well do. And therefore, as they told them, they thought good to refer this matter unto

The French ambassador desires audience.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1553.

them; praying them they might have thereof an answer, as shortly as they might. The ambassador complained also, that certain of his letters were stayed both at Rochester and Calais; which the said Council at Westminster willed by their letters to be suffered to pass, unless there were other commandment specially given, either by the Queen's Highness, or else by the Council attending upon her person.

The houses of the prisoners in the Tower searched.

As there were many now prisoners in the Tower, so their houses and goods were searched and seized by order of the Council. Whatever other things were found, there was but little money; however, servants enough, who were to be discharged. And what to do in this case, these Counsellors were at some plunge: and therefore desired the advice and resolution of them that waited on the Queen. "We find, (as they wrote in their letter dated July 29,)

17 "the substance of these [houses] very bare in money, and "in some of them no money at all. And therefore would "be glad to know what your Lordships' pleasure be, touch- "ing the servants continuing them; being therefore many "in number, and in effect nothing remaining to entertain "them together; whether you will have them discharged, "or what shall be otherwise your pleasure; and whether, "with part of such money as we shall find in any of the "houses, the said servants shall be paid their wages and "other duties, before they shall be discharged."

The Lady Elizabeth goes to meet the Queen.

The last day of July the Lady Elizabeth rode through London to Aldgate, and so eastward, to meet the Queen, with a thousand horse, and an hundred velvet coats.

Jerningham and Hastings advanced.

The Queen this day made Sir Harry Jerningham [or more truly to be writ Jernegan] her Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard; and Sir Edward Hastings Master of her Horse.

The Queen comes to London.

The 3d of August was the splendid day on which the Queen came riding to London, and so to the Tower; making her entrance at Aldgate. Which was hanged, and a great number of streamers hanging about the said gate. Where were standing, upon a stage with seats, all the children of the Spittle, singing, with their masters and mistresses. All

the streets unto Leadenhall, and unto the Tower, were laid with gravel: and all the crafts of London stood in a row, with their banners and streamers hanged over their heads. Her Grace came in this equipage: afore her, a thousand velvet coats and cloaks in embroidery. The Mayor of London bare the mace; the Earl of Arundel bare the sword; all the trumpets blowing. Next her came the Lady Elizabeth; and next her the Duchess of Norfolk, and the Marchioness of Exeter next, and so other ladies in their order. And after went the Aldermen, and then the guard with bows and javelins. And all the residue departed at Aldgate, being in green and white, and red and white, and blue and green and white, to the number of three thousand horse with spears and javelins. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

The Queen rested herself the next day after her coming to the Tower, and spent it in more privy consultation. But the day following, that is, the 5th of August, was a day of action. For Dr. Cox, Dean of Westminster, came this day prisoner to the Tower. And so all the late king Edward's learned tutors and instructors were now prisoners there; Cheeke and Cook before, and now Cox. But this day was more propitious to the Roman clergy. For now came out of the Marshalsea, Bonner, the old Bishop of London, being brought home unto his place at St. Paul's, and together with him divers other Bishops were set at liberty from their confinements. Dr. Cox aforesaid was committed to the same place in the Marshalsea where the said Bishop had been. And the Bishop of Winchester, another late prisoner in the Tower, the Queen did appoint one of her Privy Council. This man boasted, that he was delivered out of prison as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish heresy. And the Lord Courteney she delivered and pardoned, and nominated to the earldom of Devonshire. Other prisoners she did this day restore to their liberties. And as she had a few days before preferred Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Harry Jerningham about her person, so now she constituted Mr. Rochester, Master Comptroller; the Lord Marquis of Imprisonments and releasements. Bishop Bonner. Bishop Gardiner.

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Winchester, Lord Treasurer; and divers other officers. And as Sir John Gage was replaced Constable of the Tower, so this day, at nine of the clock, the Lord Ferris being brought to the Tower, and appearing before the Council, within an hour was delivered unto the custody of the said Constable.

Anno 1553.

Cheyne sent ambassador to the Emperor.

Thus the Queen having here at the Tower released some, and imprisoned others, as she stood affected, and having chosen her Privy Council, which were chiefly such as had been under a cloud, or suffered in the former reign, (as Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Ryche, the Lord Paget, Sir Robert Southwel, Sir Robert Rochester, and others,) began to set upon the businesses of state. And one of her first cares was to send to the Emperor, her relation and friend. To whom she despatched Sir Thomas Cheyne, Knight of the Order, Treasurer of her Household, and Lord Warden of the Five Ports. And there being then at that court the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Philip Hoby, and Sir Richard Morison, she appointed the Bishop to remain with the Emperor, as her ambassador resident, (to whom she sent instructions accordingly,) and revoked the two other: signifying to them, by her Council's letters, that considering their long abode there, and the small fruit that had hitherto ensued of their travail, [in endeavouring to accommodate matters between the Emperor and the French King, then at open hostility,] the Queen thought it expedient, that both of them should return to her presence. And at their taking of their leave of the Emperor, she required them to say, "that if her "Highness did see, or might understand any likelihood "that their long abode might bring forth any fruit for that "godly purpose they were sent out for, she would be most "glad, not only to have them continued, but would most "gladly send some other personage joined with them for "the treaty, and conducing of the same toward a good con-"clusion. But considering that hitherto it had not pleased "Almighty God to move the hearts of them to concord, "she did therefore revoke those her ambassadors for the "time remaining: nevertheless, most ready to send either

The Bishop of Norwich resides at that court.

Hoby and Morison called home.

" them, or some other, for that purpose, when she might " understand the time to serve better." And the ambassadors using such good words as they should think best, to declare the Queen's most earnest desire, both to the continuance of the amity, and pacifying of those wars, they should with diligence repair to her presence. This letter to them was signed August 5, by the Earl of Arundel, and next by Stephen Bishop of Winchester, not yet made Lord Chancellor, Richard Lord Ryche, John Lord Wentworth, Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Robert Southwel, and Sir William Petre, Secretary. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

The Emperor had always borne a true affection to the Queen; and when she was lately striving to obtain her crown, he was ready to give her his assistance; and some correspondence there seems to have been between them at that time for the same purpose. This kindness she acknowledged by a letter to him, which she gave to his ambassadors: who, as it seems, conveyed it in their packet, delivered to Cheyne, the Queen's ambassador going to that court. In answer to which, the Emperor wrote an obliging letter to her, importing, " that by his ambassadors " he had received a letter from her, wrote with her own " hand. He assured her of that *grande affection et con-* " *tentement, que j'ay reçeu, parce qu'il a plu à Dieu vous* " *avancer, selon votre bon droit, à la couronne d'Angleterre.* " *Et, certes, pour vous cy promovoyr, j'eusse volontiers fait* " *de avantage, de ce que j'ay fait; i. e.* great affection and " content he took, that it had pleased God to advance her, " according to her just right, to the crown of England. " And that, indeed, to promote her thereunto, he had will- " ingly done more than he did, if there had been need. " But, that God, who was above all, had better provided " that which was convenient for her service. For which he " gave him thanks; remitting himself to the testimony " which his said ambassadors should more particularly " bring concerning his good-will and affection on her be- " half, such as, he hoped, she had always known. And then " concluded with these words: *Je vous priray seulement de* " *demeurer asseuré, que je vous correspondray jusques au* The Emperor writes to the Queen. 19 Cott. Libr. Titus, B. 2.

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" *bout à l'affection que et que je tiendray le mesme soing*
" *de vos affaires comme de miens propres: desirant egale-*
" *ment le bon succes des ceulx: lequel je procureray tous-*
" *jours. Per celluy que trouveres jusques au bout,*

" *Un bon frere et cousin,*

" Charles."

Another letter and embassy to her from the Emperor.

It was not long after the Emperor wrote again to the Queen, with his own hand, which his ambassador, Lieutenant D'Aumont, delivered into her own hand. This message seemed to be designed chiefly for moving of a match between his son Prince Philip and her Majesty. Which the Emperor had before in his mind, but for some reasons, which his ambassador should acquaint the Queen with, he had deferred hitherto to declare. And he prayed her, " that she would shew plainly to the said ambassador " what her will and intent was in this affair; and that with " a confidence between them two, without observing the " ceremonies commonly used in things of that nature. *Pour* " *ce qu'entre nos, et en si grande correspondence de vraye* " *amitie, il ne convient aucunement en user; i. e.* because, " between them, and in so great correspondence of true " friendship, it was not convenient to use it. And that it " might be done with more ceremony, in case that matter " came to be treated of in public; and because of that he " was going to say, which was, that he prayed her to be- " lieve, that as she dealt with him, she should know the " esteem which he held of her person. For whom he would " now and ever do whatsoever might tend to her profit. " And, lastly, prayed her *estre plus que certain que tant* " *que je vyve vous me trouveres,*

" *Votre bon frere et cousin,*

" Charles."

Sir Harry Duddley imprisoned.

20 On the 6th of August, Sir Harry Duddley, another of the Duke's house, was brought to the Tower from Calais, that was going into France with letters, as was reported, having been first seized at Guisnes.

King Edward's funeral.

The Queen's next care was, to give an honourable inter-

ment to her brother, the late King Edward: which was done at Westminster, Aug. 8. Whereat was expressed, by all sorts of people, such signs of sorrow for his death, by weepings and lamentations, as the like was scarce ever seen or heard. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

And the first office Dr. Day, the late deposed Bishop of Chichester, did, after his enlargement out of the Tower, (which was three or four days before,) was very honourable; preaching the King's funeral sermon. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, however now under a cloud, celebrated his burial by the English service-book. To which was joined a communion, by him also administered. But though the King was buried after this manner at Westminster, within the Tower was a mass of *requiem* sung for him the same day; at which the Queen was present; and the Bishop of Winchester, with his mitre on, performed it after the old popish form. That same day it was, or the eve before, when *dirige* was sung before the Queen and Council by the gentlemen of the chapel, that one Walker, (who was married,) being a singing-man, and a chaplain of the court, was deacon at the service: who minding, after the Gospel, as the manner is in the popish ceremony, to have incensed the Queen, was forbidden to do it by Dr. Weston, because he had married a wife; saying to him, *Shamest thou not to do this office, having a wife as thou hast! I tell thee, the Queen will not be incensed by such an one as thou art.* And so with violence he took the censer out of his hand, and with that sweet smoke perfumed the Queen. Where my author makes a sharp observation on this very Weston, *viz.* that at that very time he had the foul disease, (which he called *being smitten with a Winchester goose*,) and yet not healed thereof.

Bishop Day preaches.

Mass said for him.

Bale's Declar. fol. 69.

On the said 8th day of August came the Earl of Darby to London, with fourscore and odd coats of velvet; and after him two hundred and eighteen yeomen in liveries: and so rode to his place at Westminster.

Earl of Darby comes to London.

The 9th day of this month seemed to be the first time Bishop Gardiner came out of the Tower, after his liberty

Bishop of Winchester goes to his house.

CHAP. I.

granted him, passing in his way thence by Bath Place, the Earl of Arundel's place at that time, to his own house in Anno 1553. the parish of St. Mary Overy's; and from thence again to my Lord Arundel's to dinner.

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CHAP. II.

Preachers at Paul's Cross. A disturbance there. Duke of Northumberland and others arraigned. Mass begun. Occurrences. Popish Bishops restored. Bonner.

Preachers put up at Paul's Cross.

PREACHERS (and they such as were thought of the best ability that way) were now studiously set up to preach the people into an ill opinion of the late proceedings, especially in religion. Some of these were Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's; Weston, Dean of Westminster; White, Warden of Winchester; Watson, Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester; Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London; Bourn, Parson of High Ongar in Essex; the Queen's Chaplain, and domestics to Bishop Bonner, and others. This last named came up at Paul's Cross, Aug. 13, where were present the Lord Mayor and his brethren, and the Lord Courteney, and a great auditory. This man did, according to his instructions, fiercely lay about him, in accusing the doings of the former reign, with such reflections upon things that were dear to the people, that it set them all into a hurly-burly. And such an uproar began, such a shouting at the sermon, and casting up of caps, as that one, who lived in those times, and kept a journal of matters that then fell out, writ, *it was as if the people were mad;* and that there might have been great mischief done, had not the people been awed somewhat by the presence of the Mayor and the Lord Courteney. In this confusion the young people and the women bore their part; and so did some priests, and, namely, the Minister of St. Ethelborough's within Bishopsgate; who, as we shall hear, smarted severely for it. And which most of all shewed the popular displeasure against

Bourn.

the preacher, a dagger was thrown at him, which broke up the assembly; and the divine was conveyed away for fear of his life. The next Sunday, being Aug. 20, preached at Paul's Cross Dr. Watson, one of as much heat as the other, but with more safety; having two hundred of the guard about him, to see no such disturbance happened again. There were present all the crafts of London, in their best liveries, sitting on forms; every craft by themselves, together with the Lord Mayor and aldermen.

Anno 1553.

Watson.

On Friday, being the 18th of August, were arraigned the Duke of Northumberland, (all whose blustering and ambition came to this miserable conclusion,) the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, eldest son to the said Duke; (a great scaffold the day before having been set up in Westminster-hall for that purpose;) who were then condemned to be executed as traitors. And the next day were arraigned at Westminster-hall, and cast to be hanged and quartered, four more, *viz.* Sir Andrew Duddley, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer.

Northumberland and others condemned as traitors.

The Monday after was designed for the execution of the Duke and the rest of the condemned persons. And by eight o'clock that day were gotten together on Tower Hill near ten thousand people, to have seen the execution. For the scaffold was made ready; sand and straw brought; and all the men that belonged to the Tower hamlets present; as Hockston, Shoreditch, Bow, Ratcliff, Limehouse, St. Katharine's: and so were the waiters of the Tower, and the guard, and the sheriffs' officers. And every man standing in order with their halberds; and lanes made; the hangman there also: when on a sudden they were commanded to depart. The reason of which respite was, to gain a piece of glory to the popish religion, that these condemned persons, all pretended embracers of the reformed religion, might, before their deaths, be present at mass; as it were, giving thereby their approbation of it, and disavowing their former profession. To which these persons, perhaps of no great religion before, were the willinger to condescend, in

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The execution respited for a day: and why.

CHAP. II.

hope it might be a means to procure them the more favour towards a pardon. And that this might be done with the more shew and boast, on that very day were the Lord Mayor and aldermen sent for to the Tower, and the chiefest of the crafts in London, and divers of the Privy Council were there also; and then, in the presence of all these, mass was said before the Duke and the rest. But notwithstanding, he and some others were executed the day following, as we shall read in due place.

Anno 1553.

Two persons pillorized; the one a priest.

The same 21st day of August was severe justice done upon two persons, the one a priest, the other a barber, for being concerned in the uproar at the Paul's Cross sermon, Aug. 13, who were set on the pillory, and their ears nailed to it. The priest was parson of St. Ethelborough's. The crime was for heinous and seditious words against the Queen, spoken at that sermon, and for promoting that tumult. The priest having spoke more words to the same effect, was set on the pillory again, August the 23d.

Mass begun in a church in London.

On the said day mass began at St. Nicholas Cole-abbey, sung in Latin; and tapers set on the altar, and a cross. The next day a goodly mass in Latin was sung also in Bread-street. And here I cannot but make this remark upon the incumbent of the said St. Nicholas, whose name was parson Chicken, that he sold his wife to a butcher, and Nov. 24. was carted about London.

The Great Harry burnt.

August the 25th, the Great Harry, the greatest ship in the world, was burnt at Woolwich by negligence and lack of oversight.

Sir John Harrington dies.

Sir John Harrington, of Rutlandshire, dying within St. Hellen's, London, was, on Monday the 4th day of September, carried into his country, in a horse litter, to be interred, with his standard and pennon; mass and dirge having every day been sung for him; that is, from the 18th day of August, on which he died, to the day of his remove.

Lord Ferris and some others discharged the Tower.

The Lord Ferris, and the two Lords Chief Justices, Cholmely and Mountague, were, on the 6th of September brought out of the Tower before the Queen's Council, that

then sat at the Dean of Paul's place. Where they were delivered and discharged of the Tower; yet with a heavy fine laid upon them.

That the Queen might be furnished with fit instruments to carry on her resolved intention, to bring religion back to the state in which it was before any reformation; soon were the deprived Bishops restored again by her, not only to their liberties, but their sees and jurisdictions, as Gardiner, Turnstal and Bonner, Hethe and Day, let loose, as it were, especially two of them, to worry the poor flock; though these had been before represented by their friends under very fair characters: as, that they were reformable; that they were meet instruments for a commonwealth; that they were not so obstinate and malicious as they were judged, neither that they thirsted for the blood of any man. But though they were thus studiously reported under the former reign, or did so give out themselves to be, yet now, or soon after, it appeared these characters were not over true. 23 Deprived Bishops restored.

The sentence of Bishop Bonner's restitution was read publicly in St. Paul's church on the 5th of September, after a formal process had been commenced for trial of the validity of the said Bishop's deprivation under King Edward VI. when Archbishop Cranmer, one of the King's commissioners, pronounced the sentence of deprivation; and Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, succeeded him in the diocese. Bonner, soon after the Queen's access to the throne, complained to her, that he had been unjustly and contrary to law deprived; or rather, that having made a legal appeal from the commissioners to the King, the deprivation during that appeal was illegal and null; and that therefore his imprisonment, which he afterward suffered, was illegal also; and complaining of the losses, and expenses, and troubles, that he underwent by the means thereof; and desiring liberty, by law, of demanding satisfaction. Upon this, the Queen appointed several Judges' delegates to examine the whole cause: and to countenance the business the more, many persons of the greatest honour and quality were joined with civilians, as delegates; their names, as they are set down Bonner's restitution. Regist. Bonner.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1553.

in the instrument, were as follow: John Tregonwel and William Roper, Esqrs.; David Pole, Archdeacon of Darby; Anthony Draycot, Archdeacon of Huntingdon; Gilbert Bourn, Archdeacon of Bedford; William Cook, Jeffery Glyn, and Henry Cole, LL. DD. and William Ermested, Canon of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London: together with William Marquis of Winchester, Henry Earl of Arundel, Edward Earl of Darby, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, Richard Southwell, Robert Southwell, Edward Carne, Richard Read, Knights; Maurice Griffith, Archdeacon of Rochester; and John White, Warden of St. Mary Winton college, commissaries and Judges' delegates. The commission ran to them, or any two of them, to hear and determine the cause. To these delegates did Bonner present his libel, called in the instrument, *a certain appellatory and querelatory libel*, given and offered to them judicially against all the former King Edward's commissioners, *viz.* the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is styled as yet Primate and Metropolitan of all England; Nicholas Ridley, styled late Bishop of Rochester; Thomas Smith, Kt.; and William May, Dean of Paul's; William Latymer and John Hooper, Clerks; (for this last, it seems, they would not own to be
24 Bishop;) who had been witnesses against him. The proctors of the Archbishop, of the Bishop, and Dr. May, appeared. But Smith, Hooper, and Latymer appeared not, who are said to be absent *per contumaciam.*

The sentence definitive in his behalf.

In fine, after several hearings, the sentence definitive was pronounced by Dr. Tregonwel, (who was soon after knighted for his pains,) in behalf of Bishop Bonner. In which sentence it is said to have been proved, that there was nothing effectual or sufficient on the parts of the Archbishop, Ridley, and the rest deduced, exhibited, propounded, alleged, excepted, objected, proved, or confessed, which might any way enervate the intention of the reverend Father Bonner. "Therefore, John Tregonwel, LL.D. Commis-
"sary and Judge delegate, first having called [as the sen-
"tence ran] upon the name of Christ, and having God
"alone before his eyes, of and with the consent, assent, and

" command of the aforesaid venerable men, William Roper, " David Pole, &c. did define and decree, that the said ap- " peal and complaint were and are true, just, and lawful, " and made and interposed upon true, just, and lawful " causes; and that the said reverend Father the Archbi- " shop, and the rest, did proceed, pronounce, judge, and " sentence amiss: and that on the part of the reverend " Bishop Bonner, he did justly and lawfully appeal and " complain. And that the pretended definitive sentence " made against him was rashly attempted to his prejudice, " and was null in law, unjust, ineffectual, invalid, &c. And " they pronounced, decreed, and declared him to be re- " stored, as well to the possession of his said bishopric, as " to all his goods and things, with their rights and appur- " tenances, and to be in the same state in all and by all, as " the same reverend Father ever before was; allowing " him also to take his course for the expenses, losses, and " incommodities of his imprisonment, and for his evil and " unjust handling, as he alleged in his libel."

The delegates partial.

Thus roundly did these delegates proceed in their business, according as was expected. One of these delegates, namely Bourn, was Bonner's chaplain; and how partially he stood affected, is evident from a sermon he preached at Paul's Cross, about the beginning of August, from a text upon which Bonner had preached that time four years. For which, as Bourn then and there said, he was most cruelly and unjustly cast into that vile dungeon of the Marshalsea; and taking occasion hence largely to justify his master, caused at that time a great hubbub among the auditors, as before is told. The other delegates were men of the same partiality, favourers of popery, and so no equal judges in this cause.

The proceedings against Bonner under King Edward justified. Fox's Acts, &c. p. 1210.

The proceedings against Bonner, now called in question, may be seen at large in Fox's history. Where it may appear, how fairly he was treated throughout the whole process, and how contentiously and insolently he behaved himself. And as for his appeal to the King, from the sentence pronounced against him, the King accordingly issued out

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an order to a great many noblemen, and the learnedest civilians, well and thoroughly to examine all the proceedings of the commissioners against him, and his recusations, protestations, and appeals. These were the Lord Rich Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marquis of Dorset, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir William Herbert, Dr. Nicolas Wotton, Edward Mountague Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Baker, Judge Hales, John Gosnold, Dr. Oliver, and Dr. Leyson. Who, after due discussion and considerate advisement of all the premises, gave their resolute answer, "that Bonner's "appellation was naught and unreasonable, and that the "sentence against him was rightly and justly pronounced." This I set down, to justify what was done against this Bishop, notwithstanding the point blank decision to the contrary. Whereby the commissioners of Queen Mary, for the gratifying of the vain-glory of an unworthy man, did openly and formally charge injustice upon so many honourable, reverend, and learned personages, who were the chief counsellors about that King.

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A proclamation for religion. Another, for the valuation of money. The Duke of Northumberland and Sir John Gates executed.

The Queen's first proclamation concerning religion.

THE Queen soon seeing and well understanding how her subjects stood affected to King Edward's religion rather than to hers, and withal considering how assistant the Gospellers had been to the seating her in her kingdom, thought it convenient to issue out a proclamation, dated Aug. 18, (the day on which the Duke of Northumberland was tried and condemned,) from Richmond; to declare she would compel none to her religion, and her utter dislike of the odious terms of *papist* and *heretic*, and her desire, that her subjects might live together in godly love and unity.

And this she did the rather, because in the very beginning of her reign she apprehended some danger of an insurrection, by reason that the people, upon reports spread abroad of the Queen's changing the religion, fell into earnest contentions about questions of religion. Therefore, she thinking to pacify and sweeten those of the religion, and yet to compass her ends in due time by a Parliament, declared first, "what her own religion was, which she was minded "to observe and maintain for herself during her life, and "would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly "embraced: yet, that of her gracious disposition and cle- That she would not compel. "mency, she minded not to compel any of her subjects "thereunto, until such time as further order, by common "consent, might be taken therein." [That is, in effect, as though she had said, as soon as she might compel by authority of Parliament, she would.] "She forbade all her "subjects, at their peril, to move seditions, or to stir un- "quietness, by interpreting the laws of the land according "to their brains and fancies. She willed them to live to- "gether in quiet sort and Christian charity; and forbear "those *new-found devilish terms* (as the proclamation calls "them) of *papist* or *heretic*, and such like; and apply 26 "themselves to live in the fear of God; and so express "their hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, "which many had pretended rashly by their words. That "if any made assemblies of people, or, at any public as- "semblies, should go about to stir the people to disorders, "she would see the same severely reformed and punished. "And she forbade henceforth all preaching and reading in All preaching forbid; "churches, or other public or private places, to interpret "after their own brains any Scriptures or points of doc- "trine: all printing of books, ballads, rhymes, interludes; And printing, without special licence. "not to play those interludes without special licence. Like- "wise, that none should presume, of their own private au- "thority, to punish any offender in the late rebellion, under "the Duke of Northumberland or his accomplices, or to "seize any of their goods; but to refer all unto her Majes- "ty, and to public authority. Yet not hereby to restrain

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" or discourage any from informing against such offenders " unto her Grace or Council; resolving to punish with se- " verity and rigour all unlawful and rebellious doings. " She charged all mayors, sheriffs, and all other officers, to " see to the observing of these her commandments, and to " apprehend all such as should wilfully offend, committing " them to gaol without bail or mainprise; and certificates " of their names and doings to be sent to her or her Coun- " cil." But he that is minded to see and consider the whole proclamation, which had more of rigour than mercy, and administered much more of fear and jealousy, than of hope to the professors of the Gospel, may have it in Fox. And, I believe it to be drawn up by the hand and head of Bishop Gardiner, now Lord Chancellor. This was followed three days after by another; commanding, "that no man should " reason against the doings of her Grace and her Council; " and that what she did should be for the honour of God, " and profit of her subjects' souls."

Act. and Mon. p. 1280.

The value of coin ascertained.

Another proclamation issued forth, August 20, about the coin. For care was taken, upon the Queen's first coming to the crown, that the gold and silver money should not go above the intrinsic value of it: of which so much care had been taken by King Edward. This was one of those things whereby the Queen intended to ingratiate herself in her new government to her people. And therefore a proclamation was sent abroad, Aug. 20, [Holingshed placeth this amiss on the 4th of Septemb.] for ascertaining the value of each piece; and, moreover, declaring the Queen's intention suddenly of coining new money. This care of the Queen is set forth, by terming it, " her great and abundant cle- " mency," and her " tender care to her loving subjects:" adding, how sensible she was of the great intolerable charges had come to her subjects by base money. She appointed then

Coins of gold;

The piece, called the sovereign, of fine gold, should go at 30*s*.

The half sovereign, which should be called the royal of gold, at 15*s*.

The other piece of gold, which should be called the angel, at 10*s*.

The half angel at 5*s*.

And of coins of silver; one piece, that should be called a groat, should be current for 4*d*.

27 And of silver.

The half of which, which should be called the half groat, for 2*d*.

The half of the half groat, which should be called a penny, for 1*d*.

And all base money, which had been reduced to the value of a lower rate, should go current in payment, as the same was current at that day, and was declared by a proclamation in the time of Edward VI. until such time as the Queen should take further order touching the same. The proclamation I have placed in the Catalogue. Numb. V.

Some executed.

As many had been imprisoned, and some condemned, on the Lady Jane's account, so Aug. 22. were three executed; namely, the Duke of Northumberland, the great wheel of that plot, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, the first accuser of the Duke of Somerset. The lofty Northumberland was in the last reign grown too big for a subject: and as he did what he would, both with the King and with the nobles, having struck a terror into every man, and being feared by all, and loved by none, there was not any left now to speak a good word for him. The manner of his end, and how at his death he confessed he had always been a Papist, other historians will relate. As to his wealth and estate, which he had obtained partly by the King's gifts, and partly by his own purchases from the crown, at what rates he pleased, this that follows is some account thereof.

The Duke of Northumberland.

His lands. Warr. Book of Edw. VI.

Anno 1° *Edwardi VI.* He obtained a patent, dated Decemb. 22, granting to him, in consideration of his service against the Scots, the manor of Hostinghanger, in the county of Kent, late parcel of the possessions of Thomas Lord Poynings, and divers other lands and tenements in Kent, Warwick, Derby, Suffolk, and Salop.

He had a patent dated the same year, June 22, in compliment of King Henry VIIIth's will, and in consider-

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ation of service, and for the supportation of his estate of Earl of Warwick: whereby he had lands from the King, of the yearly value of 300*l.* beyond reprize, (*i. e.* beside rents reserved to the crown,) *viz.* the lordship and manor, and town and castle of Warwick, and the manor of Hasseley and Rudbroke, otherwise called Hampton upon the Hill, in the county of Warwick, with the appurtenances, heretofore pertaining to Richard Earl of Warwick, attainted of high treason; and divers other manors, lands, and tenements, in the counties of Warwick, Gloucester, Middlesex, Salop, Lincoln, Suffolk, Essex, Chester, York, Hereford, Stafford, Somerset.

Anno Edw. VI. 2°. Aug. 17. He, together with Richard Forset and others, purchased for 1286*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* the manor of Chedworth in Gloucestershire, and the scite of the college of Penkridge in Staffordshire, and divers other lands in the counties of Gloucester, Stafford, Wigorn, Hertford, Surrey, Salop.

Anno Edw. VI. 3°. In consideration of the castle, lordship, and manor of the village and town of Warwick, and
28 divers other lands and tenements, he had, by patent, dated Jan. 6, the manor of Minstrew Well, with all its rights, members, &c. in Oxfordshire, and the park of Cornbury in the same county, late parcel of the possession of Jasper Duke of Bedford; and divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the counties of Oxford, Hertford, Nottingham, Berks, Wigorn, and Gloucester, valued at 470*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* yearly. Again, in consideration of the manors and parks of Ostinghanger, Aldington, and Saltwood, in Kent, and divers other lands and tenements, he had a patent, dated July 19, whereby the King gave him the manor of Feckenham and Forstam, and the park of Feckenham, in the county of Wigorn, with its rights, members, &c. and divers other lordships, lands, and tenements, in the counties of Wigorn, Oxford, Carmarthen, Warwick, Derby, and Denbigh: value 141*l.* 6*s.* 3*ob.* yearly.

Anno Edw. VI. 4°. Of the King's special grace, and in consideration of service, he had a patent, dated May 20, by virtue whereof were granted him all the lordships and ma-

nors of Prowdehew, Rothbury, Markworth, Aklington, and Byrling, and the forest, barony, and castle of Prowdehew, and the castle and park of Markworth, and the forest of Rothbury, and the town and park of Aklington, in the county of Northumberland, with the appurtenances, formerly belonging to Henry Earl of Northumberland; and divers other lands and tenements in Northumberland, Durham, York, Norfolk, London, Denbigh, Warwick, Richmond, Cambridge: value 693*l.* 6*s.* 10*obq.*

Again, by another patent, dated May 27, the King, of his special grace, granted him the office of keeper, warden, or governor of the county of Northumberland, and the general marches of the realm of England towards the parts of Scotland, *viz.* in the parts of the east marches and the middle marches, and in the dominion of Scotland, for the term of his life: and had allowance for the maintenance of an hundred horsemen; that is, for each 10*d.* a day, during the King's pleasure; to be paid by the hand of the treasurer of the Court of Augmentation, or by the hand of the general receiver of the county of York. His salary was 1000*l.* and 10*d.* a day beside for each horseman.

Again, *an. Reg. Edw. VI.* 4°. he had a patent, dated July 25. By virtue whereof, in consideration of divers lordships, lands, and tenements in the counties of Northumberland, York, Hertford, Middlesex, the King granted him the lordship, manor, and castle, village and town of Warwick, with their rights, members, &c. and divers other lordships, lands, tenements, &c. in the counties of Warwick, Kent, Surrey, Berks, Suffolk, and Norfolk.

Yet again, a patent, dated Sept. 10, in consideration of the lordships of Wresel and Newsham, in the county of Lincoln, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lincoln, Kent, and Sussex, the King granted him all the whole castle of Tunbridge, and the lordship and manor of Tunbridge, with their appurtenances, in Kent, parcel of the possession called Buckingham's lands, and divers other lordships, lands, tenements, &c. in Kent, Carmarthen, Warwick, and Gloucester: value 105*l.* 5*s.* 6*obq.*

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In the same year he had a lease granted him, in reversion, of all the house and scite of the late priory of St. Ciriol, alias Penmaine, in North Wales, for one and twenty years, with other lands: paying yearly therefore 31*l.* 2*s.*

Yet once again, he obtained, together with his son John Lord Lisle, a patent for the office of keeping the chief messuage of the manor of Essher, in the county of Surrey, and the keeping of the gardens and orchards there, and the keeping of the park there: with the office of lieutenant of the chace of Hampton Court; with the fees. Both these last dated in December. All this before he was created Duke.

An. Reg. Edw. VI. 6°. He, being now Duke, received another favour from the King; and that was, a pardon for the sum of two thousand fourscore and fourteen pounds, seventeen shillings and three pence.

To which add, that *an. Reg. Edw. VI.* 7°. the bishopric of Durham being dissolved, was, by new letters, turned into a county palatine in May, and given to him. And, lastly, in June, the King gave him the manors of Feckenham, Bromesgrove, and King's Norton, in Worcestershire, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 300*l.* Which yet he enjoyed a very short time; as he was despoiled of all the rest, which he had been heaping up during the last reign; reckoning thereby to raise a great family; wherein he was miserably disappointed.

Sir John Gates's places come to Sir Henry Jerningham.

As also was Sir John Gates, his great creature, who suffered with him; whose places and offices the Queen gave unto Sir Henry Jerningham, or Jernegan, soon after master of the horse and privy counsellor; who had been very assistant in Suffolk and Norfolk, in raising forces for her there. Sir John Gates had the office of keeper of the King's park at Eltham in Kent, and of keeper of his houses in the manor of Eltham; and the office of keeper of the new park at Horne in Kent. By his attainder, Queen Mary gave all these offices (being forfeited) to the said Jerningham, under the name of her counsellor, Henry Jerningham, Esq. vice-chamberlain of her household, for the

term of his life. And gave him, moreover, the fee of three pence a day for the exercise and occupation of the said office of keeper of the park of Eltham: and for the office of keeper of her houses in her said manor of Eltham, six pence per day, and the fee of ten marks a year: and for the office of keeper of Horne park, the fee of four pence a day. To enjoy all these fees in as full and ample manner as John Gates or Thomas Speke, Knts. enjoyed them. She granted also Jerningham, the keeper's house or lodging, adjacent to the capital house of Eltham, for his own occupation, without molestation of any of her officers: because that house was formerly so used to be for the keeper of the capital house. She granted him also the perpetual chantry within the manor of Eltham, and the mansion, called commonly the *chantry priest's house*, within the outer part of the manor aforesaid. To him she granted also, and to farm letten, her manor or house of Eltham, with the appurtenances; and all and singular lands, tenements, meadows, woods, &c. as well within the said park, as without; and a house or place called Corbyhal or Corbynhal, and a cottage with a garden near the parish church of Eltham, and all other lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, liberties, courts, &c. with reasonable fire-boot, cart-boot, plough-boot, hedge-boot, within the woods of the said manor, as it ran in the Queen's patent, and the annual rent of twenty shillings, and the service of John Roper, granted him and his heirs by King Henry VIII. for his lands and tenements in the parish of Eltham. The rent the Queen reserved for all this was 31*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* She granted Jerningham,[1] over and above all this, the reversion of the office of keeper of the garden within her said manor of Eltham, which office John Brickhed had for life, with the fee accustomed. Before which Brickhed, John Colyson and Richard Hert had that office. She granted him also the office of purveyor of the said manor of Eltham, together with the bailivate of the town of Eltham; and of the keeper and surveyor of the woods, and of all the houses and edifices, with their appurtenances, situate in the store-yard without the gates of the

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said manor which John Brickhed, and, before him, John Tirrel had, and the fees thereof: and, lastly, the office of steward, and keeper of the manor of Eltham, with the fee of forty shillings per annum. After this manner did she reward the service of this gentleman, soon after giving him a knighthood, and constituting him captain of her guards.

Gates's widow deprived of her dowry.

Thus was Sir John Gates stripped of all, and of his life too; and, which was somewhat hard and unjust, his widow too of her jointure; which she was fain to sue for at law, but could not recover. For there is extant in Dyer's Reports the case of Mary, the widow of Sir John Gates, attaint of treason, by brief of dower, against Wiseman, that pleaded in bar of the attainder. She pleaded, that her dowry was made long before his attaint, and out of lands of which he was seized in fee before the committing treason. But she was barred of her dowry by the opinion of all the Judges, by a statute of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. "Proviso, that the wife of any man attainted of any man-"ner of treason whatsoever, shall in no wise be received to "ask, challenge, demand, or have dower of any of her hus-"band's lands, during the force of that attainder. But it "was noted, that the lands alienated before treason com-"mitted, were never subject to any forfeiture or escheat, as

Dyer's Rep. fo. 140. b.

"in the case of Vavasor, in the end of chapter *De Dower*, "in Littleton." And, therefore, the Lord Dyer observed, that Sergeant Brown was very angry at the foresaid judgment.

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The cares for the north. A tax remitted. The ordnance of the Tower. John Lord Duddley's obsequies. The coronation. The Queen's first Parliament. A Convocation. Points defined there. Popish service by proclamation established.

The Earl of Shrewsbury sent into the north.

THOUGH the Queen were now in the throne, yet was she not without apprehensions of disturbances to arise to

her in divers places of her dominions. Against which she made as good provisions as she could. And seeming to fear something particularly from the north, where the Scots might so easily come in to assist the disaffected, she hastily, towards the latter end of August, sent down the Earl of Shrewsbury into those parts, whom she had appointed the President of her Council there; though his commission were not yet signed; that he might give an awe to the country by his presence, and provide against any tumults. And having settled matters there in safety, to return to her again.

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His forwardness to serve the Queen.

This right noble Earl shewed himself very forward in his zealous service for the Queen. A passage to illustrate this, was remarkable at the trial of Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, whereat he was a commissioner. For when Throgmorton had prayed the court not to make too much haste with him, nor to think long for their dinner; for that his cause required leisure, and they had well dined, when they had done justice truly, as he said; the Earl, somewhat disturbed, asked him, if he came there to check them? and that they would not be so used; and that, for his own part, he had forborne his breakfast, dinner, and supper too, to serve the Queen. Throgmorton presently replied, to mollify his former expression, that he knew it right well, and that he meant not to touch his Lordship. For his services and pains were evidently known to all men.

The noble Earl left his Countess at court at Richmond; where the Queen shewed her all respect, and told her, that she would be her husband, to comfort her under her Lord's absence, and uttered many kind words both to her and concerning the Earl. An account of which, and of the Queen's earnestness to hear news of the affairs of the north, and what she was to expect from thence, I had rather give from the Countess her own letter to the Earl, wrote Sept. 3, from Richmond; which was to this tenor:

The Countess's letter to him.

"After my most hearty commendation to your good "Lordship, the same shall be advertised, that yesternight,

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Anno 1553. Ex Epist. Com. Salop. vol. + in Officio Armor.

" as the Queen's Majesty came from evensong, which was " sung in the chapel by all the singing-men of the same, " with playing of the organs of the solemnest manner, her " Highness called me unto her, and asked me, when your " Lordship rode toward the north? And when I had told " her Grace, she held up her hands, and besought God to
32 " send you good health, and soon to see you again; and " also prayed God to send you good success in her affairs " in that country; with many other good and comfortable " words toward your Lordship, too long here to write. " Whereby I perceive her Highness to be somewhat doubt- " ful of the quietness of that country. Wherefore, good " my Lord, let her Highness have a letter from you, as " soon as you come to York, of the state of the country " thereabouts, and how they take her Grace's new service: " wherewith her Highness much rejoiced to hear her sub- " jects well pleased. And after that, by reason the warrant " for the commission for the presidentship was not signed, " I moved her Grace for it. And she was sorry it was so " delayed: and straightway commanded my Lord of Arundel " [to speak to] my Lord Chancellor for it; and so signed " it straightway. Her Highness was so much my good Lady, " that she commanded me, whatsoever I lacked, I should " be bold to come to her Grace, for she would be my hus- " band, unto your Lordship's return again.

" My Lord, you shall understand, that my Lord of Arun- " del shewed himself very friendly unto me, and hath been " with me divers times, and asked me what I lack very " gently. Other news here is not yet, but that my Lord " Courteney this day shall be created Earl of Devonshire. " And what other things shall chance here, worthy adver- " tisement, your Lordship shall be sure to hear from me, " from time to time, by the grace of our Lord: who send " you long good health. From Richmond this 3d of Sept. " 1553.

" Your Lordship's loving wife,

" G. Shrewsbury."

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The Queen, being minded to shew some act of grace at this entrance into her reign, and to qualify some severities already shewed among the people, did forgive a part of a tax, given to King Edward in the latter session of his last Parliament. For the King's debts growing heavy upon him, by monies owing to his servants and subjects, and also to merchants strangers, that Parliament granted him two dismes, and two fifteens, and one subsidy of four shillings, to be raised of the lands, and two shillings and eight pence of the goods and chattels. But the King died before this tribute was collected. The Queen remitted the four shillings and the two and eight pence. And moreover declared, "that she would pay her brother's debts in convenient "time: which she charged upon the ill government of the "realm under that arrand traitor, the Duke of Northum-"berland, the treasure being marvelously exhausted since "he bare rule: expecting for this her favour to her sub-"jects, that if the honour of the realm should so require, "they should at all times exhibit their service: she ac-"counting their loving hearts and prosperity as her own "weal, and the chiefest treasure that she desired." And all this she divulged by proclamation, dated Sept. 1, which I have, for the preserving such transactions of state as much as I may, placed in the Catalogue of letters, &c. 33 Numb. VI.

Anno 1553. The Queen remits a part of a tax given by a former Parliament.

And as she found the treasure much exhausted, so did she the Tower disfurnished of stores and ammunition. Whereupon, to make a scrutiny into such important needs, she issued out a commission to Sir Richard Southwel, Sir William Drury, and Sir Henry Bedingfield, Knights, who were of her Privy Council, and Sir Arthur Darcy, Kt. certifying them, "that being informed (according to the im-"port of the commission) that the office of her ordnance "was presently in some disorder, and unfurnished of such "necessary munitions, as were fit should be in store and "readiness for the better furtherance of her service, when "occasion should require, she had appointed them, for the "special trust she had in their approved wisdom and fide-"lity, to view, survey, and consider the state of her said

A commission to inspect the ordnance and stores. Otho, E. 11.

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" ordnance: and that it was her will and pleasure, that " they four, or three of them at the least, should call be- " fore them Sir Philip Hoby, Kt. Master of the ordnance, " and Sir Frauncis Fleming, Lieutenant of the same, and " also such other of her officers of the ordnance, as they " should think convenient; and understanding of them, " by the examination of their books and records, or by such " other means as they shall think fit, what old ordnance " remained, or ought to remain; what new had been made; " what powder and other munition had been bought and " provided; where, how, by whom, and by what warrant " the same had been bestowed: they should consider, whe- " ther such of the said ordnance, or other munition, as had " been by the said officers, or any of them, delivered out, " had been duly called for again; or remaining in any " towns, castles, or fortresses on this side or beyond the " seas, were fit to continue in the place where it then re- " mained. And in case they should perceive it was not ne- " cessary, or served not to any importance there, then they " should give order, that the same should be brought from " the several places where it then remained and did not " serve, unto the Tower of London, to remain there for " her store. And if such of her ordnance and other muni- " tion as remained in places, where they should think it fit " to continue, should want any supply or reparation, they " should, in that case, give order that the same might be " looked unto, and put into such good and substantial or- " der, as might best serve for the advancement of her ser- " vice, and surety of her said fortresses. Finally, her plea- " sure was, that they should generally survey the whole " state, order, and condition of the said office of ordnance; " and understanding particularly what wants and lack were " in the same, and what were meet to be supplied for the " surety and furtherance of her service, and of the several " sorts and quantities of all kinds of her ordnance, powder, " and other munition, and of the several places where any " part thereof remained, they should recal it. And of all " the rest of their doings in this behalf, to make report in

" writing unto her Privy Council; to the end that order " might by them be indelayedly taken for the furniture " and provision thereof accordingly." Anno 1553.

The Queen's coronation was now all the care; which was resolved to be very splendid and glorious, being to be performed on the 1st of October. Against which day, the Queen being to pass through London, it was the citizens' province, according to old custom, to adorn the city: which they therefore began to do Sept. 12, that is, to paint and trim up the conduits, to repair and beautify Ludgate, and the cross in Cheap, to hang the streets, to provide children, speeches, and music, and to make triumphal pageants: which were to be erected at Fan-church, Grace-church, Leadenhall, at the conduit in Cornhill, at the great conduit in Cheap, at the standard there, at the little conduit there, in St. Paul's church-yard, and at the conduit in Fleet-street. And, besides, to provide places for the standing of every company. Which stations were after to remain unto every hall for ever, when they should have need on the like occasions. 34 Preparation in London for the coronation.

Sir John Duddley, Baron of Duddley, happening to die at Westminster, his obsequies were celebrated on the 21st of September, honourably; but with the old popish ceremonies; that is to say, priests and clerks going before, and singing in Latin. Then a priest wearing a cope; then a clerk having the hallywater sprinkle in his hand. After, a mourner bearing this Lord's standard. After him, another bearing his great banner of arms, gold and silver; another bearing his helmet, mantle, and crest, a blue lion's head standing upon a crown of gold. After, another mourner bearing his target, and another his sword. Next came Mr. Somerset, the herald, his coat armour of gold and silver. And then the corse, covered with cloth of gold to the ground, and four of his men bearing him; his arms hanging upon the cloth of gold; and twelve men of his servants carrying twelve staff-torches burning to the church. In the choir was an horse made of timber, covered with black, and arms upon the black. And after came the mourners, mak- The funerals of the Lord Duddley.

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ing a great company. After the *dirge* began, the herald came to the choir door, and prayed for his soul by his style. Anno 1553. And so the *dirge* song began in Latin, and all the lessons. And then the herald prayed for a soul-mass. And so the mass was sung in Latin. And after, this nobleman's helmet, coat, and target, were offered. And after all ended, the standard and banner of arms were offered. And so the company repaired to the house whence they set out. Then followed ringing of bells and a great dole.

Dr. Fecknam at Paul's Cross.

The Sunday se'nnight before the great day of the Queen's inauguration, being Sept. 24, preached at Paul's Cross, Dr. Fecknam, as a preparatory to that great solemnity.

The Lord Paget restored to the order.

The Queen's coronation now ready at hand, she being the fountain of honour, thought fit to distribute her honour upon several persons. And the Lord Paget, an old and able statesman, who had been ignominiously degraded from the order of the garter under King Edward, she restored, intending to make great use of him. And the ensigns of this noble order were not with more disgrace taken from him before, than with honour restored to him again by a decree of chapter holden at St. James's the 27th of September. And, in confirmation of this Lord's restoration, he had the garter forthwith buckled on his leg again by two of the knights companions present, and the collar of the order put about his shoulder, with the George depending thereat.

35 And a command was then given to Garter, that his achievement should be publicly set up over his stall at Windsor, being the same he before possessed, *viz.* the ninth on the Sovereign's side: as Sir Elias Ashmole hath gathered out of the blue book in the registry of the Knights at Windsor. In this case the said learned author observed, that the very records of the order brand his degradation with injustice upon the foresaid pretence; [that is, that he was not a gentleman of blood;] as inferible thence, that when honour is conferred upon the score of virtue and great endowments, the consideration of these supplieth the defect and obscurity of extraction. Whence it came to pass, that the then Sovereign, (whose prerogative it was to declare and interpret the

Institution of the order of the garter.

statutes,) being at that time present in chapter, thought fit to qualify the law, and give him this honourable commendation, *that he had highly deserved of the nation by his prudence and counsel.* CHAP. IV. Anno 1553.

The Thursday after, that is, Sept. 28, she, in order to her coronation, removed from St. James's, where she was at present, and so to Whitehall. There she took her barge to the Tower. And there were to wait upon her the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the companies in their barges, with streamers and trumpets, waits, shawmes, and regals, together with great volley-shots of guns, until her Grace came into the Tower, and some time after. The next day she made fifteen Knights of the Bath; who were knighted by the Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward of the Queen's house, by commission from her. The first was the Earl of Devonshire; the next, the young Earl of Surrey; the third, the Lord Burgany; then the Lord Cardiff, the Lord Barkley, the Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Lumley, Sir William Paulet, Sir Harry Parker, Sir Hugh Rich, the Lord Rich's son, Sir Harry Clinton, Sir Harry Paget, Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Harry Jerningham, Sir Edward [or William] Dormer. The Queen's coronation. Knights of the Bath.

The oath then administered to them was in these words; " Right dere brother, gret worshyp be thys ordre unto you. " Almyghty God geve you the presynge of al knyghthode. " Thys is the ordre of knyghthode: you shal honour God " above al thyngs; yee shal be stedfast in the feith of holly " Church, and the same mayntaine and defend to your " power. You shal love your Sovereygn above al earthly " creatures: and for your Sovereygn and Sovereygnes right " and dygnite, lyve and die. Yee shal defend wydowes, " maydens, and orphelyns in theyr ryght. Yee shal suffre " no extortion as far furth as ye may; nor syt in place " where any wrongful judgement shal be geven to your " knowledge. And as grete honour be thys noble ordre " unto you, as ever it was to any of your progenitours." Their oath.

The next day, Sept. 30, Saturday, she came from the Tower through London to Westminster, riding triumphantly in an open chariot to be seen. All the windows as Her triumphal passage through the city.

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she passed were garnished with cloth of tapestry, arras, cloth of gold, cloth of tissue, and with cushions of the same, flourishing with streamers and banners, as richly as might be devised. And in many places were goodly pageants, and devices therein, with music and eloquent speeches. At the little conduit in Cheap, next to Paul's, stood the Aldermen. Where was presented unto the Queen, by the Chamberlain of London, in the name of the Mayor and Aldermen, a 1000 marks in gold in a purse. For which her Highness gave them most humble thanks. The glory and splendour
36 of this cavalcade through the city is described at large by Stow, and Holingshed after him, and therefore I shall omit it. Only where they are brief, or wholly silent, I shall give some relation. Immediately before the Queen, the sword was borne by the Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward of the Queen's household, (not the Earl of Oxford, as Stow,) on the right hand thereof the Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain, and on the left the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal. Then the Queen in her litter, richly garnished with cloth of gold, with two traps of white damask and cushions, and all things appertaining. She herself was richly appareled with a mantle and kirtle of cloth of gold furred with mynever pure, and powdered ermins, having upon her head a circlet of gold set with rich stones and pearls: her footmen, with their rich coats, went about her Grace on both sides.

The ladies that followed the Queen.

In the first chariot, after the Queen, sat the Lady Elizabeth and the Lady Ann of Cleves. Then rode on horseback four ladies of estate, appareled in crimson velvet, and their horses trapped with the same: and these great ladies were the Duchess of Norfolk, the Marchioness of Exeter, the Marchioness of Winchester, and the Countess of Arundel; who rode next the abovesaid chariot. Then followed a third chariot, and six ladies in crimson velvet carried in the same; *viz.* the Lady Stourton, Lady Lumley, Lady Wentworth, Lady Rich, Lady Paget, and Lady Mordaunt. Then next this chariot rode ten ladies and gentlewomen in crimson velvet, their horses trapped with the same; *viz.* the

Lady Fortescue, Lady Petres, Lady Walgrave, Lady Bruges, Lady Mansel, Lady Kemp, Lady Clarentieux, Mrs. Finch, Mrs. Grirangham, [Gerningham perhaps,] and Mrs. Sturley. After them followed also on horseback nine other gentlewomen and maids in crimson satin, their horses trapped with the same. After them followed the Queen's chamberers, *viz.* Mrs. Dormer, Mrs. Barkley, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Bacon, Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Basset, Mrs. Sydney, Mrs. Bayneham, the mother of the maids, Jane Russel, Elizabeth Lugbure, Barbara Eyre, Elizabeth Scarloke. CHAP. IV. Anno 1553.

The ceremonies on the coronation day.

And thus was the Queen conducted from her Tower of London to her palace of Westminster; and there she reposed for that night. On Sunday, Octob. 1, the day of her coronation, in the morning, at a convenient hour, the Queen took her barge, and landed at the old palace of Westminster, at the privy stairs; where all her estates gave their attendance: and from thence brought her unto the Parliament chamber, which was richly hung. And from thence to her privy chamber appointed for her Highness: where she appareled herself, and reposed with her ladies, till order was taken for her coming to church. The ray-cloth was laid from the marble porch in the hall, to the pulpit in Westminster church. And the pulpit was covered with red worsted. The stage royal, from the choir to the high altar, garnished with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. Then followed the order of proceeding from the hall to the church. When the Queen came, she was assisted by the Bishop of Durham on the right hand, and the Earl of Shrewsbury on the left. Her train borne by the Duchess of Norfolk, assisted by the Lord Chamberlain, Sir John Gage. Then approached unto her Highness the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, *in pontificalibus*, with obeisance, and censed her, and after cast holy water. And all the rest of the Bishops met her, mitred and in their copes, and her chapel also in copes of cloth of gold, singing, with three crosses and silver candlesticks, and holy water-stocks, and censers; waiting on her to the Abbey church. All the ladies followed the Queen to church, two and two, accord- 37

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ing to their estate. After some ceremonies performed, she walked into the four parts of the mount, [a place prepared for her,] shewing herself to all the people. Beside her the Bishop of Winchester stood, and declared to the people the purpose of the present solemnity, and with demand of their consent, in these words; "Sirs, here present is Mary, "rightful and undoubted inheritrix, by the laws of God "and man, to the crown and royal dignity of these realms "of England, France, and Ireland. Whereupon you shall "understand, that this day is prefixed and appointed, by "all the peers of this land, for the consecration, inunction, "and coronation of the said most royal Princess Mary. "Will ye serve at this time, and give your good-will and as-"sents to the said consecration, inunction, and coronation?" Whereunto the people answered all in one voice, *Yea, yea, yea. God save Queen Mary.* The sermon was made by the Bishop of Chichester; who was esteemed, of all the Bishops, the floridest preacher. Her Highness being brought to her traverse, there being a pall holden over her by these Knights of the Garter, the Lord Paget, Sir Thomas Cheyne, Sir John Gage, and Sir Anthony St. Leger, she was anointed by the Bishop of Winchester: and the crown set upon her head by the said Bishop, and other ceremonies performed according to the ancient usage. And afterward the office of mass was begun by the same Bishop. Lastly, the Lords temporal and spiritual did their homage to the Queen. The spiritual Lords that now did homage, were the Bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Exeter, Ely, Coventry and Litchfield, Carlisle, Peterborough, Worcester, Chichester, and Landaff.

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The Bishop's speech to the people.

When all was done, her Grace returned to Westminster-hall to dinner, it being now four of the clock and past. The Duke of Norfolk rode up and down the hall, being his place as high marshal. Here were present also the Earl of Darby, high constable of England; the Earl of Arundel, high butler; the Lord Burgany, chief launderer; Dymock, the Queen's champion. All this ceremony was accompanied with the melody of all sorts of instrumental

She dines in Westminster-hall.

music. The Earl of Devonshire bare the sword, the Earl of Westmorland the cap of maintenance, the Earl of Shrewsbury the crown. The young Earl of Surrey was doer under the Duke of Norfolk, his grandsire. The Earl of Worcester was her Grace's carver that day at dinner. The Lord Windsor served in another great office. There sat at several tables the Lady Elizabeth and the Lady Ann of Cleves. It was candlelight ere the dinner was concluded: and then the Queen took barge, and departed. CHAP. IV. Anno 1553.

The next day, being the morrow after her coronation, she made fourscore and ten Knights; dubbed in her presence by the Earl of Arundel, high steward of her household: whose names are recorded in the Catalogue. Knights made. Numb. VII.

The 4th of October, the Archbishop of York and divers others were carried to the Tower. For, presently after the coronation, certain commissioners sat at the Dean of St. Paul's house; where all that were tardy were summoned. And many were made prisoners, and sent some to one prison, others to another. Others were forced to buy their peace, by submitting to great fines; and others by relinquishing their fees and offices granted them under King Edward. Punishment taken upon delinquents.

The Queen's first Parliament began to sit on the 5th day of October, (not the 10th, as the continuer of Fabian's Chronicle writes,) and so Cooper and Fox, perhaps, from him, and Bishop Burnet in two places, probably taking his mistake from some of them. The Parliament began with much formality, a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost being sung in Westminster church, according to the ancient custom. The Queen rode thither in her Parliament robes, and all her Bishops and Lords in their scarlet robes were attending, trumpets blowing afore them. Here she heard that mass, with two Bishops waiting on her, one whereof delivered her the chapter and other things. After she had heard mass, they went to the Parliament house all together, the Earl of Devonshire bearing the sword, and the Earl of Westmorland the cap of maintenance. 38 The Queen's first Parliament. Hist. Reform. p. 251, 252.

The first session lasted to the 21st of the said month; during all which time only three bills took place; whereof

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One public act; explaining treason.

one only was made public: the time, I suppose, being spent in hot contests and animosities, and such bills brought in as were not very acceptable. That act of this Parliament that was made public, seemed to proceed chiefly out of a partial favour to the Duke of Norfolk, but flourished with such expressions of the clemency which became princes, that it might be thought to proceed purely from the Queen's care and tenderness of the lives of her subjects. For the Duke had been a prisoner in the Tower all the last reign, and a little part of the former; a stiff Papist, and one that had thrown out divers ill words of King Henry VIII.; as, that the King loved him not, and that because he was so well beloved of his country: he complained, he was not of that King's most secret council: he talked, that his Majesty was sickly, and could not long endure, and the realm was then like to be in an ill case through diversity of opinions. For these and such like words he was committed a prisoner to the Tower, where he remained to the death of King Henry, and all King Edward's days, having been by the Parliament attainted; which, nevertheless, was taken off the next sessions of Parliament. And Henry Earl of Surrey, his son, for such like words, and the poor crime of assuming somewhat into his coat of arms, was actually beheaded: and so, some time before, had been the Marquis of Exeter, and the Countess of Salisbury, and other Papists. Now this speciously gracious act set forth, "how "the Queen called to her remembrance, that many honour-"able and noble persons, and others of good reputation, "had lately, for words only, suffered shameful deaths, not "accustomed to nobles: and therefore of her clemency, "and trusting her loving subjects were contented that such "dangerous and painful laws should be abolished; and "from henceforth no act, deed, or offence, that had been "by act of Parliament made treason, &c. by words, writ-"ing, ciphering, deeds, or otherwise, should be taken, had, "or deemed to be high treason, petty treason," &c. But that none of those multitudes of King Edward's friends, or the Lady Jane's well-willers, or professors of the Gospel,

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that were already taken up and crowded in jails, should receive benefit by this wonderful act of clemency; it was provided, that nothing in that act should in any wise extend to give any manner of benefit, advantage, or commodity to any person or persons being the last day of September arrested or imprisoned for treason, or to any person heretofore being indicted of treason, petty treason, &c. before the last day of September: or, if they were not actually taken up, yet, if they were so much as commanded to keep his or their house or houses, or other men's houses, or otherwise excepted out of the Queen's most gracious pardon, given the day of her coronation, &c. all these should suffer such pains of death, losses, forfeitures of lands and goods, as in cases of treason.

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A branch of this act for incurring premunire.

There was also another branch of this act, which was for evacuating all King Henry VIII. his laws for incurring *premunire*; which often curbed the clergy, and, particularly, if they presumed to make any laws in convocation without the King's special licence. This branch therefore seemed to be added to this act for restoring to the convocation, now ready to sit, its ancient power.

King Henry's laws inveighed against.

But to make the better way for this bill to pass, many there were in the house that shewed themselves exceeding hot against the King's laws, especially such whose penalty was death. Some of these zealous speakers were of the Queen's Privy Council, and others were lawyers, who by this their forwardness were made of her learned Council. They inveighed against them as cruel and bloody laws. They termed them Draco's laws; which were written in blood. Some said, they were more intolerable than any laws that Dionysius, or any other tyrant, ever made. In conclusion, as many men, so many bitter names and terms those laws had. One would have thought, that when former laws were so resented for the pretended bloodiness of them, this reign should have been more tender of the lives of men. But there was little amendment. And when it pleased the higher powers now to call any man's life or words into question, there would be constructions, interpretations, and extensions, reserved to the Justices' and

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Judges' equity, that the party triable found himself in much worse case than before, when those cruel laws stood in force.

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Thus the amendment of this time was, *out of God's blessing into the warm sun*, as Sir Nicolas Throgmorton said in open court at his own trial soon after. To which practice we may add that great abundance of blood of the Queen's peaceable subjects shed, merely because they could not comply with what they believed to be error and false doctrine; as we shall read in the ensuing story.

Two private acts.

Of the same import were the two other private acts made this session. Shewing thereby her favour towards those of the Roman persuasion, that had suffered for their treasons under her father. For one of these was for the restitution of Edward Courteney, Earl of Devon, son of the Marquis of Exeter, beheaded; the other, for the restitution of the Lady Gertrude Courteney, widow to the said Marquis.

A Convocation meets.

A Convocation accompanied this Parliament. On the 26th of October, (as a book printed by Cawood, giving account of the beginning of this synod, sets it down,) or rather the 16th, did John Harpsfield, B. D. the Bishop of London's Chaplain, open the Convocation by a Latin sermon upon St. Paul's exhortation, Acts xx. *Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers*, &c. After he had named his text, and divided his matter he intended to treat of from it, he recommended his undertaking unto the people's prayers: and exhorted them, "first, to pray for the most se-

Harpsfield preaches.

His exhortation to prayer.

"rene and illustrious Queen, that what God had begun in "her, and what he had begun in them by her, he would "perfect: that he would confirm her in the kingdom, and "confirm them in all good by her." Then he ran out in a large panegyric of her, saying, "that there were highly "just causes why they ought to do this. For that which, "after Olofernes's head was cut off, Ozias, the prince of the "people of Israel, said to Judith, *Blessed art thou, daugh-*
"*ter of the most high God, above all women upon the earth:*
"*blessed be the Lord God, which hath created the heavens*
"*and the earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off*

His praises of Queen Mary therein;

" *the head of the chief of our enemies: which this day hath*
" *so magnified thy name, that thy praise may not depart*
" *from the mouth of men, who have remembered the power*
" *of the Lord for ever. For whom thou hast not spared thy*
" *life, by reason of the straits and tribulation of thy nation,*
" *but hast prevented our ruin before the sight of our God.*
" This most truly agreeth to our Queen. That which here-
" tofore Queen Esther did for the Jews, that doth she at
" this present for us; *that our mourning and sadness is*
" *turned into mirth and joy, that there may be days of*
" *feasting and gladness, to send portions of food to one an-*
" *other, and to give gifts to the poor.* That which we read
" written of Deborah, *The strong ceased in Israel, and were*
" *at rest, until that Deborah arose, a mother arose in Israel.*
" *The Lord chose new wars:* which, a few words changed,
" might be said thus most agreeably concerning our right
" illustrious Queen; *Religion ceased in England, it was at*
" *rest, until Mary arose, a virgin arose in England. The*
" *Lord chose new wars.* That which our Saviour in the
" New Testament pronounced of the sister of Martha,
" *Mary hath chosen the best part*, [thereby was intended a
" gentle reproof for the Lady Elizabeth, the Queen's sister,]
" the same hath place most truly in our most serene Queen.
" For since she is sprung of the most famous stock of kings
" and emperors; nor, as a great part of the nobility hath
" been accustomed, hath she chosen the vain joys of perish-
" ing things, but hath made choice of piety and purity of
" life. And being lately advanced to the kingdom, she
" seeketh not her own, but hath chosen the things which
" belong to the peace, to the profit and benefit of her peo-
" ple: she hath chosen learning, virtue, and holiness. And
" for this she is elect and chosen of God, and by him most
" gloriously magnified in our eyes: so that she may sing
" with the virgin Mary, the mother of God, *Behold, from*
" *henceforth all generations shall call me blessed; because*
" *the Lord, who is powerful, hath done to me great things,*
" *and holy is his name.* Her, our deliverer, let us most
" diligently recommend in our prayers to God." Thus,

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even to blasphemy, did the Popish clergy flatter their Queen.

Anno 1553. Then he proceeded next to recommend to their prayers the Lady Elizabeth, the Queen's sister, but not a word of commendation for her. Then the Queen's Counsellors: next, the Bishop of the diocese: then the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor. Upon whom he bestowed these

And of the Bishop of Winchester. praises: "That in the beginning of his episcopal function, "he did stoutly labour in the Lord's vineyard, and in these "latter years, being the Lord's prisoner, had most *con-* "*stantly* [alluding perhaps to the feigned name he set be- "fore his book, Marcus Antonius Constantius] defended "the Christian faith, by publishing admirably learned and "Christian books, and, by the mercy of God, preserved it "safe to them and the kingdom, among so many dangers; "and at that present, by his wit, experience, learning, and "virtue, most valiantly maintained as well the difficult af-
41 "fairs of the kingdom, as the cause of Christ. Then he "commended to their prayers the venerable Lord Cuthbert "Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, who as well for his gray "hairs, as for his parts, piety, learning, experience of "things, and sufferings for Christ, was highly to be re- "spected. Then was recommended to their prayers the "Lord Nicholas Hethe, Bishop of Worcester, and the Lord "George Day, Bishop of Chichester, two excellent heroes, "and noted for all virtuous qualities worthy of Bishops; to "whom it was given not only to believe in Christ, but to "suffer for him." But I wonder how he came not to mention a word of the sufferings of his lord and master Bonner, the Bishop of London, who was deprived and imprisoned as well as the rest. Certainly that was a blame-worthy omission.

His sermon. In his sermon he fell very foul upon the late times of King Edward, and the preachers then. He called them "wolves that entered into the flock, and that most cruelly. "Good God! how savagely did they butcher the Lord's "flock! What numberless souls did they plunge into hell! "How many pernicious doctrines did they bring into the

" kingdom! A thing, said he, before our age, none ever " had dared to do. How did they give a terrible shock to " all ecclesiastical doctrines at once! This, as he went on, " we have lived to see in these times. Neither had ceremo- " nies their use, nor faith its soundness and integrity, nor " manners their purity. They framed new sacraments, new " rites, a new faith, new manners. The sacred Scriptures " they thought were to be understood, not according to the " consent of our elders, but according to the dreams of " their own brains. What licence did they give themselves! " How many places of Scripture did they corrupt! In " what horrible precipices did they throw down both them- " selves and as many as followed them! And because other- " wise they could not procure to themselves authority, un- " less they slandered and laid false accusations to the charge " of the Catholic Priests and Bishops, they inculcated lies " of them without number. In fine, they had, in effect, " ruined Christ's religion, and had filled the nation with in- " numerable errors. The Gospel, which so frequently they " had in their mouths, they fought against in an hostile " manner, by their works and their manner of doctrine."

Afterward he proceeded to direct to the course to reform these evils. And he told his reverend fathers and brethren, " that he thought it the wisest course to recal those eccle- " siastical laws which had been made before; and that there " was no need of their great labour and study to invent new " canons. He exhorted, that such things might flourish " which had been wholesomely instituted by their ancestors; " and which had flourished before these innovations of " things. Which being before observed, kept the people in " their duty; but lately, being neglected, a casement was " opened to heresy, schism, and to all licentiousness. Let " these things flourish, I say, and then, even whether we " will or no, we shall diligently mind ourselves and the " flock. When he said, he would have the old canons take " place, he meant not only, that by common consent they " should be ratified, but that they should be practised ac- " tually in the Clergy's manners, and in all their lives. For,

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"what would it signify to have good laws constituted in the "Church, unless the lives of men were instituted according "to them? Nor indeed had there been any time wherein "Bishops and Priests ought more cautiously and diligently "to lead their lives. That heresy was never so widely "spread through this kingdom; never were the minds of "men so prone to errors; never so bent to the liberty of "the flesh; never so impatient of order and severe disci- "pline: that unless they let their light shine before them "by their example; unless by teaching, admonishing, ex- "horting, they reduced them to the things that were right; "unless by priestly living they provoked the people to imi- "tate them, he saw no hope of repentance left. And this "he bespake his fathers and brethren the more diligently "to do, because the Holy Ghost had made them shepherds "of his flock. That theirs was not a trivial function, nor "committed to them by man, but by the good and great "God called to this office; and therefore called, not to be "lazy, not to indulge to pleasures, but to rule the Church. "And this was the office of a ruler, to be watchful, to take "pains, to be industrious, and to instruct; not to be idle "and addicted to pleasure."

The Church he had thus represented as in a very miserable condition, and therefore exhorted the Bishops and Priests to set to their hands to restore it. "That they "should build up the tabernacle of God, and raise up "again the city of David, which was fallen down; fill "up the breaches of her walls, and repair the ruins. "For the heathens, as he said, were come into God's in- "heritance; they had polluted his holy temple; they "made Jerusalem an orchard, nay, a stable. The vine- "yard of the Lord brought out of Egypt, all that went by "plucked off her grapes; the boar out of the wood rooted "it up, and every thing that was wild devoured it. The "city that was full of people, sat alone; the Queen of the "nations sat as a widow; the Princess of the provinces was "put under tribute: she lamented sorely in the night, and "the tears ran down her cheeks; there was none to comfort

" her of all those that were dear to her. All her friends de- " spised her, and became her enemies. All her persecutors " apprehended her in the midst of her straits. The paths " of Sion lamented, because there was none that came to " the solemnity. All her gates were destroyed; her priests " groaned; her virgins were in vile clothing; and she, being " oppressed with bitterness, had capital enemies. Her ad- " versaries became rich, because the Lord spake concerning " her for the multitude of her iniquities." [Which words are borrowed from the Psalmist and the Prophet Jeremy, to express the sad state of the Jews, under the havoc the Babylonians made of that church and nation; as though the Church of England, reformed and restored under good King Edward from the old papal corruptions and abominations, had been in the same case.] " And then he called " upon the honourable Lords, his reverend fathers and " brethren, to comfort this Church thus miserably afflicted, " to rescue it so shaken, to heal it so wounded, to adorn it " so foul and squalid."

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In the first session of this Convocation, all that was done, besides the sermon beforesaid, was, that the Bishops, by the mouth of Bonner Bishop of London, did admonish the Lower House to choose a referendary, or prolocutor, and so adjourned. Dr. Hugh Weston, Dean of Westminster, (that had some impediment in his speech, but otherwise a bold man, and that had never complied in the last reign, and in great favour with the Queen,) being elected by them for that office, was the next session presented to the Bishops by William Py, Dean of Chichester, and John Wimsley, Archdeacon of London, both making their speeches. The Dean of Chichester mentioned, " how a consultation was taken in hand " by them, *de rep. Christiana instauranda;* i. e. *of re-* " *storing the Christian state;* which, as in time past, hav- " ing been fortified with most sacred discipline, it brought " with it a most happy state of all things: so that being " now fallen into ruin, and by certain degrees overthrown " at last, even to the very foundations, he thought it not " enough to assert and bring in again the ancient and or-

Weston presented prolocutor,

By the Dean of Chichester; 43

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" thodox doctrine of the Church, confirmed by the testi-
" mony of ancient canons and learned fathers, unless they
" used all their endeavours, that the old and now corrupted
" discipline of the Church, might regain in all things its ef-
" ficacy and strength. For it could never come to pass, that
" the Church should enjoy her entire honour and esteem,
" if they of the Clergy, through ambition, (as happened of
" late years,) should basely serve some men's insatiable co-
" vetousness; or if, while some sowed tares and the plague
" of heresy, they of the Clergy remained idle and inactive,
" as though they were fast asleep; or, lastly, as a great
" many had a long time done, indulged to their carnal plea-
" sures and concupiscence. In so great a difficulty, the
" prudence of the reverend fathers knew, as well from the
" Apostles, as by the most ancient custom of the Church, no
" way was so effectual and seasonable, expedite and certain,
" as the authority of councils and synods. In which, for
" the more orderly and quiet proceeding, and for the pre-
" venting a confused noise of words, it was necessary, that
" some one should be chosen as a moderator. And so the
" Bishops, he said, had directed them to do in their present
" synod. That they had therefore chosen one, whom his
" deep knowledge of the holy Scriptures had commended to
" them, and so had his singular experience of things, his
" prudence and wisdom, and his pious and flowing elocu-
" tion. But though these were great gifts of God, he would
" say with St. Paul, they should little avail, unless there
" were accompanying also (as there was in him) a great
" charity, a steady constancy, and an unshaken persever-
" ance in bearing witness to the truth. And that when
" many foully complied, he, of a few, persisted, *integer et*
" *purus, pure and undefiled;* whom neither the glory nor
" the baits of those things which the world admired could
" bring into the net, as it did many others: as neither could
" affrightments nor threats, which so much terrified the
" mean-spirited. Nay, that as the palm, according to Pliny,
" doth, as it were, gather strength against the weights that
" hang upon it, so he above measure provoked with the spite

"of many, was so far from sinking under it, that by how CHAP. IV.
"much the more they assaulted him, so much the more he
"contemned them. He forbore, he said, to mention this Anno 1553.
"man's endowments of nature and study, lest he might
"seem to flatter; and so desired the Bishops' approbation
"of him." And this was the sum of his speech.

Wimsley's speech, which next followed, was to this im- And Archdeacon of London.
port: "That whereas they, the reverend fathers, by the
"Bishop of London, had, according to custom, enjoined
"them to meet together, and there to treat and conclude
"upon the choice of a referendary, which they commonly
"called a prolocutor, who might supply their places, [that
"were of the Lower House of Convocation,] and carry their
"minds and wills to their fatherhoods, [of the Upper
"House,] they had accordingly obeyed their commands, 44
"and he [Wimsley] had been by the rest appointed to de-
"clare to their Lordships what they had done: which was
"thus, in short. That in their company there were, he
"thanked God, many excellent persons, for curious wits,
"deep learning, admirable eloquence, singular experience
"and dexterity, and all kind of virtue; the plenty whereof
"did, at first, make some difficulty in their choice. As he
"that should come into a very pleasant field abounding in
"various flowers, with a design to make a garland, would
"be at a stand for a while what flowers to gather: so they,
"while for a time they weighed the wit of one, the learning
"of another, the virtues of all, and while they admired
"and loved all, they could scarce perform their business.
"And no wonder, since there was so great a number of
"them, that unless one only had been to be chosen, they
"were all most worthy of it. But since one only must be
"chosen, they made choice of one whom they certainly
"knew the Bishops would approve by their votes. For he
"was wonderfully and notably prudent, of much quickness
"and dexterity, most commendable for his learning and
"eloquence, and famous for all virtues. And that the name
"of Weston was renowned through all Britain. And him,
"therefore, they recommended to their Lordships, to be

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" approved by their authority and judgment." And so he ended.

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Weston being accepted, he proceeded to make his harangue.

The prolocutor's speech.

" Wherein he disabled himself, and preferred the rest of the " synod before him, both for learning and eloquence. But he " took it as the effect of their benevolence and good-will; " which he thanked them for. He told the Bishops, they " were met together to consult for religion, the greatest and " most sacred thing. They were met together to see a sad " spectacle, the mournful countenance of their mother the " Church. Which, being miserably torn and shaken, they " were come to restore; being assaulted with the darts of " the enemy, shattered and almost brought to the ground, " they came together to raise up again; to bring back the " faith which was almost quite exploded, and to bring re- " ligion, laid waste, to its former health and soundness. But " this was a thing which he needed not to admonish them " to; nor was there any need to excite them to the restor- " ing of sincere religion, who were intent upon it with so " great alacrity of mind, that they went before him, and " left him behind them: as they, the said fathers, were left " behind and surpassed by the Queen, that outran them." Which was his transition into the praises of the Queen; which he thus proceeded to set forth: " O! unheard of " and wonderful goodness of God! For never had any " thing happened more strange, in such an heap of trouble, " in such a swarm of afflictions, in such a ruin of the " Church, in such a shipwreck of faith, religion being, in " effect, at an end: that a virgin Queen, like some dove " sent down from heaven, should be by the great and good " God bestowed upon the virgin Church; by whose con- " duct and influence all these miseries should be restrained, " dissipated, and driven away. The straits of time, he said, " would not allow him to enter into her praises. For why " should he commemorate her various learning, which was " rare to be found in man? Why her religion, which she " preserved, as they say, *sarta tecta?* Why her truly mas- " culine and undaunted mind? He appealed to them, if

" they had not seen her most constant in the greatest diffi-
" culties, in great matters bold, and most diligent in the
" least. What more happy presage or omen of the Church's
" being restored to her native splendour and purity could
" be shewn, than that it happened to the Queen, by some
" kind of happy fate, to be crowned on that very day [*viz.*
" Octob. 1.] which was wont to be set apart to the dedica-
" tion of churches? That she so earnestly set upon the re-
" storing and purging the religion of the temple, as though
" she were born or given for this thing alone: that to this
" she so diligently devoted herself, that most deservedly she
" might equal, if not surpass, all the most pious emperors.
" The holy Emperor Theodosius thought nothing to be
" done to beat down the heretics sooner, than to fly to the
" ancient doctors of the Church, who had flourished before
" the division: and so did the Queen think and command
" in those her first attempts in purging the Lord's vineyard.
" Theodosius the Emperor was wont to pray, that God
" would work together with him, among those differences of
" opinions, to choose the truth. And all know, but they
" that know not the Queen, how ardently, day and night,
" she solicited God, that all, especially they that were
" English, whom she governed, might acknowledge the
" truth of the Catholic faith, and being acknowledged, to
" love and embrace it.

" Next, he made mention of the Emperor Constantine,
" that most constant assertor of religion, who calling all the
" Bishops to Nice, did there maintain them at his own
" charge, and shewed such great reverence towards the
" heads of the Church, that he sat not in a throne adorned
" with gold and gems, but in a seat less than others sat
" upon, placed in the midst of the Bishops, as it were at
" their feet. And the Queen, adorned with the gifts of
" God, as the heaven with stars, with the like or greater
" reverence did respect the Bishops and all the Clergy.
" Jovinianus was praised, that he asked Athanasius to give
" him in writing a perfect scheme of divine doctrines: how
" much more did the Queen's name deserve eternal honour.

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" who had called together many Athanasius's from all cor-
" ners of the kingdom: and being called together, did ad-
" monish and command them to make up, as well in speak-
" ing as in writing, the Catholic faith, in miserable manner
" rent and torn; and when they should have thus mended
" and restored it, to defend and cherish it! Jovinianus,
" when he entered into the territories of the empire, first
" made a law, that the Catholic Bishops that were banished
" should return home; and that the churches should be re-
" stored to them, who had inviolably kept the faith. And
" so the good Queen brought you, the celebrated prelates
" of England, thrown out of your sees into nasty prisons,
" and restored you to your own churches, with the mighty
" applause of the people. Most blessed England, that hath
" such Bishops! And most blessed, you prelates, to whom
" it hath been given, not only to believe in him, but to suf-
" fer for his sake!

" Hear, you venerable Bishops, the holy Bishop Chryso-
" stom: hear, you imprisoned Bishops, an imprisoned Bi-
" shop, *Great is the dignity to be bound for Christ, greater*
" *than to reign, or to be consul*, &c. Blessed are you for a
" prison, for chains, for bonds: blessed, I say, and thrice
" blessed; yea, oftener. You have reconciled to you the
" whole world. Those that are a great way off, you have
46 " made your friends. Your excellent actions, your forti-
" tude, your constant judgment, are reported every where,
" by land and sea. A judgment-seat, which to some is ter-
" rible, affrighted you not; no, not the executioner, the
" multiplying of torments, threatenings that brought innu-
" merable deaths, nor the judge that breathed fire out of
" his mouth; not the adversaries who gnashed their teeth,
" and used many other ways of insulting over you; not so
" many calumnies, nor the most impudent accusations, nor
" death daily set before your eyes: but rather, all these
" yielded you ample and sufficient matter of consolation."
[Oh! the confident face of this man, to tell to the Bishops which they knew to be false, only to flatter them, when their lives were never in the least danger, nor so much as

called in question; and their imprisonment an easy restraint! But what direful expressions are here used! that had not every one known the gentle and kind dealing with these Bishops, one would have thought, that they had endured all the severest usage that ever the poor Protestants suffered a little after at their hands.] He goes on: "Ye "are not yet beheaded with John the Baptist, but yet have "suffered far more bitterly: for it is not one and the same "thing, in a short time to lose the head, and for a long "while to struggle with such dolors, terrors, threats, bonds, "carryings away, rapines of goods, hands of executioners, "impudent tongues of sycophants, reproaches, jests, and "taunts."

After this, he comes "to beseech the Bishops, in the "name of the synod, that the ancient dignity and authority "of the Clergy of England might, at last, be vindicated "and restored to that famous company of learned men "there assembled. For why were the deans, the archdeacons, the divines, the lawyers, men that had their "senses exercised in the Scriptures, and meditated in God's "law all their life, summoned from all parts of the kingdom, if their suffrages in their own convocation were of "no weight? Why did they there lose their labour? Why "were they there, as so many shadows or spectres? For all "things had been [before] done and transacted without "their counsel or consent; but how happily and piously, the "issue would shew. And that as to the Book [of Common "Prayer] stuffed with blasphemies, stored with errors, "which, under the name of religion, took away religion, "diminishing the sacraments, condemned the whole world; "to the obtruding this book upon all, they [the convocation of the Clergy] never gave their consent; and, for "which, they did now congratulate themselves." The whole oration of this prolocutor, whereof these are some of the chief lines, I think, ought not, for divers reasons, to be lost; and therefore have put it into the Catalogue. Num. VIII.

The Bishop of London made a concluding speech; saying, "He could not but much approve of all their doings, The Bishop of London's speech to the Clergy.

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" and praise their wits and their honesty: that they were " men endued with prudence and sharpness, and were come " together, not as many were wont to do, in a negligent " manner, and in such sprinkling, as though they cared not " whether they appeared or no, but with unanimous hearts; " which was a step to an happy performance of the best ac- " tions: that they were not carried away with partiality, nor " indulged to any private affection, which was a great hin- " derance to public actions; but were led with honest rea- " sons, and set before their eyes that which was just, that
47 " which was right, pious, good, and that the public good: " that they were men that prudently and seriously con- " sidered, not that which was agreeable to their pleasure or " ambition, but what might profit the Christian common- " wealth: and that they had chosen a man so learned, so " ingenious, so eloquent, so catholic, so good, and, in a " word, so worthy all praise, and so acceptable to all de- " grees, that what could they expect less, but great thanks " from the Bishops, and commendations from all the Clergy " and people, whom they had done such a good turn unto? " and from God, whom by that act they had honoured, " that great reward which was wont to be given to those " that did good?

" That by the choice of this their referendary, this profit " would accrue to them, that, according to his goodness and " prudence, he would suggest to them nothing but what " should be wholesome and very pious; and whatsoever he " should suggest, he would happily handle, according to his " candour, and the notable dexterity of his wit. And, " lastly, according to the grace and favour he had with the " Queen, he would put a speedy and fruitful conclusion to " what should be treated.

" Finally, he prayed them to go together with their Re- " ferendary, and so to handle and despatch what they should " think fit and necessary to be taken in hand, that all might " be brought to a commendable end. Wherein there was " no doubt to be made, but they should have the reverend " the Bishops favourable to them. For they, according to

" their benevolence and love to them, [the inferior Clergy,] " according to their piety towards God and Christian reli- " gion, and their charity towards the commonwealth, would " diligently, by their whole labour and authority, promote, " help, and assist their endeavours and studies: which he " himself, in the rest of the Bishops' names, did in good " earnest promise and assure them."

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Four points defined by the Bishops.

In this synod there was great stir to restore the abandoned doctrines again, and especially those of the mass: yet some few learned and good men of the Reformation here shewed themselves, that tightly disputed these points with them: *viz.* Philpot, Haddon, Aylmer, and one or two more, whose disputations may be read in Mr. Fox. At last, these four points were defined by the Upper House, as I transcribed them out of a record of this Convocation, which Archbishop Parker, as it seems, communicated to Mr. Fox: to be sure, the paper was in the possession of the said Archbishop, on which are inserted these words by his own hand,

Hæc in synodo Episcoporum.

De Sacramento Altaris.

Foxii MSS.

In sacramento altaris rite administrato docemur, ex verbis Christi post consecrationem sub speciebus panis et vini aqua mixti, veram et realem corporis et sanguinis Domini substantiam præsentem esse, et contineri. Et quoniam jam Christus dividi non potest, aut sanguis ejus a carne separari, quia amplius non moritur; ideo, credimus sub alterutra specie Christum integrum Deum et hominem contineri, et sub una specie tantum a fidelibus, quantum sub utraque 48 sumi. Et, ideo, laudabilem consuetudinem communicandi laicos et clericos, non conficientes sub una specie ab Ecclesia magnis rationibus introductam, et hactenus diutissimè observatam, in ecclesiis nostris retinendam, nec sine authoritate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ immutandam esse censemus.

De Transubstantiatione.

Cum Christus illud unum sacrificium et singulare mysterium, quod instituit in ultima cœna, et a fidelibus sumi

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mandavit, corpus suum esse quod pro nobis traderetur, definivit, nos illud non solum panem esse, nec corpus Christi cum pane, aut in pane, esse credimus, nisi velimus panem vitæ appellare, qui de cœlo descendit. Et cum modus illic existendi sit per transubstantiationem et transitionem substantiæ panis et vini in substantiam Dominici corporis et sanguinis, remanentibus interim ob nostram infirmitatem et mysterii significationem panis et vini accidentibus; Ecclesiæ pastores in Laterano [concilio] legitime congregati antiquam fidei Catholicæ veritatem novo *transubstantiationis* vocabulo aptè expresserunt; quemadmodum patres Niceni Filium ejusdem cum Patre substantiæ esse novo *consubstantialis* vocabulo declararunt.

De adoratione Eucharistiæ et reservatione.

Quoniam in Eucharistia verum Christi corpus et verum sanguinem, totumque adeo Christum esse confitemur, quomodo eum non adorabimus, qui neutiquam apud Christianos, nec sine adoratione fuit, nec esse debuit? Et cum semel consecratum hoc sacramentum in usum infirmorum, ne sine communione discedant, (quod ex vetustissimis authoribus et conciliis constat antiquitus fieri consuevisse,) manet tamen, quamdiu incorrupte supersunt species, sacramentum et corpus et sanguis Domini donec sumatur.

De substantia sacrificii Ecclesiæ, et ejus institutione, et a quibus, et pro quibus, et cui offerendum.

Sanctam et vivificatricem et incruentam oblationem in ecclesiis celebramus, non unius nos hominisque communis corpus quod offertur esse credentes, sed proprium factum omnia vivificantis verbi, simul medicamentum ad sanandas infirmitates, et holocaustum ad purgandas iniquitates existens; considerantes situm esse in mensa sancta Agnum Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi, qui a sacerdotibus sacrificatur sine cruoris effusione. Quam Novi Testamenti novam oblationem a Christo institutam et doctam, Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens in universo mundo offert non angelis, aut martyribus, aut cuique sanctæ animæ, (ita enim,

quum obligatio sacrificii ad latriæ cultum pertineat, idololatria esset,) sed soli Deo Patri, Filio et Spiritui Sancto, quamvis apud memorias martyrum, et in eorum memoria, ut ipsi orent pro nobis, sacrificet, non pro hiis qui non sunt Christo incorporati, sed pro eis qui membra Christi sunt, pro tota Ecclesia, pro regibus, pro sacerdotibus, pro absentibus et præsentibus, pro defunctorum in Christo spiritibus; 49 ut eorum peccatis propitius fiat Deus; pro plenitudine, pro ubertate, pro universi orbis fructibus, pro pace, et felici rerum statu, pro populi peccatis et ignorantiis, pro salute sua, et quotidiana fragilitatis suæ reparatione; sciens quod tali hostia delectatur Dominus, et peccata dimittit ingentia.

Questions drawn thence to be disputed at Oxford.

Out of these doctrines were framed by this synod, three questions to be disputed on at Oxford, by some members of the same, and others, of both Universities, against Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer, who were sent down thither on purpose. These questions, as they are in the foresaid MS. set down, are:

In sacramento altaris, virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est, sub speciebus panis et vini, realiter verum et naturale corpus Christi, quod ex virgine natum est: item et naturalis ejus sanguis.

Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis, neque ulla alia substantia, præter substantiam Christi, Dei et hominis.

In missa est vivificum Ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis, tum mortuorum, quam vivorum propitiabile.

To which was added a fourth, which yet was not disputed on: *viz.*

Ecclesia sancta Catholica hominibus nota, non potest errare in his quæ sunt fidei; neque generalia concilia eandem Ecclesiam representantia.

The Bishops carry it loftily to the inferior Clergy.

Observation was made by some, with what loftiness the Bishops, as many as then were in Convocation, (which were not above seven or eight,) did carry it towards the Lower House. For whensoever they were present, the rest of the Clergy were standing and uncovered, how long soever it

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were. Which Dr. William Turner, Dean of Wells, (and perhaps then one of the synod,) after the way of those times described it. "If ye saw them, [the Bishops,] how "slavely and bondly they handle the rest of the Clergy in "their Convocation house, ye would say, they were the "Pope's right shapen sons. For whereas there sitteth but "seven or eight linen-wearing Bishops at the table in the "Convocation house, if there be threescore pastors and "elders, they are wool-wearers, [he meaneth, like so many "meek sheep.] As long as they tarry in the Bishops' Con-"vocation house, so long must they stand before their "lords, though it be two or three hours; yea, and, be the "weather never so cold, or the men never so sickly, bare-"headed."

Anno 1558. Spiritual Physic.

The Convocation dissolved.

On the 13th of December, the Queen sent her mandate to Bonner, Bishop of London, forthwith to dissolve and break up this Convocation, and to signify to the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, this her pleasure.

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Many taken up. Proceedings for religion in London, in Cambridge, and in Oxford. The Parliament's second sessions. The return of the Popish religion and worship. Bishop Ridley's leases. Ambassadors from the Emperor.

It soon appeared what was to be expected from Queen Mary.

THE Gospellers saw already what they were to expect from this Queen. When she came first to the crown, some had indeed entertained great hopes that she would not overthrow the religion, from the promises she made to those of Norfolk and Suffolk. And when she was declared Queen at Oxford, the noblemen persuaded the University of the same. But what a severe reign this was like to prove, appeared by some of her first manifestations of herself among her subjects. For no sooner was she proclaimed, but abundance of people were taken up, and brought before the Council, and by them committed to prison: not only

all that were in Queen Jane's business, but also that were suspected of any inclination to the Gospel, or that had shewn any dislike of the present affairs, being fetched in upon some pretence or other. Anno 1553.

Many professors and preachers taken up.

In the month of August, Rutler and Palden (beside some others mentioned before) were committed, one to the Marshalsea, and the other to the Counter, only for speaking certain words against Bourn's sermon at Paul's Cross: who therein had so indecently inveighed against good King Edward (who was so dear unto the people) and his proceedings, which they so much approved, that a dagger was thrown at him while he was preaching. In the same month, Fisher, parson of Amersham, was brought up by the High Sheriff to the Council, for a sermon he preached. Bradford, Veron, minister of Ludgate, and Becon, eminent preachers, were taken up, and put into the Tower. Rogers, reader of St. Paul's, confined a prisoner to his house. John Melvin, a Scot, and preacher, sent to Newgate. Symonds, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, sent for up to the Council, for something in his sermon against the Queen's proceedings: and Hugh Saunders, of the same city, for the same cause. Coverdale, Bishop of Exon, and Hooper, Bishop of Worcester, sent for to the Council, and committed. Dr. Cox, King Edward's tutor, and Chancellor of Oxon, committed to the Marshalsea. All this happened in the month of August. In the month of September, father Latymer was committed to the Tower, besides Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley Bishop of London; and many more, both of the laity and the clergy. And, in October, the Archbishop of York.

What was further done in London, in favour and countenance to the Popish religion, in order to the introducing it, and extirpation of the Gospel, may be understood by what follows.

Preaching at Paul's Cross.

The Parliament sitting, and the town being full, care was taken to put up men of the greatest vogue, to preach the Paul's Cross sermons. The 15th day, Dr. White, Warden of Winchester, preached there. The Sunday fol-

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lowing, the 22d day, Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster. And while these sermons were preaching, were great bars set up at every gate in Paul's churchyard, to prevent the breaking in of horses and great throngs of people, for fear of disturbance while the sermons were preaching.

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Dr. Feck-nam preaches much.

Fecknam was one of the great preachers in these times; and on Sunday, Nov. 5, he preached twice; in the forenoon at St. Mary Overy's, by the command, as it seems, of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, where were present a great and splendid auditory; and among the rest the Earl of Devonshire, (with whom, I perceive, great care was taken to make him a good Catholic,) Sir Anthony Brown, (he that was after Lord Mountague,) Judge Morgan, and divers other noblemen. And, in the afternoon, at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, (where Fecknam seems to have been incumbent,) where also were present several men of rank and eminency, as Sir Anthony Brown the Judge, Sir Rowland Hill, Sir Richard Dobbs, Sir John York, Aldermen of London. This seems to have been some great joyous day; and, as I conjecture, it was for the Parliament's having established the Popish religion, and rescinded all the acts made for religion under King Edward. But at this sermon of Fecknam, this afternoon, great displeasure was taken by many that heard it: which caused some disturbance. So that several were taken up, and sent, some to the Mayor, and some to the Counter. On the Sunday sevennight after, being the 19th, the said Fecknam preached again at Walbrook, with great applause; insomuch, that the journal-writer of these days and transactions said, "that it was the "goodliest sermon that ever was heard." The subject thereof was, that the blessed sacrament was changed into the real body and blood of Christ after the words of consecration.

Vitellius, F. 5.

Procession on St. Katharine's day.

On St. Katharine's day, at night, Nov. 25, the churchmen belonging to St. Paul's went a procession about Paul's steeple with five hundred great lights, and with St. Katharine carried with them, and much singing. It continued about half an hour. And when all was done, about six of the clock, all the bells of St. Paul's were rung.

On the next day, being Sunday, Dr. White preached at Paul's Cross. The subject of whose sermon was in favour of processions, and that we ought to have them.

White at Paul's Cross.

On the same day, *viz.* Nov. 26, was a goodly herse for the late King Edward, hung with cloth of tissue, and a cross, and a pax, silver candlesticks, and thirteen beadmen holding of tapers burning. The dirge was sung in Latin, and the mass of the morrow, accompanied with great ringing.

King Edward's herse.

On St. Andrew's day, Nov. 30, Dr. Bourn preached a sermon at St. Paul's, with applause. After was a procession about the church in Latin, with an *Ora pro nobis.* And the morrow after, another sermon preached by Mr. Harpsfield, and procession, with the old Latin form. And a procession again Wednesday after: and the like enjoined to be observed throughout England.

A procession on St. Andrew's day.

Dec. 8. there was another procession at St. Paul's. And when all was done, Bonner, the Bishop, gave out an injunction, that every parish-church throughout London should provide a cross, a staff, and a cope, for to go on procession every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, to pray unto God for fair weather.

An injunction of the Bishop of London.

Decemb. 9. a man was set on the pillory in Cheap, for seditious words against the Queen's Grace and her Council.

One pillorized.

A day or two after the ending of the Parliament, a proclamation came forth, published through London and the whole kingdom, that, according to the purport of a late act of Parliament, no man should sing the English service, or Communion, after the 20th of December: and that no minister that had a wife, should minister, nor say mass. And that every parish should make an altar, and have a cross and staff, and all other things necessary for mass and procession, as holy bread, holy water, palms and ashes.

A proclamation for the Popish usages.

And to let the Protestants of the county of Norfolk know (whatever interest they imagined to have in the Queen, on the account of their good merits towards her) that they must not expect any indulgence, one Thomas Cobb of that county, who had brought a supplication and

A Norfolk man set in the pillory.

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writing to her in parchment, signed and sealed by an hundred inhabitants there, and above, had his judgment in the Star-chamber, Nov. 24, to be set on the pillory in London and in Norfolk; on pretence that he had devised and forged the said supplication. But to step a little backward.

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Proceedings in Cambridge.

King Edward's laws were still in force for the use of the Communion Book, being not, as yet, repealed by Parliament. But the Queen and her officers proceeded without any regard thereof, for the overthrow of the Reformation. I will instance in the doings of the Vice-Chancellor of her University of Cambridge, and of an Archdeacon in the diocese of Ely. John Young, (he that had made himself famous for contesting with Martin Bucer in the former reign,) as a fit man for the purpose, was made Vice-Chancellor this year, and Master of Pembroke hall. Where I find (and by his means, I suppose,) the mass begun early to be said, namely, in September. About which time, trouble came to one Mr. Garth, of Peter house, because he would not suffer a boy of his house to assist in saying mass in Pembroke hall.

Young, Vice-Chancellor.

Discharges one Pierson from his cure.

One Mr. Pierson, who had the cure of a parish in the town of Cambridge, continued to do as he used before, that is, to administer the communion in his church, receiving thereunto persons of other parishes: and being ordered to say mass, refused it. For this, on the 3d of October, the Vice-Chancellor admonished him, and within two days discharged him from ministering in his cure any more.

Puts out the Master of Clare hall.

Another thing this Vice-Chancellor did was, the displacing of Dr. Madew out of the mastership of Clare hall; coming there in person, and thrusting in one Swinburn in his room, by virtue of letters from Bishop Gardiner, Lord Chancellor, and Chancellor of the University. And that only because he was married: though that was no more than what was by law allowed. This was done Octob. 26.

Cosin, Master of Katharine hall.

The said Gardiner wrote a short letter to the society of Katharine hall, recommending Mr. Cosin to be chosen their Master, in the room of Dr. Sandes, because he was married. And so they did.

Octob. 28. the whole Popish service, in Latin, was celebrated in King's college, by some zealous men of the house; though contrary to the laws then in force.

Popish service in King's college.

There was one Bovel of this University, who being, I suppose, to take a degree, or perhaps upon some other account should have, according to the laws, sworn to the supremacy of the Queen, and renounced the Bishop of Rome. But to him the Vice-Chancellor would not administer these oaths. Whereat one Thrackhold charged the Vice-Chancellor for acting contrary to law. But, on the other hand, he was of the Vice-Chancellor sharply reproved and threatened. And that was all he got for his labour. This happened the last of October.

The oath of supremacy waved.

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At the Round church in Cambridge, the curate still ministered the English service. But he was summoned Novemb. 3. before the Vice-Chancellor, who commanded him to minister so no more, saying, that he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass. And this order was established Nov. 12, though the Parliament appointed, that the old form and order of service should begin but Decemb. 20. next ensuing. So forward was that University become; and so soon was the impression of the good precepts of Bucer, and other learned men there, worn off.

English service still at Round church.

Novemb. 6. one Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his sermon spake for purgatory.

One preaches in favour of purgatory.

This for the University of Cambridge: now as to the county, the Archdeacon visited by his official: and at Hinton, Nov. 28, gave charge to present all such as did disturb the Queen's proceedings; that is, either by letting the Latin service, or opposing the setting up of altars, or saying of mass. Thus were men required to do contrary to laws, and threatened to be punished for observing them.

The Archdeacon visits.

Would we know now something of what was done at the other University of Oxon about this time? Bishop Gardiner took upon him, as Bishop of Winchester, to visit Magdalen college: partly, I suppose, to restore Dr. Owen Oglethorp, the President, who in the former reign was

Magdalen college visited by Bishop Gardiner.

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outed, and Dr. Walter Haddon placed in his room; and partly, and chiefly, to purge that college, which, of all the rest in that University, seemed most addicted to the Gospel. The issue, in short, of this visitation was, that fourteen or fifteen of the house were turned out; and that before any papal laws were yet in force. Some of them were these that follow: Dr. Haddon, the President; Dr. Lawrence Humfrey, afterward President, and Public Professor of Divinity; Thomas Bentham, Thomas Bickley, both afterwards Bishops; the latter of whom, before Oglethorp the President, and many others that were assembled to even prayer, took the wafer from the altar out of the pix, and broke it to pieces with his hand, and stamped it under his feet. This he did before the public abolition of Papism; which, no doubt, was now remembered against him. He being now expelled, went into France. Henry Bull was another, who, assisted by Bentham, openly in the choir shook the censer out of the hands of them that ministered, that incense might not be offered to an idol. He departed, and lived secretly at home. Others of them were, Michael Renniger, John Molins, Arthur Saul, Peter Morwin, Hugh Kirk, Luke Purefey; all, I think, exiles afterwards. Of this college were some others of great name for their learning and piety. I will mention three: John Fox, the martyrologist; John Harley, Bishop of Hereford; and Julinus Palmer, the martyr; who was pupil to the said Harley, and so was Dr. Humfrey. Of this Harley be it noted further, that just upon the death of King Henry VIII. and the access of King Edward to the crown, while all the University stood at maze, as it were, expecting which way religion would go, he boldly preached the doctrine of faith alone justifying, in a Lenten sermon in St. Peter's church: the Doctors exceeding mad and disturbed at it; others fearing what the event would be. The issue was, he was hurried to London as an heretic; but he escaped, and was preferred. He became, first, preacher to the Earl of Warwick, and instructor of his children; afterward the King's chaplain; and lastly, Bishop of Hereford: in Queen Mary's

Harley, Bishop of Hereford.

Invit. Juell.

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reign, a poor preacher in woods, sculking up and down, and at last died, like a banished man, in his own country. Harley, when in the University, was noted for a florid man, and well seen in human learning. Leland hath a copy of verses to him; wherein he praiseth him for being a great admirer of Cicero, and the majesty of Virgil; and for having read over all the poets, and being a good poet himself.

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Encomia, p. 107.

A second session of Parliament.

But now let us look back a little to the second session of the Queen's first Parliament, which began Octob. 23, or, as some, 24, and continued sitting till the 6th of December, and then the session of the Parliament ended. During this session they did business to purpose. For in one single act they cut off and repealed, at a clap, no less than nine acts of Parliament made under King Edward; all relating to reformation, *viz.*

An act for the overthrow of King Edward's religion.

First, An act against such persons as should unreverently speak against the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called *the sacrament of the altar;* and for receiving thereof in both kinds.

Secondly, An act for the election of Bishops, and what seals and styles they and other spiritual persons exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical should use.

Thirdly, An act for the uniformity of service, and administration of the sacraments, throughout the realm.

Fourthly, An act to take away all positive laws made against the marriage of priests.

Fifthly, An act for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images.

Sixthly, An act for the ordering of ecclesiastical ministers.

Seventhly, An act for the uniformity of common prayer and the administration of the sacraments.

Eighthly, An act for the keeping of holy days and fasting days.

Ninthly, An act made for the declaration of a statute made for the marriage of priests, and for the legitimation of their children.

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And by this same repealing act it was further enacted, that none should be molested for using heretofore, or until the 20th of December following, the divine service mentioned in the said act, nor for the using of the old divine service and administration of the sacraments, in such manner as was used in the Church of England before the making of the said acts. But from and after the 20th of December, no other kind or order of divine service should be used, but what was commonly used in the last year of the reign of King Henry VIII.

An act about the Queen's court.

There was another public act now made, for the uniting, dissolving, or new erecting of courts. Which was made out of good husbandry, I suppose; that so a less number of officers managing the Queen's courts, thereby the Queen's expenses might be retrenched. In pursuance of this new act, and according to the power given her, she did, by letters patents, dated Jan. 23, in the first of her reign, dissolve the Court of Augmentations: and the next day following, by other letters patents, united the same to the Exchequer; which was utterly void, because she had dissolved the same before. So as she pursued not her authority, saith my Lord Coke, and so resolved by all the Judges. *Dyer*, 4 *Eliz.* 16.

The private and unprinted acts made in this session were these:

Private acts.

An act for the restitution of Sir Edward Seymour, son of the late Duke of Somerset.

An act for the corporation of Martin [Merton] college, Oxon.

An act for the declaring the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk to be void.

An act for the restitution of Marmaduke Cunstable. And,

Another act for the restitution of the daughters of Sir Miles Partridge.

An act repealing the act made in the 5 Edw. VI. for the Marquis of Northampton's marriage. By which act of

King Edward, a divorce from his former wife, and his marriage with a second, was confirmed; which now was evacuated. CHAP. V. Anno 1553.

This Parliament was short-lived: and the reason thereof was this. The Spanish match was now all the talk; a thing most of all abhorred of the people, that a proud insulting Spaniard should come to be King of England: foreseeing the dismal issues thereof. As, that the realm was in danger of becoming tributary to a stranger, and to have the head of the realm put under the girdle of a foreign prince. And withal, they considered the great advantages that would ensue from the Queen's marrying with one of her noblemen. Which things being deeply considered by the Parliament, the house ran unanimously against this marriage; nay, and some also as were of her Privy Council. And they made an earnest address to her in this behalf. But she was resolved in her mind upon this marriage. And thereupon, for their pains, they were soon dissolved. Concerning this disinclination of the Parliament, one who lived in that time, and, very probably, was a member of the same, wrote thus: "Do you remember then [*viz.* in this Parliament] the motion of the Speaker, and the request of the Commons' house, what they did, and could have moved then? and how they all ran one way, like the hounds after the hare, high and low, knights, and esquires, and burgesses, such as were of the Privy Council, and others, far and near? Whom preferred they, I pray you, then, if they should have had their wish? The stranger, or the Englishman? And think you, they did not consider her Majesty's honour?" &c. In this Parliament, I suppose, it was, that when somebody in the house had endeavoured to reconcile the rest to this marriage, by shewing how safe the nation might make itself by bonds and covenants that this prince should enter into with the Queen, a member of the house stood up, and asked this smart question: In case, said he, the bands should be broken between the husband and the wife, either of them being princes in their own country, who shall sue the bands? who shall take the forfeits?

This Parliament short-lived: and why.

Sir Tho. Smith in one of his MSS.

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who shall be their judges? and what shall be the advantage? Which Sir Thomas Smith (from whom I have this relation) reckoned a shrewd question, and concluded no other answer could be given to it, but this; "What advantage? None, but discord, dissension, war, bloodshed, and "either extreme enmity, or else, that one part must at "length break or yield."

The people return to Popery.

After the overthrow of Northumberland, and this restoration of Popery by the Parliament, and the imprisonments and frowns that happened to the preachers and professors of true religion, and the apostasy of the rest; the ordinary people made use of all this as undoubted signs of the goodness of the Popish religion, and the falseness of that professed under King Edward. For after this rate the common sort argued and discoursed at this time, as an author in those days brought them in speaking: "If this were "God's word, if this people were God's children, surely "God would then bless and prosper them. But now, in "that there is no doctrine so much hated, no people so "much persecuted as they be, therefore it cannot be of "God. This is of God, which our Queen and old Bishops "have professed. For how hath God prospered and kept "them! What a notable victory hath God given to her! "Whereas else it is impossible that things should come to "pass as they have done. And did not that great captain "[the Duke of Northumberland] confess his fault, that he "was out of the way, and not of the faith which these Gos-"pellers profess? How many are come again from that "which they professed to be God's word! The most part "of this realm, notwithstanding the diligence of preachers "to persuade them concerning this *new learning*, which "now is persecuted, never consented to it in heart, as ex-"perience teacheth. And what plagues have come upon "this realm sithence this *Gospel*, as they call it, came in "among us! Afore we had plenty, but now there is no-"thing like as was. But to let this pass; all the houses of "Parliament have overthrown the laws made for the esta-"blishment of the Gospel; and now laws are erected for

And why.

Exhortation to the Cross.

" the continuance of that which is contrary, and was had " before. All these things do teach plainly, that this doc- " trine is not God's word."

The true reason of this change.

But that author, who, I believe, was Coverdale, shewed what false reasoning this was, to argue from worldly success. " If they considered," said he, " that there was with us un- " thankfulness, no amendment of life, but all kind of con- " tempt of God, all kind of shameless sinning against the " preaching of the Gospel; they must needs see that God " could not but chastise and correct. That as he let Satan " loose, after he had bound him a certain time; so, for " men's unthankfulness, and to punish the same, he had let " those champions of Satan run abroad to plague us by " them.——As for the victory given to the Queen's High- " ness, if men had any godly wit, they might see many " things in it. First, that God hath done it to win her " heart with kindness unto the Gospel. And as well be- " cause that they that went against her put their trust in " horses and power of man, and not in God, as because " that in their doctrine [doings] they sought not the propa- " gation of God's Gospel. Which thing is easily now seen " by the confession of that captain [the Duke aforesaid.] " His heart loved Popery, and hated the Gospel. Besides " this, men may easily see he was purposed never to have " furthered the Gospel; but so to have handled the livings 57 " of ministers, that there should never have been any mi- " nistry in manner hereafter. And what one of the Coun- " sellors, which would have been taken as Gospellers in our " good King's days, declare now, that even they loved the " Gospel? Therefore, no marvel, why God fought against " them. They were hypocrites, and, under the cloak of the " Gospel, would have debarred the Queen's Highness of " her right. But God would not so cloak them. Now " for the relenting, returning, and recanting of some from " that which they have once professed or preached, alas! " who would wonder at it? for they never came to the " Gospel, but for commodity and gain's sake; and now for " gain leave it. As for the Parliament, and statutes there-

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" of, no man of wisdom can think otherwise, but that look " what the rulers will, the same must there be enacted. " But it goeth not in those houses by the better part, but " by the bigger part. It is a common saying, and no less " true, *Major pars vincit meliorem.*" This was the sense of pious men in those days, in respect of the present change of religion.

Popish service in Paul's.

Fabian.

According to the liberty granted by the foresaid act of Parliament, Popish religion began to be exercised every where, according as people stood affected; so it was in Paul's church, London. On St. Katharine's day, after evensong, began the choir of Paul's to go about the steeple, singing with lights, after the old custom. On St. Andrew's day, they began the procession in Latin, *viz.* the Bishop, Curates, Parsons, and the whole choir, with the Mayor and divers Aldermen, and the Prebendaries in their grey amices; and so continued three days. And also, Jan. 14, began the procession of the Sundays about the church, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their cloaks; and the preacher taking his benediction in the midst of the church, according to the old custom.

Scripture verses wiped out of the churches' walls.

Declarat.

And this was intended as a good pattern for the other churches in London and Southwark to follow. And, among the other points of the Popish reformation of the churches, the verses of Scripture that were wrote on the walls, for suitable instructions to the people, for their reverent behaviour when they resorted thither, were appointed to be all washed out and defaced, by the commandment of Gardiner and Bonner. This Bale, after his manner, thus related: " God required, *Thou shalt write them*, saith he, *upon the* " *posts of thine house*, &c. Now comes parson Peacock's- " tail, wily Winchester, and Dr. Fig-after, puffed up like " a bladder, and panting like a porklet; commanding them " to be wiped out of the churches, as things not pertaining " to the same."

Bonner allows not of Ridley's leases.

For Bonner, that had been deprived from his see of London under King Edward, was soon restored again upon the coming in of Queen Mary; and Ridley, that took his

place, turned out; and Bonner enjoyed safely his bishopric again. This would not serve his turn: but he would not allow of any of the leases that Ridley had made while he was Bishop: pretending himself thrust out unjustly, and his deprivation illegal, and therefore null: and so reputing himself, during all the time that Ridley possessed the see, to be lawful Bishop; and reckoning all the tenants, admitted by Ridley into lands of the bishopric, to be intruders; and so, without any regard to the fines and rents that they had paid, taking them into his hands, and letting them to others. Therefore, in this first year of the Queen, he made a lease of the park and manor of Bushley to Letchmore: 58 which Ridley had granted and leased before to Car. This begat a notable suit at law, which is set down in Bulstrode's Reports; where it is thus reported: That Boner was Bishop of London in the time of Henry VIII. and so he continued unto the second of Edward VI. At or about which time, a commission issued out to the then Lord Chancellor and others, to convent Bishop Boner before them, and to examine him: and if they found him to be contumacious, and would not answer them, the commissioners were empowered then to imprison him, or to deprive him. The commissioners did imprison him, and after, deprived him. Boner from this appealed, and his appeal was not heard. Nicolas Ridley was made Bishop of London; who makes a lease of the said park and manor of Bushley; under which lease the defendant claimed. After, *primo Mariæ*, Ridley is declared to be an usurper; and Boner, by a sentence definitive, is restored again to the bishopric of London, and makes a lease of the premises demised unto the plaintiff. But, upon verdict, the points stirred were these:

A lawsuit hereupon.

I. Whether the deprivation of Boner was lawful, or not; the authority by the commission being in the disjunctive, *scil. to imprison*, or *to deprive:* and it was urged, they first imprisoning of him, had thereby executed their authority: and so then the deprivation was void.

II. Admitting the deprivation void, then Boner still continued Bishop of London: and then Ridley was never

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Bishop. For that there could not be two Bishops of London, *simul et semel.* And so the lease made by him to the defendant was a void lease.

III. Admitting the deprivation good, then *quid operatur* by the appeal? Whether it did not suspend the sentence of deprivation? And, if so, then again Ridley was no lawful Bishop. And so the lease which the defendant claimed was void.

The case was learnedly argued by the common lawyers, and also by civilians; and the Judges inclined to be of opinion for the plaintiff. But the defendant perceiving this, preferred his bill in Chancery, and there obtained a decree against Letchmore. This case was shewn me by the late reverend and learned Baron Letchmore, deceased; descended of that Letchmore to whom Boner made the said lease. And then he told me, moreover, that there was a bill put up in the Parliament under Queen Mary, that all Ridley's leases might be void. But it would not pass.

The Emperor sent ambassadors about the match.

But now let us see how the Spanish match proceeded, to which the people of the land, by this Parliament, had declared so great dislike. The Queen's mind having been already well perceived by the Emperor, how she stood affected towards it, a little before Christmas, he despatched from Bruxells a formal and splendid embassy hither, to treat about and conclude it. His ambassadors were, his admiral, Count d'Egmont, Prince of Gaurel, Charles Count de la Laing, governor, captain general, and grand bailly de Saynnau, who were of the order; Jehan de Montmorancy, Sieur de Corriers, and Philip Nigri, counsellor, and ordinary master of requests of the Emperor's household, and chancellor of the order. These, with the Emperor's ambassador resident, were instructed to treat jointly upon
59 making an alliance by this marriage. By these ambassadors the Emperor sent a letter dated from Bruxelles, Decemb. 21, to Winchester Lord Treasurer, (who was, no question, to be gratified to forward the match,) praying him to give credence to his ambassadors as to himself; who had charge to speak something to him on his part, concluding, *de vous*

asseurer que vous trouverez envers vous toute entiere et cordiale affection. Priant, mon cousin, nostre Seigneur vous avoir en sa garde, &c. *CHARLES.* CHAP. V. Anno 1553.

Winter, admiral.

Winter was admiral of the fleet that brought over this splendid embassy. To whom, as a gratuity, the Emperor sent a fair chain, which the said ambassadors presented him from their master. Which, when Winter soon after had shewn to Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, (one concerned in Wyat's plot, of which we shall hear hereafter,) he told him, "For this gold chain you have sold your country." As Count Egmont and the rest of the ambassadors passed through Kent towards London, the Kentish men, (who dreaded the issue of this match with Spain,) supposing him to be Prince Philip, were upon the point of making a mutiny, and began to stir against him and his train.

Spanish ambassadors arrive.

On the 2d of January, the King of Spain's ambassadors landed at Tower-wharf. During whose landing there was great shooting of the guns. The Lord William Howard, lord deputy of Calais, was their safeguard to London, and rode along with them through the city. In Fanchurch-street they were met by the Earl of Devonshire, and divers other persons of quality; who rode with them unto Durham-place, which was appointed for them; where they lighted. The next day the Lord Mayor and the Chamberlain of London waited upon them, and presented them with many great gifts, of provision for their tables of food and wine. On the 9th day, the ambassadors and all the Council dined at the Lord Chancellor's: where he treated them with a magnificent dinner. The day following they rid to Hampton Court. There they had great cheer, and hunted the deer: and were so greedy of their destruction, that, it seems, they gave them not fair play for their lives. For, as the journal-writer expresseth it, they "killed tag and rag "with hands and swords." On the 15th day of this January, the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen went to Westminster to the Court. To whom, and many others present, the Lord Chancellor made a declaration, that the Queen was minded

Winchester declares the match with Spain.

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to marry with the Prince of Spain. By which the realm would partake of great benefits coming in to them. Shewing, that the said Prince was not to meddle with the public affairs of the state; but the Queen's great Council of the realm, as before was accustomed.

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Crome and Haddington committed.

Dr. Crome, an ancient and an eminent London preacher, and parson of St. Mary Aldermary, for preaching on Christmas-day without licence, was sent to the Fleet, Jan. 13. And the next day, one Mr. Haddington, a wealthy citizen, dwelling in Budge-row, was carried to the Tower; and all his goods, both at his house and in the country, were seized on for the Queen. His crime was, for professing, as it seems, certain heretical doctrines.

60 Lord Rob. Duddley arraigned.

On the 22d of January, the Lord Robert Duddley, another of the late Duke of Northumberland's sons, was arraigned at Guildhall for treason, and cast the same day.

A procession on St. Paul's day.

On St. Paul's day, Jan. 25, there was a goodly procession at St. Paul's, with fifty copes of cloth of gold, and *Salve festa dies* sung, and a mass. And the same day, at evensong, Mr. Fecknam was made a Prebendary there.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Underhill's sufferings for religion. His own relation of them.

Underhill writes a ballad.

MENTION was made before, how rigorously this reign began, in taking up and committing to prison such great numbers of people. Among these was Mr. Underhill, a remarkable man, of whom some things were spoken elsewhere, under the year 1548. To his lot, among the rest, it fell to be summoned in August before the Council then sitting at the Tower, and by them to be sent to Newgate, for a ballad he had made, being a witty and facetious gentleman; wherein were some strokes against the Papists. This was immediately after the proclaiming of the Queen at London, she being then in Norfolk. Of the sufferings of this man I shall

here give some account, out of the relation that himself wrote and sent to Mr. Fox; because herein many historical passages of this time may be observed, and with what rigour matters were then carried. For, to fetch this matter a little higher. This gentleman had, in the former King's reign, divers disputes at Calais with Sir Edward Hastings, one of the band of pensioners to King Edward, and Master of the Horse to this Queen. The Earl of Huntingdon, his brother, went over general of six thousand men, and Underhill went with him in the place of Comptroller of the Ordnance. The Earl being visited with sickness, Underhill diverted him, partly by playing and singing to the lute, which he did well; and partly by affording him the satisfaction of hearing him reason with his brother in matters of religion. His brother would be very hot, when Underhill did overlay him with texts of Scripture concerning the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament; and would swear great oaths, specially *by the Lord's foot*, that after the words spoken by the priest, there remained no bread, but the natural body that Mary bare. Nay, then it must needs be so, would Underhill say, if you prove it with such oaths. Whereat the Earl would laugh heartily, saying, Brother, give him over; Underhill is too hard for you. Wherewith he would be very angry. He took the greatest hold of the third chapter of St. John, upon those words, *And no man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, that is to say, the Son of man which is in heaven.* He drew Hastings from the sixth of St. John, and all other places which he could allege; but from this he would not be removed; affirming, that those words proved his natural body to be in heaven, and in the sacrament also. Underhill told him, he as grossly understood Christ, as Nicodemus did in the same place of *being born again;* and that, in his opinion, any man that was not given up of God, might be satisfied concerning the natural presence in the supper of the Lord, by the Gospel of St. John, reading from the first chapter unto the end of the seventeenth, with the witness of the first of the Acts of the Apostles, of Christ's ascension and com-

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ing again (if ever he will be satisfied) without the help of any doctors.

Anno 1553. Called before the Council for it.

The grudge that Sir Edward Hastings took at these former discourses stuck so close to him, that Underhill did conclude this was the cause of his apprehension. The ballad above mentioned was brought to the hands of Secretary Bourn, as it seems, by the said Sir Edward. The Secretary immediately sent the Sheriff of Middlesex, with a company of bills and gleves, to fetch him, and to bring him before the Council at the Tower. Being brought before them the next day, there were sitting the Earl of Bedford, who sat chiefest, the Earl of Sussex next him, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Paget, Sir Richard Southwell: by them stood Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, the Earl of Bath, Sir John Mason; and at the table's end stood Sergeant Morgan, (that a little after died mad,) and Secretary Bourn.

His examination before the Lords. Foxii MSS.

The examination of, and discourse with, Underhill, was thus, as I extract it from his own narration thereof. "Come "hither, Sirrah, saith the Earl of Bedford. Did not you set "forth a ballad of late in print? I kneeled down, saying, "Yes, truly, my Lord. Is that the cause I am called be- "fore your Honours? Yea, marry, said Secretary Bourn: "you have one about you, I am sure. Nay, truly have I "not, said I. Then took he one out of his bosom, and read "it over distinctly, the Council giving diligent ear. When "he had ended, I trust, my Lords, said I, I have not of- "fended the Queen's Majesty in this ballad, nor spoken "against her title, but maintained it. No! Have, Sir? said "Morgan. Yes, I can divide your ballad, and make all "distinction in it, and so prove, at the least, sedition in it. "Yea, Sir, said I, you men of law will make of a matter "what ye list. Lo! said Sir Richard Southwel, how he "can give a taunt! You maintain the Queen's title with "the help of an arrand heretic, Tyndal. You speak of "Papists there, Sir, said Mr. Mason. I pray you, how de- "fine you a Papist? I looked upon him, turning towards "him, for he stood on the side of me. Why, Sir, said I, "it is not long since you could define a Papist better than

" I. With that, some of them secretly smiled, as the Lord " of Bedford, Arundel, Sussex, and Paget. In great haste, " Sir John Gage took the matter in hand. Thou callest " men Papists there, said he. Who be they that thou " judgest to be Papists? Sir, said I, I do name no man; " nor I come not hither to accuse any; nor none I will ac- " cuse. But your Honour doth know, that in this contro- " versy that hath been, some be called Papists, and some " Protestants. But we will know whom thou judgest to be " Papists; and that we command thee, upon thine alle- " giance, to declare. Sir, said I, if you look among the " Priests in Paul's, ye shall find some old Mumpsimus's " there. Mumpsimus's! knave? said he; Mumpsimus's! " thou art an heretic-knave, by God's blood. Yea, by the " mass, says the Earl of Bath, I warrant him an heretic- " knave, indeed. I beseech your Honours, said I, speaking 62 " to the Lords that sat at the table, (for those others stood " by, and were not of the Council,) be my good Lords; I " have offended no laws; and I have served the Queen's " Majesty's father and her brother long time: and in their " service have spent and consumed part of my living, never " having, as yet, any preferment or recompence, and the " rest of my fellows likewise, to our utter undoings, unless " the Queen's Highness be good unto us. And, for my " part, I went not forth against her Majesty, notwithstand- " ing I was commanded; nor liked those doings. No: but " with your writings you would set us together by the ears, " saith the Earl of Arundel. He hath spent his living wan- " tonly, saith Bourn, and now saith, he hath spent it in the " King's service: which I am sorry for. He is come of a " worshipful house in Worcestershire. It is untruly said of " you, said I, that I have spent my living wantonly. For " I never consumed no part thereof, until I came into the " King's service; which I do not repent, nor doubted of " recompence, if either of my two masters had lived. I per- " ceive you are Bourn's son, of Worcester, who was be- " holden unto my uncle Wynter; and therefore you have " no cause to be my enemy. Nor you never knew me, nor

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"I you, before now; which is too soon. I have heard "enough of you, said he. So have I of you, said I; how "that Mr. Sheldon drave you out of Worcestershire for "your behaviour.

Ordered to Newgate.

"With that came Sir Edward Hastings from the Queen "in great haste, saying, My Lords, you must set all things "apart, and come forthwith to the Queen. Then said the "Earl of Sussex, Have this gentleman unto the Fleet, until "we may talk further with him: although I was knave be-"fore of Mr. Gage. To the Fleet? saith Mr. Southwel: "have him to the Marshalsea. Have the heretic-knave to "Newgate, saith Mr. Gage again. Call a couple of the "guard here. Yea, saith Bourn, and there shall be a letter "sent to the keeper, how he shall use him: for we have "other manner of matters [to lay] to him than these. So "had ye need, said I, or else I care not for you. Deliver "him to Mr. Garret, the sheriff, said he, and bid him send "him to Newgate. My Lord, said I unto my Lord of "Arundel, for that he was next to me, as they were rising, "I trust you will not see me thus used, to be sent to New-"gate. I am nother thief nor traitor. You are a naughty "fellow, said he: you were always tooting in the Duke of "Northumberland's ears, that you were. I would he had "given better ear unto me, said I; it had not been with "him then as it is now. Mr. Hastings passing by me, I "thought good to prove him, although he threatened be-"fore now. Sir, said I, I pray you speak for me, that I be "not sent unto Newgate, but rather unto the Fleet, which "was first named. I have not offended. I am a gentleman, "as you know, and one of your fellows when you were of "that band of the pensioners. Very quietly he said unto "me, I was not at the talk, Mr. Underhill, and therefore I "can say nothing to it. But I think he was well content "with the place I was appointed to.

Conveyed to the Sheriff.

"So went I forth with my two fellows of the guard, who "were glad they had the leading of me, for they were great "Papists. Where is that knave, the printer? said Mr. "Gage. I know not, said I. When we came to the Tower-

" gate, whereof Sir John A Bridges had the charge, and his
" brother Mr. Thomas, with whom I was well acquainted,
" but not with Sir John, who seeing then two of the guard
" leading me without their halberts, his brother said unto 63
" me, I am sorry you should be an offender, Mr. Underhill.
" I am none, Sir, said I; nor I went not against the Queen.
" I am glad of that, said he. And so forth we went at the
" gate: where was a great throng of people to hear and
" see what persons were committed: amongst whom stood
" my friend Mr. Ive, the high constable, my next neigh-
" bour. One of the guard went forth at the wicket before
" me, to take me by the arm, the other held me by the
" other arm; fearing, belike, I would have shifted from
" them amongst the people. When my friend saw me thus
" led, who had watched at the gate all the forenoon, he fol-
" lowed afar off, as Peter did Christ, to see what should
" become of me. Many also followed; some that knew me;
" some to learn what I was: for that I was in a gown
" of satin. Thus passed we through the streets, well ac-
" companied, unto Mr. Garret, the sheriff's house in the
" Stocks-market. My friend, Mr. Ive, tarried at the gate.
" These two officers of the guard declared unto Mr. Sheriff,
" that they were commanded by the Council to deliver me
" unto him, and he to send me unto Newgate; saying, Sir,
" if it please you, we will carry him thither. With that I
" stepped up unto Mr. Sheriff, and taking him a little aside,
" requested him, that forasmuch as their commission was
" but to deliver me unto him, and he to send me unto
" Newgate, that he would send me by his officers: for
" their request was of mere malice. With a good will, said
" Mr. Sheriff. Masters, said he, you may depart: I will
" send my officers with this gentleman anon, when they be
" come in. We will see him carried, Sir, said they, for our
" discharge. Then the Sheriff said sharply unto them,
" What, do you think that I will not do the Council's com-
" mandment? You are discharged by delivering him unto
" me. With that they departed."

Sent by the Sheriff to Newgate.

But to take up the rest of this narration more concisely.

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The Sheriff was very courteous to him at his house, and appointed two of his officers to convey him to Newgate; but to go a pretty distance behind him, without halberts in their hands, that the less notice might be taken of him. The Lord Russel, the Earl of Bedford's son and heir, was now a prisoner at the Sheriff's house: who, through a window that looked into the hall, seeing Underhill, was very sorry for him, and sent twenty shillings after him to Newgate; and every week sent him as much, while he remained there. For there had been a great familiarity between them formerly, in matters of religion, as well on the other side the sea as at home. And Underhill once saved his life, being by some chance cast into the Thames, in a cold season of the year, near Limehurst, where the said Underhill dwelt; carrying him to his house, and getting him to bed, being in great peril of his life. Being thus in Newgate, he sent for his gown, his Bible, and his lute; and was the first person committed to that prison for religion. One, at his first coming to prison, who knew him, and had been a soldier beyond sea, told him, that he must conceal his being a Protestant from the keeper, whose name was Alexander, and his wife; for that they would use such very hardly. He told him, that he had sent for his Bible, and, by God's grace, therein should be his daily exercise, and that he would not hide it from them. Then the other told him, that they loved music very well. Therefore advised him, that he with his lute, and the other playing with him on his rebyke, would please them greatly. For they loved to be merry, and drank wine. And that if he would but give them every dinner and supper a quart of wine and some music, he should be their white son. Whose counsel he took, and had their favour.

Sends for his Bible and lute.

64

Falls sick.

After having been here a fortnight, he fell sick of a burning ague: and such favour he obtained at the hands of the keeper and his wife, that they allowed him to change his lodgings several times, because of the noise of the prisoners, and the evil savours. And at last she offered him her store-chamber, (where none ever lay,) though there were plate

and money there in abundance: so much friendship did he find at their hands, notwithstanding they were spoke unto by divers Papists to be severe with him; and particularly the Woodmongers of London, with whom he had had a great conflict, presenting them (as before was said) for false making of billets. They bade the keeper lay irons upon him; for that he was the greatest heretic in London. One Record, a doctor in physic, and very learned, ventured to come several times to visit him in prison, to his great peril, if it had been known; who was at charges and pains with him gratis. By whose means, and God's providence, he recovered his health.

Dr. Record visits him.

His wife now, during his sickness, put up a supplication to the Council for his deliverance, putting in sureties for his forth-coming, to answer further, when he should be called. Which was obtained by the means of Mr. John Throgmorton, being master of the quests, and his countryman and kinsman. He took a time when his enemies were absent, and obtained a letter to the keeper subscribed by the Earl of Bedford, Earl of Sussex, Winchester, Rochester, and Walgrave. So they got an horse-litter, and brought him home to Limehurst: but he was reduced to that weakness, that he was not able to bear the going of the horse. So they were fain to go very softly, and stand still oftentimes. His wife and friends lamented, thinking he could not live till he came home. But he was so beloved, that it was two hours before he got from Newgate to Aldgate, by reason of the pressing of friends and acquaintance that resorted to him by the way.

Delivered out of prison.

It was near two months before he recovered his health again. And then, for prevention of the trouble that evil neighbours might again bring him into, removed from Limehurst; there having been placed a notable spy there in that parish of Stepney, to take notice of such as came not to church, or otherwise in all things complied not with the superstitions of the Roman Church: as there were also several such in other parts of the city and kingdom. Thence he removed to Wood-street: where there being a diligent search

Removes to several places for his safety.

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made for all suspicious books, he sent for a bricklayer, and built up a wall in his chamber against the place where the books were, and so inclosed them, securing them from the danger of being taken, and preserving them for himself against better times. Thence, after a year or two, he removed again into the country, and dwelt by a wood side near Coventry.

Struck out of the band of the pensioners.

65 But all this hard reign, by the providence of God, he continued in his place at the Court, and had his pension paid him: though his being so eminent and active a man in the former reign made him well known now, and often heaved at. When, upon Wyat's coming to Southwark, the pensioners were commanded to watch in armour that night at Court; hearing of it, he thought it his best course to be there, lest by his absence he might have some quarrel picked with him; at least be struck out of the book for receiving any more wages. Therefore he was with the rest upon duty at the Court. One Norrys, who was gentleman usher of the outer chamber to King Henry and King Edward, always a rank Papist, was now preferred, because he was so, to be chief usher of Queen Mary's privy chamber. He was appointed to call the watch, to see if any were lacking. Unto whom the clerk of the check delivered the book of their names; which Norrys perused before he would call them. And seeing Underhill's name, he said to the clerk, What doth he here? He answered, He is here ready to serve, as the rest be. Nay, by God's body, saith he, that heretic shall not be called to watch here; and so calling for a pen, struck out his name out of the book. The clerk of the check telling him this, Underhill, taking his man and a link, went home, being glad thereof; being not yet recovered of his sickness caught in prison.

Upon guard at Whitehall in Wyat's rebellion.

When Wyat was come about, Underhill, notwithstanding his discharge by Norrys, put on his armour, and repaired to the Court, where he found all his fellows in armour in the hall, which they were appointed to keep that day. After this service was over, when the gentlemen pensioners did notably guard the Queen's person, when other for fear fled

away, he went home to his house, keeping himself close, and coming seldom to the Court, until the marriage was concluded with King Philip. CHAP. VI. Anno 1553.

Then was there preparing to go with the Queen to Winchester: and all the books of the ordinaries were perused by the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Arundel, two great Papists, to consider of every man. And one would think Underhill should have hardly escaped now. Sir Humphry Radcliff, lieutenant of the band, brought unto them the book of the pensioners. Which, when they overlooked, and came unto Underhill's name, What doth he here? said the Earl of Arundel. I know no cause why he should not be here, said Radcliff, who also was, secretly, a favourer of the Gospel. He is an honest man, and hath served from the beginning of the band, and was as forward as any to serve the Queen in the time of Wyat's rebellion. Let him pass then, said the Bishop. Well, said the Earl, you may do so; but I assure your Lordship he is an arch-heretic. Thus he passed the brunt. Earl of Arundel attempts to discharge him the band.

Being in Winchester, in the chamber of presence with his fellows, Mr. Norrys came forth of the Queen's privy chamber, unto whom they did reverence, as his place required. "Seeing Underhill, he asked him, what he did "there? Marry, Sir, said he, what do you do here? Nor- "rys told him, he was very short with him. I must and "will forbear, said Underhill, for the place you be in. But "if you were in the place you were in, of the utter cham- "ber, I would be short with you. You were then the door- "keeper, when we waited at the table. Your office is not "to find fault at my being here. I am, at this time, ap- "pointed to serve her Majesty by those that be in au- "thority, who know me as well as you do. They shall "know you better, said he: the Queen also. With that "said Mr. John Calvely, one of his fellows, brother unto "Sir John Calvely of Cheshire, who served at the journey "to Laundresey in the same band that Underhill did; In "good faith, Mr. Norrys, methinks you do not well. This "gentleman, our fellow, hath served of long time, and was And so doth Norrys, gentleman usher. 66

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"ready to venture his life in defence of the Queen's Ma-
"jesty at the last service, and as forward as any was there;
"and also being appointed and ready to serve her again
"now, to his great charges, as it is unto us all. Methinks
"you do more than the part of a gentleman, to seek to dis-
"charge him. What, said he, I perceive you will hold to-
"gether. Else were we worse than beasts, said he, if we
"would not in all lawful causes so hold together, that he
"that toucheth one of us shall touch us all. So he went
"away into his privy chamber: and from that time never
"meddled more with Underhill." And indeed this band were almost all favourers of the Gospel.

He retires for his safety out of London into the country.

But after a year or two's tarriance in London, divers reasons persuaded him to remove away into more obscurity. Partly it grieved his heart to see daily so much innocent blood shed: he feared also, that some of the promoters should at last take him; having been threatened by John Avales and Beard, as he understood by Luke, his friend, who was great with some that kept them company, and yet were honest men. But Underhill was of a bold and undaunted spirit, and took order, that this word should be conveyed to those catchpoles, that if they should attempt to take him, except they had a warrant signed with four or five of the Counsellors' hands, he would go further with them than Peter did; who struck off but the ear of Malchus, but he would surely strike off head and all. Which message was carried to them: and it put them in such fear, that when Underhill had often met them, they would not meddle with him. So mightily did God defend him. But yet he thought it convenient to retire out of the city, and went and dwelt, as was aforesaid, near Coventry. And thus he, throughout all this dangerous time, was preserved, being never present at the blasphemous mass; and enjoyed his place and pension. And was never called more before the Privy Council, to answer for that for which he was, in the beginning of the reign, cast into Newgate.

What afterward became of this gentleman, I know not: only that he lived some time in the reign of Queen Eliza-

beth, and sent a narration of these things unto John Fox. Out of which I have extracted what I have now writ. Which containing so many memorable matters and transactions of those days, and for the preserving the memory of so eminent a person, (whose name otherwise must have been wholly buried and lost,) I thought worthy so largely to set down. CHAP. VI. Anno 1553.

I shall end this matter with a prayer, that he used in Queen Mary's days against the Papists.

" Lord, be merciful unto us: we wait for thee. Thine 67
" arm is at a point to visit us. But be thou our health His prayer.
" in the time of trouble. Grant that the wicked people
" may flee at the anger of thy voice, and that at thine up-
" standing, the Papists may be scattered abroad. And that
" their spoil may be gathered as the grasshoppers are ga-
" thered together into the pit. Stand up, Lord, thou that
" dwellest on high. Let England be filled with equity and
" righteousness. Let truth and faithfulness be in her here-
" after, wisdom, knowledge, and the fear of God."

CHAP. VII.

The troubles of Mountain, parson of Whittington College. Some remembrance of Hancock, an eminent preacher, and minister of Pole in Dorsetshire.

AND here it may not be amiss to set down what befel one of the London divines about this time; Thomas Mountain by name, parson of St. Michael's the Tower Royal, otherwise called Whittington college; a man of some figure in those days, and that had been with the Duke of Northumberland in the business of Queen Jane. What troubles he endured from the Bishop of Winchester, for performing his function in his parish church according to King Edward's laws, which were then in full force, I will declare; as I have extracted it out of his own MS. relation. Wherein, among other things, two are worthy to be observed, *viz.* the noble confidence of this man, in speaking the truth before Bishop Gardiner severe upon Mountain, of Whittington college. Foxii MSS.

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this bloody-minded Bishop; and his lofty, scoffing, contumelious carriage towards Mountain.

Anno 1553. He administers the sacrament the Sunday after Queen Mary's coronation.

"Queen Mary was crowned Queen of England such a "day of the month, being Sunday, [*viz.* Octob. 1.] The next "Sunday after, I, Thomas Mountayn, did minister all kynd "of service, according to the godly order then set forth by "the most gracious and blessed Prince, King Edward the "Sixth: and the whole parish being than gathered toge- "ther, did than and there most joyfully communicate toge- "ther with me the holy supper of the Lord Jesus; and "many other godly citizens were then partakers of the "same. Who, with bitterness of repentance, did not only "lament their former wicked lyves, but also the lack and "loss of our most dread sovereign Lord, King Edward the "Sixth, whom we were not worthy of, for our unthankful- "ness and disobedience both towards Almighty God and "his Majestie. Now while I was even a breking of the "bread at the table, saying to the communicants these "words, *Take and eat this*, &c. and *Drink this*, &c. there
68 "were standing by, to see and hear, certayn serving men, "belonging to the Busshop of Wynchester. Among whom "one of them most shamefully blasphemed God, saying, "Ye, God's bloud, standest thou there yet, saying, Take and "eat, Take and drink? Will not this gear be left yet? You "shall be made to sing another song within this few days, "I trow, or else I have lost my mark.

Sent for to appear before Winchester.

"The next Wednesday following [Octob. 11.] the Bus- "shop of Winchester sent one of his servants for me, to "come and speak to my Lord his master. To whom I an- "swered, That I would wait on his Lordship after that I "had don morning prayer. Nay, saith his man, I may "not tary so long for you. I am commaunded to take you "wheresoever I find you, and to bring you with me. That "is my charge given unto me by my Lord's own mouth. "Well than, said I, I will go with you out of hand; and "God be my comfort, and strengthen me with his Holy "Spirit this day and ever, in the same truth wherunto he "hath called me, that I may continue therin to the end.

"Now, whan I came to the great chamber at St. Mary "Overies, there I found the Bushop standing at a bay "window, with a great company about him, and many "sutors, both men and women, (for he was going to the "Court.) Among whom there was one Mr. Sellenger, [or "St. Leger,] a Knight, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, being "a sutor also to my Lord. Then the Bushop called me "unto him, and said, Thou heretic! how darest thou be so "bold to use that schismatical service stil, of late set forth, "seing that God hath sent us now a Catholic Queen? whose "laws thou hast broken, as the rest of thy fellows have "don: and you shal know the price of it, if I do live. "There is such abhominable company of you, as is able "to poyson a whole realm with your heresies. My Lord, "said I, I am none heretic. For that way that you count "heresy, so worship we the lyving God: and as our fore-"fathers have don and believed, I mean Abraham, Isaac, "and Jacob, with the rest of the holy Prophets and Apo-"stles; even so do I beleve to be saved, and by no other "means. God's passion! said the Bushop, did not I tel "you, my Lord Deputy, how you should know an heretic. "He is up with his lyving God, as tho' there were a dead "God. They have nothing in their mouths, these heretics, "but the Lord liveth, the lyving God: the Lord, the Lord, "and nothing but the Lord. Here he chafed like a Bu-"shop; and, as his manner was, many times he put off his "cap, and rubbed to and fro up and down the fore part of "his head, where a lock of hair was always standing up, "and that, as some say, was his grace. But, to pacify this "hasty Bushop and cruel man, the Lord Deputy said, My "good Lord Chancellor, trouble not your self with this he-"retic. I think all the world is full of them. God bless "me from them. But, as your Lordship said even now ful "wel, having a Christian Queen reigning over us, I trust "there wil be shortly a reformation, and an order taken for "these heretics. And, I trust, God hath preserved your "honourable Lordship for the very same purpose. Than "said Mr. Sellenger unto me, Submit your self unto my

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Comes before him.

Winchester in a passion.

Sellenger, Lord Deputy of Ireland, speaks to the Bishop;

And to Mountain.

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"Lord, and so you shall find favour at his hands. I thank "you, Sir, said I: ply your own sute, and I pray you let "me alone. For I never offended my Lord, neither yet "wil I make any such submission as he wold have me to "do. Be assured of that, God willing. Well, said he, you "are a stubborn man.

Charged with treason, as well as heresy.

"Then stood there one by, much like unto Dr. Martyn, "and said, My Lord, the time passeth away: trouble your "self no longer with this heretic: for he is not only a he-"retic, but also a traitor to the Queen's Majestie. For he "was one of them that went forth with the Duke of "Northumberland, and was in open field against her Grace. "And, therefore, as a traitor, he is one of them that are "exempt out of the general pardon, and hath lost the be-"nefit of the same. Is it even so? saith the Bushop. Fetch "me the book, that I may see it. Than was the book "brought him, as one ignorant what had been don, and yet "he being the chief doer himself therof. Than asked he of "me, what my name was. I said, My name was Thomas "Mountain. Thou hast wrong, saith he. Why so, my "Lord? That thou hast not *mounted* to Tyburn, or such "like place. Then said I unto him, I beseech your Lord-"ship, be so good Lord unto me, as to let me know mine "accusers, who they be. For I trust, that I have not de-"served, nother to be hanged as a thief, nor yet to be "burned as an heretic. For I only believe in one God in "Trinitie: and as for the laws of the realm, I trust I have "not offended or broken any of them. No, sayd the Bu-"shop, I wil make thee to sing a new song or thou and I "have don. For these be always linked together, treason "and heresy. And thou hast, like a shameless man, of-"fended in both, and that shalt thou know. I wil school "thee my self.

The Bishop falsely chargeth him for speaking against good works.

"Than he called for the marshal, or some of his men, "and there was none of them there. Then called he for "one Mr. Hungerford, one of his own gentlemen. Him "he rounded in the ear a pretty while: and then openly "the Bushop sayd with a loud voice, I pray you, Mr.

" Hungerford, take this traiterous heretic, and have him to " the Marshalsea, and remember well what I have said unto " you. For this is one of our new broched brethren, that " speaketh agaynst al good works. No, my Lord, said I, I " never preached or spake against any of those good works, " which be commaunded of God in the holy Scriptures to " be don. For in those good works every Christian man " ought to exercise himself all the days of his life; and yet " not to think himself to be justified therby, but rather to " account himself an unprofitable servant, when he hath " don the best he can. That is true, quoth the Bushop. " Your fraternity was, is, and ever wil be altogether un- " profitable in all ages, and good for nothing, but for the " fire. Tel me, I pray thee, what good works were there " don other in King Harry's days, or in King Edward's " days? Truly, my Lord, said I, there were don in the " days of these two notable Kings, of most worthy memory, " many notable things, most worthy of perpetual memory " to the end.

King Henry's and King Edward's days vindicated by Mountain.

" First, the Bushop of Rome was utterly abolished, with " all his usurped power and authority over al Christian " princes; al idolatry, superstition, and hyprocrisy sup- " pressed; al false and feigned religious men and women " discharged of their long loitring in cloisters, and taught to " *serve God in spirit and in truth*, and no longer to worship " him in vain; devouring poor widows houses, under the " pretence of long prayers. Also, if it like your Lordship, " they did erect many colleges. Also the Universities of 70 " Cambridge and Oxford first by wise men were visited, " than purged, wel furnished with godly learned masters " of every house; and, last of all, continually releved and " maintained, from time to time, by the good and wel dis- " posed people of this citie of London; that learned men " might flourish. *Al these, my Lord, were good works.*

King Edward's hospitals.

" Further, they did erect many fair hospitals; one for or- " phans and fatherles children; wherin they may be taught " to know their duty and obedience both to God and man: " having both a schoolmaster, and also an usher, to teach

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" them their grammar. These, likewise, have also meat, " drink, cloth, lodging, lawnders, surgeons, and physicians, " with al other necessaries. In the other houses, my Lord, " there be the blind, the lame, the dumb, the deaf, and all " kind of sick, sore, and diseased people. They have always " with them an honest learned minister, to comfort them, " and to give them good counsil, that they might patiently " take in good part God's visitation. This they have, be- " side meat, drink, lodging, surgeons, physicians. *Are not* " *al these good works, my Lord?*

Winchester disparages them.

" Then the Bushop said unto me, in mockage, Sir, you " have made a great speke. For wheras you have set up " one beggarly house, you have pulled down an hundred " princely houses for it: putting out godly, learned, and " devout men, that served God day and night, and thrust " in their place a sort of scurvy and lowzy boyes.

Winchester questions him as to his belief in the sacrament of the altar.

" Wel, to be short with thee, what sayest thou to the " blessed sacrament of the altar? how believest thou in " that? My Lord, not as you beleve; for I never read " in the Scripture of any such sacrament so called, and so " unreverently to be hanged up in a rope over a heap of " stones: and that same to be worshipped of the people, as " God. Wo be unto them that so do teach the people to " believe! for they be false priests: believe them who will; " for, truly, I will not. Thus have I been taught to be- " lieve. By whom? saith the Bushop. Forsooth, even by " Jesus Christ, the high Bushop and Priest of our souls: " who, *by the offering up of his own blessed body on the* " *cross once for al*, as St. Paul saith to the Hebrews, *and* " *there shedding his most precious blood, hath cleansed us* " *from al our sins.* And, I trust, by his death, to have " everlasting life. But how sayest thou, shameles heretic! " unto the holy and blessed mass? My Lord, suffer me, I " pray you, to speak my conscience. I nother believe it " to be holy, nor yet blessed, but rather to be abhominable " before God and man, and the same to be accursed. And " with that I kneeled down, and held up my hands, looking " up unto heaven, and said, in the presence of them all:

" *O Father of heaven and of earth, I most humbly beseech*
" *thee to encrease my faith, and to help my unbelefe, and*
" *shortly cast down for ever that shamefull idol, the mass,*
" *even for Jesus Christ's sake I ask it, Amen. God graunt*
" *it for his mercyes sake, shortly to come to pas.* I cry you
" mercy, Sir, said the Bushop, how holy you are now! Did
" you never say mass, I pray you? Yes, my Lord, that I
" have; and I ask God mercy, and most heartily forgive-
" nes, for doing so wicked a deed. And will you never
" say it again? said the Bushop. No, my Lord, God will-
" ing, never while I live, knowing that I do know, not to
" be drawn asunder with wild horses. I trust that God wil
" not so give me over, and leave me to my self. Then he 71
" cryed, Away with him. It is the stubbornest knave that
" ever I talked with.

" Then Mr. Hungerford called for three or four of my Carried to the Marshalsea.
" Lord's men to wait upon him to the Marshalsea: and, by
" the way, as he went, he mightily persuaded with me, that
" I should give over mine heresies and wicked opinions, as
" he termed them, and he wold be a mean for me unto my
" Lord, and offered me to go back again. I thanked him
" for his good wil, and desired him, that I might go for-
" ward to the place appointed by my Lord. Wel, saith
" he, and there be no remedy, come on. I am sory for
" you. Then came we to the Marshalsea, and the porter,
" called Brittain, opened the door and let us in, saying, What
" have you brought here, Mr. Hungerford? An heretic?
" He sayd, Yea, and a traitor too. No, said I, I am none.
" I am even as true a man both to God and to the crown
" of England, as any of you both are, or my Lord, your
" master, other. Wel, said the porter, we shal hamper
" you wel enough. Come on with me. Then the gentle-
" man rounded him in the ear, and so went his ways. Then
" was I brought unto a great block. Set up your feet here,
" master heretic, said Brittain the porter; and let me see
" how these cramp-rings will become you. I am not too
" good, said I, to wear these for the truth's sake, seing that
" Jesus Christ dyed for my sake. They are welcome unto

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"me with al my heart. For by much tribulation we must "enter into the kingdom of God. Than he took a great "hammer in his hand, and did set them on, and that "surely. Then he brought me to my lodging, a place "called Boner's colehouse: there he put me in, and locked "the door upon me, saying, he was commanded to keep "me as a close prisoner, and that no man might speak with "me. Content, said I, and yet wil I speak with one, I "trust, every day, and ask you no leave. Who is that? said "he: wold I might know him. So wold I, truly: then "were you a great deal nearer to the kingdom of God "than you are now. Repent therefore your papistry, Mr. "Brittain, and believe the Gospel; so shal you be sure to "be saved, els never. So he shook his head at me, and "went his ways."

Put into Bonner's coalhouse.

No alms for the heretic prisoners.

And here, for a while, we leave this poor minister of Christ a captive in the Marshalsea, where people came in thick and threefold for religion. To this prison the Bishop of Winchester used now and then to send his alms. About ten days after Mountain was committed, Brooks, the Bishop's almoner, came hither with his master's alms-basket: but with a charge from the Bishop to the porter, that not a scrap of it should be given unto the heretics; and that if he heard they had any share in it, that prison should never have it again as long as he lived. Brooks, departing out of the prison, beheld a piece of Scripture, that was painted over the door in the time of King Edward's reign; What have we here? said he; a piece of heresy? I command you, in my Lord's name, that it be clean put out against I come again. For if I find it here, my Lord shall know it, by holy mass.

An altar for mass built, and pulled down again.

72 In Pole in Dorsetshire there was great struggling against bringing in the Popish religion there. Some forward men were for setting up an altar in the church for the mass; but others opposed it. The Queen's proclamation, mentioned in the first chapter of this book, wherein she declared herself a Roman Catholic, and that she had been therein brought up, and wished that all her subjects were

of the same religion, though she would compel none, animated many, that they, forgetting their duty and obedience to God, and to shew their obedience unto the Queen, would have the mass, and other superstitious ceremonies, in post-haste; but Thomas Hancock, the minister of the parish, a favourer of the Gospel, took upon him to read that proclamation to them, and to declare the meaning of it: "That "whereas she willed al her loving subjects to embrace the "same religion, they were not to rebel against her being "their Princess, but to let her alone with her religion. "This satisfied not the Papists, but they would needs have "their masking mass. And so one White, and others, built "up an altar in the church, and procured a fit chap-"lain, a French priest, to say mass there. But their altar "was pulled down: and Sir Bryse, (that was the priest's "name,) was fain to hide his head. Then the Papists built "them an altar in White's house, and his man was clark to "ring the bel, and to assist the priest at mass. But some "threatned him, that if he did use to put his hand out of "the window to ring the bel, that a hand-gun should make "him smart, that he should not pul in his hand again with "ease.

Hancock's narration. Int. Fox. MSS.

"So had the Papists their mass in Mr. White's house, "and the Christians the Gospel preached openly in the "church. The Papists also resorted to the church to hear "the word of God; not for any love they had to the word, "but to take the preacher in a trip. For divers articles "they took out of his doctrin. Of the which they accused "him before the Council at the time of the first Parlia-"ment.

Mass in a house: preaching in the church.

"Amongst the which, one of them was, for that in his "doctrin he taught them, that God had plagued this realm "most justly for their sins with three notable plagues. The "first plague was a warning to England; which was the "posting sweat, that posted from town to town thorow "England, and was named *stop-gallant:* for it spared "none. For there were some dauncing in the court at nine "a clock, that were dead at eleven. In the same sweat

Articles against Hancock taken out of his sermons.

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"also at Cambridge dyed two worthy imps, the Duke of "Suffolk his sons, Charles and his brother. The second Anno 1553. "plague was a threatning to England, when God took "from us our wise, virtuous, and godly King Edward the "Sixth. The third was, the being robbed and spoiled of "the jewel and treasure of God's holy word. The which "utter destruction should follow, without speedy repent-"ance.

Excepted out of the Queen's pardon: and why.

"Another article that much offended, and for the which "he was exempted out of the first general pardon that "Queen Mary graunted, was, that he rebuking their de-"sires, to have their superstitious ceremonies and their "idolatrous mass, and to put down the glorious Gospel 73 "of Christ Jesus, did in his doctrin ask them, how this "mought be don, and how they would bring it to pass, "having the law of the realm, and the glorious Gospel of "Jesus Christ against them; and God being against them. "He asked, in whom they had their trust? He told them, "their trust was in flesh. So they forsook the blessing of "God, and heaped upon themselves his cursings. *Male-"dictus homo, qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem bra-"chium suum*, &c. What flesh is that, said he, you trust "unto? Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester! He "hath been a Saul, God make him a Paul. He hath been "a persecutor, God make him a faithful preacher. These "words so much offended, that he was not thought worthy "to enjoy the Queen's pardon.

He flees.

"Wherupon he was counselled by Master William "Thomas, late clark of King Edward's Council, for safe-"guard of his life, to flee. And so he came to Roan in "Normandy. Where he continued the space of two years; "and half a year he spent at Paris and Orleans. After "that, hearing of an English congregation in the city of "Geneva, he resorted thither with his wife and one of his "children: where he continued three years and somewhat "more. In the which city, I praise God, saith he, I did "se my Lord God most purely and truly honoured, and "sin most straitly punished. So it may be wel called, a *holy*

" *city, a city of God.* The Lord pour his blessings upon " it, and continue his favour towards it, defending it against " his enemies." CHAP. VIII. Anno 1553.

After the death of Queen Mary, in the happy beginning of Queen Elizabeth, he returned home. And all this I have laid together to preserve the memory of another eminent preacher of the Gospel, and to give some light into the times upon Queen Mary's access to the crown.

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Sermons at Court this Lent. Brook's and Watson's sermons before the Queen; printed. Account of another sermon preached before her, to exasperate her against her Protestant subjects.

TO entertain the Queen's devotion this Lent, were set up the learnedest men of the Popish persuasion, to preach before her. Who then laboured to confirm the old superstitions, and threw all the dirt they could upon the late reformation and reformed doctrines, and in the mean time, without all measure, extolling the Queen, even to blasphemy. One of these preachers was James Brook, a Doctor of Oxford, and President of Baliol, and soon after Bishop of Glocester, and a busy man in these times. He preached before her upon the speech of Jairus to Christ, *My daughter is even now dead, but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live.* These words he applied to the kingdom and Church of England, upon its defection from the Pope, even dead, before she [the Queen] came to reign, and, by her mighty influence, reviving and living again. This fine sermon was thought worthy printing soon after. But the Protestants took occasion to spend their censures upon this discourse, saying, herein he made himself to be Jairus the ruler of the synagogue, England to be his daughter, and the Queen to be Christ. Dr. Brook preaches before the Queen.

Another of these preachers was Thomas Watson, D. D.

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Master of St. John's college in Cambridge, and after Bishop of Lincoln, an austere, or rather a sour and churlish man, according to Godwin's character of him. He preached before the Queen the third and fifth Fridays in Lent: who gave himself this task, to prove the real presence in the sacrament, and that the mass was the sacrifice of the New Testament. His two sermons he printed soon afterwards: which remaining unanswered fifteen years, the Papists built much upon, as thinking them not answerable by those of the contrary persuasion. And such an opinion had they of the profound learning of this Doctor, that whatsoever was known of his doing, was thought to be so learnedly done, that none could be found among the Protestants able to answer any part thereof.

His sermons printed.

Answered by Mr. Crowley.

Whereupon, in the year 1569, Robert Crowley, that had been an exile in this Queen's reign, and afterwards minister of Cripplegate, London, undertook to answer these sermons: which, he said, he the rather did, because he knew some Papists that could not be yet persuaded that the Popish Church could err; and also uttered their minds freely, that the Protestant doctrine concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and concerning the sacrifice of the mass, was erroneous and false: which he perceived they were chiefly persuaded of by those sermons. And he added, that he knew some, that did even hunger and thirst to
75 see what might be said to the contrary of that which they were yet persuaded in. Crowley, in his book, sets down Watson's sermons *verbatim*, and taking them throughout piece by piece, answereth each paragraph. In which he took especial care, as he tells us, to consider the authorities that were alleged, with the circumstances; setting down the same at large to be seen; that all might weigh them, and judge whether Watson applied them right. And by the like or greater authority, Crowley answered all that the other had laboured to confirm, either by the Scriptures or ancient Fathers.

But considering these sermons bore so great a vogue among the Papists, I will here give a taste of them. In

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one of them he had these words: "Seeing a sacrifice is an "outward protestation of our inward faith and devotion, if "we Christen men have no sacrifice private unto us, then be "we the most miserable men that ever were, being without "any kind of religion. For take away our sacrifice, and "take away our religion. As St. Cyprian, confuting the "carnal thoughts of the Capernaits, that thought they "should have eaten Christ's flesh either roasted or sod, and "so should have consumed it to nothing, writeth thus: "*Cum illius personæ caro, si in frusta partiretur, non "omni humano generi posset sufficere; qua semel con-"sumpta videretur religio interisse, cui nequaquam ulte-"rius victima superesset: i. e.* Seeing that if the flesh of "his person were divided into pieces, it could not suffice "all mankind to eat upon; which flesh, after it were once "clean wasted and consumed, our religion might likewise "seem to perish and be destroyed, which had no more any "sacrifice remaining. Whereupon I conclude, that if we "have not Christ's body and blood present in the sacra-"ment for our external sacrifice, whereby we may mitigate "and please Almighty God, and obtain remission of sin, "and spiritual grace and gifts; then should we be no bet-"ter than the Turks; seeing all nations from the begin-"ning of the world, both Gentiles and Jews, have had one "kind of outward sacrifice, to declare and express their in-"ward devotion and religion, either to the true God of "heaven, or to such as they fantasied or feigned to be "gods; saving only the Turks, (as Petrus Cluniacensis "writeth.) Whereby it appeareth, that this sect that de-"nieth and destroyeth the mass, which is the sacrifice of "the Church, is verily the sect of Mahomet, preparing a "way for the Turk to overrun all Christendom, as he hath "done a great piece already." This was a home stroke indeed, against all those that opposed the Papal mass: that let their other qualifications be what they will, let them believe in Jesus Christ, and hope to be saved by him, let them own all the articles of the Creed, and believe and live according to the holy Scriptures; yet they are Christians

Subtil sophistry of T. Watson, p. 87. Serm. De Cœna.

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no longer, but mere Turks, and are laying a plot for the great Turk to overrun Christendom. And why so? That follows:

"For what could the Turk do more against our faith, if "he did overcome us, beside our thraldom and tyrannical "oppression, but, as these men do now, to take away our "sacraments and sacrifice, and to leave us nothing but the "bare name of Christ; and if there be any good man, that "hath true religion in his heart, to compel him to keep it "within him, that he shall not express it outwardly?" As if there were no way to express *outwardly* true religion lying in the heart, but by the mass. So that if there were
76 no mass, there could be no external religion. But our preacher goes on. "And, in very deed, divers notable and "godly writers, at this day, call this heresy against the sa-"crifice of the Church, which Luther first began, and most "maintained, by this name, *secta Mahumetica*, the sect of "Mahomet." This was good doctrine to be preached to the Queen upon her first entrance to her kingdom; to envenom her heart against her Protestant subjects, and to dispose her to shed their blood, and to make havock of them, without favour or mercy; as being no better than mere Turks, and such as had renounced their Christianity.

Soon after, speaking of the doctrine of Christ's body to be really present in the blessed sacrament, he declared, that

Ibid. p. 44.

there were three things that held him in this faith; "the "manifest and plain Scripture, the uniform authorities of "holy men, and the consent of the universal Church. "These three be the arguments, that a Christen man may "stick unto, and never be deceived; especially if they be "knit and joined together concerning one matter: but, if "they be separate, then some of them be but weak staves "to lean unto. As for example, the Scripture, without the "consent of the Church, is a weapon as meet for an heretic "as for a Catholic." [Is not this as much as to say, that the Scripture is as fit to confirm heresy, as it is to confirm catholic truth?] "For Arius, Nestorius, and such other "heretics, did allege the Scriptures for their opinions, as

" the Catholics did. But their alleging was but the abus-
" ing of the letter; which is indifferent to good and evil,"
[as though the letter of the sacred word of God would as indifferently admit of an evil sense, as of a good; which certainly is reflection bad enough upon the holy writers, and Spirit of God that inspired them,] " and depraving
" of the true sense: which is only known by the tradition
" and consent of the catholic Church. So that the one
" without the other is not a direction, but a seduction to a
" simple man." [Then let all take heed of reading the word of God, as they would avoid being seduced.] " Be-
" cause the very Scripture indeed is not the bare letter, as
" it lieth to be taken of every man, but the true sense,
" as it is delivered by the universal consent of Christ's
" Church." Which words do effectually destroy the authority of the Scriptures, and make them useless, since we cannot understand any thing in them, until we first know what sense the universal Church of Christ puts upon them. And how shall we come to know that? How difficult to understand, how the universal Church interprets each place? Must we go to the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, to learn the Church's sense? That is not a safe way neither, according to our preacher, who goes on thus:

" Likewise the writings and sayings of the Fathers, if
" they be but the mind of one man, without the consent of
" other, were he never so well learned and virtuous other-
" wise; yet his writings, I say, in that point, be not a con-
" firmation for an ignorant man, to hold him in the truth,
" but a temptation to seduce him and pull him from the
" truth." So that here is a great work done by this man in a few lines. Scriptures and Fathers are rendered useless, nay, and very dangerous; for it is an hundred to one they lead you into error and heresy, if you read them, and pull you from the truth. But what must the poor man do now, that would fain know the truth? Why, believe as the 77
Church believes. For this is the sense of that which follows:

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" The consent of the Church is always a sure staff, the " very pillar of truth, whether it be in things expressed in " the letter of the Scripture, or in things delivered unto us " by tradition of the Apostles. He that holdeth him by " this staff, cannot fall in faith, but stand in truth." But we are left in the briars as much as before: for, how shall we know what the consent of the Church is?

After he had laboured, by authority of Scripture and Fathers, to prove the carnal presence, he thus proceeds:

Ibid. p. 148. " These Scriptures, and these effects brought out of the " Scriptures, and confirmed by many manifest authorities " of the holy Fathers, do prove evidently to any man that " hath but common wit, and any sparkle of grace, and is " not forsaken of Almighty God, that the substance of this " sacrament is neither bread nor wine, but only the body " and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, united to God's Son " in unity of person. Which is a sufficient cause, able to " work in the worthy receiver these heavenly and glorious " effects, which I have spoken of already.

" Whereby it appeareth, what moveth me to continue " still in that faith, which is so expressly taught in holy " Scripture. Which Scripture also draweth and pulleth " me from the contrary false opinion. In divers places it " moveth me, and all Christen men, *to beware and take* " *heed of false prophets, that come in the apparel of sheep,* " *but within they be ravenous wolves:* that in their mouths " have the word of God, their truth, and Gospel, and such " gay words; but the pit and effect of their teaching is " old rotten heresies, confuted and condemned of all Chris- " tendom before; and not God's word: the name whereof " they abuse to the maintenance of all vice, error, beastly " living, adultery, disobedience, sacrilege, and open con- " spiracy, to the subversion of themselves, and of that state " under which they live." Thus was it the care of these bloody-minded men, the Romish clergy, to irritate the Queen, by these slanders and false accusations of her peaceable subjects, the Gospellers, to proceed in all manner of rigour and cruelty against them.

" The Scripture crieth," added he, " *Nolite omni spiritui* CHAP. VIII.
" *credere; Believe not every spirit, but try and prove the*
" *spirits if they be of God, or no: for many false prophets* Anno 1553.
" *are abroad in the world.* One way to try them is, to 1 John iv.
" mark the end of their conversation, and the example and
" fruit of their lives: as St. Paul saith, *Quorum exitum*
" *conversationis intuentes, eorum imitamini fidem: Follow*
" *their faith, the end of whose conversation ye have seen.*
" We have seen what is the end of this new teaching; car-
" nal and detestable living, conspiracy and treason." Laying Wyat's rebellion to their charge most falsely: for they generally disowned it, and refused to have any hand in it.

" The other Fathers of whom we learned our faith, were
" men whom the corrupt world was not worthy to have.
" These authors of this new opinion were men that were
" not worthy to have and enjoy the world:" [but by all means, if he had his will, to be executed, as malefactors and villains, out of the way:] " of whom St. Peter writeth,
" *Magistri mendaces*, and so forth: *Lying masters, that* 2 Pet. ii.
" *bring in sects of perdition, and deny that Lord that*
" *bought them*, (as they do in this matter of the sacrament,) 78
" *bringing upon them a speedy perdition. And many shall*
" *follow their ways; through whom the way of truth shall*
" *be slandered and blasphemed; and in covetousness, by*
" *feigned words, they shall make merchandise of you; to*
" *whom judgment ceaseth not, and their destruction ceaseth*
" *not.*" Applying, out of his charity, unto the professors of the reformed religion, a place of Scripture spoken of the very worst of heretics, apostates from the profession of Christ, and sunk into all manner of immorality and uncleanness.

" We be also warned of St. John of this matter, saying, 2 John ix.
" *He that remaineth and abideth in the doctrine*, (that the
" Apostles taught,) *he hath the Father and the Son. If*
" *any come to you, not bringing this doctrine, do not re-*
" *ceive him into your houses.* Here he doth teach us to
" avoid them that profess any other doctrine than such as
" all faithful men throughout the world have received and

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"profess: which is not the doctrine the sacramentaries "preach." Whereas there is no particular doctrine meant in that place, but in general *the doctrine of Christ.*

Vid. v. 9.

"Finally, considering the promises of Christ to his "Church, *that he will be with them to the world's end, and* "*that the Holy Ghost shall lead them into all truth;* then "may we justly say, that if this our faith be an error, it "hath prevailed universally; not one hundred year, but "two, three, four, yea, a thousand year, and more than "that, even to the ascension of Christ, as appeareth by the "testimonies of all holy writers. And then may we say, "Lord, if we be deceived, thou hast deceived us. We "have believed thy word; we have followed the tradition "of the universal Church; we have obeyed the determina-"tions and teachings of those bishops and pastors whom "thou hast placed in the Church, to stay us in unity of "faith, that we be not carried away with every wind of "false doctrine. Therefore, if we be deceived, it cometh "of thee, O Lord. Our error is invincible." Thus men flatter themselves in their own opinions, and are ready, presumptuously, to lay their follies to God's charge. But it is well he comes in, in the next words, with an epanorthosis: "But, good people, we are sure God deceiveth no man. "Let us all beware we do not deceive ourselves, as St. "James saith." And let those especially beware they do not deceive themselves, that are most confident they are not deceived. Of which number, surely, was this confident Doctor.

His sermon for private masses.

All this, and much more, did the preacher entertain the Queen with in his first sermon. In his second sermon he laboured, among other things, to prove private masses: and, towards the close, hath an argument far fetched, which few would have thought on. And that was, "because the de-"vil once condemned those masses, and called them *horrible* "*idolatry.* But the devil being a great liar; therefore, "those masses were good, and no idolatry." And that this was the devil's judgment of masses, the preacher had it from Luther himself. "Therefore," he said, "Luther had

Ibid. p. 181.

" learned this lesson from the devil: and that he had once " a vision of the devil, and saw him with his corporal eyes, " being waking: and that of him he learned all that he had " so pestilently spoken against the holy mass." And for the proving these surprising assertions to his auditors, in great ostentation, the Doctor pulled out Luther's book, which he wrote against private masses, and there fell to reading out of it, how Luther related of himself, that one night suddenly awaking, Satan began a disputation with him, setting 79 before him the greatness of his sin, for having said private masses for almost fifteen years daily; and putting the case to him, what a sinner he must needs have been, if such private masses were horrible idolatry, and if the body and blood of Christ were not present there, having then given divine honour to bare bread and wine: intending hereby to tempt Luther to despair of God's mercy. But hence Watson concluded, that the devil was the first that ever barked against the sacrifice of the Church; and that the mass was good, because the devil found fault with it; and that it must be a lie to charge it with idolatry, because the father of lies so charged it. But may not the devil suggest a truth, as he once quoted a place of Scripture to Christ, when it may serve his turn the better to lay his temptation? As he said all this truth against private masses to Luther, to bring him into despair of God's mercy, for having so long lived in idolatry. But, said Luther, piously, to these suggestions of the devil, (as Dr. Watson then read out of the aforesaid book,) " I will not despair, as Judas did, but " amend that I have done amiss, and never say private mass " again." And now, at length, what is become of this notable argument of the Doctor's for mass, fetched from the devil's temptation of Luther? But I am sensible I have been too prolix in this matter: for which I beg the reader's pardon; being willing to shew, what pains the Popish clergy took by these chapel entertainments, to make the Queen as bigoted as themselves. Nor needed she this whetting, having shewn her zeal to religion, or her anger rather towards

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the professors of the true religion, by clapping up so many already as she had done.

Anno 1553. Many sermons of this sort were preached in the beginning of this reign among the people; and transubstantiation laboured hard at, to make it down with them; seasoned with abundance of most reproachful words cast at the teachers of the true doctrine. Such a sermon I will give you a taste of, which I met with among the Foxian MSS. but by whom preached I cannot tell; but, as it seems, by somebody of fame. Some part whereof ran thus:

Part of another Popish sermon.

"Mark the noughtiness of thies verlets, who with feet "and head go about to take away and destroy the greatest "treasour the Church hath, that is to say, the most huge "and godliest sacrament of the aultar: without which the "Church cannot be, ne yet Christen religion stand or con-"tinew.

"Whose hart wold not bleed to se thes noughtie despe-"rats so unreverently speak blasphemy, and rail against "this most holy sacrament, which *the angelical spirits of* "*heaven* (as Chrysostom, in his XXI. Homily upon the "ix. chap. of the Acts, sayeth) *do honour and reverence* "*with trembling and drede;* and *cannot* (as Hesychias "sayth, in his second book and viii. chapter of Leviticus) "*behold with their eyes?*

"This is to be noted, that thies noughtie vile persons use "this of custom in this matter, and such like, eyther not to "alledge the Scriptures and sayings of Fathers; or if they "do, they do not alledge theym wholly. And if they do "wholly, they do interpretate and expound theym falsely "and untruly against the true sense, understanding, and "meaning of them, gyving unto theym false gloses and "comments to deceave and beguyle the ignorant and not "learned persons.

80 "If al the Catholiks were lerned, they should soon see "and perceave the juggling and falshood of thies harlots, "and that such stuf as they do bring in, being wel exa-"myned, maketh not for theym, but clene against theym.

" Note, The discord and dissension, that hath bene and " ys, even emongst the ring-leaders and capitanes of the " heresies in this matter, and in other cheif points of our " religion: yea, what contradiction commonly some one or " other of the chiefest of theym ys in with his own self; " especially Luther and Melancthon: whom to credyt " against so many good and godly lerned men, ys to de- " clare, that he that so doth, hath an empty folysh brayn, " and ys bewitched from al wysdom and goodness.

" Note, That thies heretiks do take away that sacrifice, " which ys called *juge sacrificium; the continual* or dayly " *sacrifice;* and, consequently, withal they take away " Christen religion, and the Church of Christ's doctryne. " For thees three, doctryne, religion, and sacrifice, alway " hitherto have concurred and ranne together.

" Note also, That where Christ, to the great comfort of " Christen people, hath promysed to be with theym conty- " nually to the world's end, undoubtedly meaning and un- " derstanding his said being to be in the sacrament of the " aultar, as the catholike Fathers do interpretate and de- " clare; thies losells, depryving Christen folks of so great " a solace and comfort, make Christ therby, so mych as " lyeth in theym, to be accompted and taken for a very " lyer.

" Note, That where thies brothels commonly have no- " thyng in their mowthe but faith, faith, ye shal find in " examyning their further sayings and doyngs, they want " also that utterly in effect. For where we ought simply " and playnly, without al doubt, to beleve that which " Christ (the trouth it self) did in his woords affirm and " say, thees villayns, where Christ by express woords did " say, *Hoc est corpus meum, hic sanguis meus*, noting his " very presence in the sacrament, they do, by their blynd " gloses, devysed by their frantike and mad brayns, say, " that the body and bloud of Christ ys not indede in the " sayd sacrament, bycause they cannot by reason compre- " hend it; without which they wil beleve nothing.

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" Note, The old and very true saying, *Fœlix quem fa-*
" *ciunt aliena pericula cautum;* Happy ys he whom other
" men's perils do make wise or wary; and withal consider
" the state of Germany, how it hath been in times past,
" and how it is now. And yf you shal fynd the decay and
" ruine thereof to procede of discord in religion, then look
" for like effect to follow here, where ys the same cause
" and root that there was, and destroyed altogether. Yea,
" withal note, that when concord in religion [preserved]
" theym in unity and peace, discord undyd theym. So
" taking their trade, ye may look to your self for the like.

" Note, Whether the poor people, which heretofore was
" brought into a fool's paradise, thinking, by thees hereti-
" cal opinions, to have God by the foot, are not now ful
" wery to have gyven credence therunto; having gotten
" therby nothing but shame and loss, to their perpetual
" confusion.

81 " Note, That emongest al heresies heretofore most justly
" condempned, which now in this troublesome world are
" eftsones forbyshed and scoured, brought unto us from hel
" by lymnes of the devil, there is none so craftily, so bold-
" ly, so ernestly set fourth, to the ruyne and destruction
" of the poor people, with the great blasphemy of God, as
" ys that touching the blessed sacrament of the aultar.

" Note, That heretiks, though in some things they may
" be seen to differ from other heretiks in this matter; yet
" shal you fynd, that touching this sacrament, they be
" tyed and lynked by the tayls together.

" Note, That lyke as the crafty serpent, the devil, did
" play the false knave with our first parents, Adam and
" Eve; mysconstruing God's woord contrary to the mean-
" yng thereof, and induced them to break God's command-
" ment: so thees lowsie beasts, the progeny of the devil,
" go about to play with you, taking away the lyvely food
" from you, and gyving you a peece of bread, according
" to the proverb, *Pro thesauro carbones;* Coles for treasure:
" bringing you from the holesome meat of lyfe, to the

"deadly fruit of the tree forbidden, and depryving you "craftily from the godly and effectual meat and medicyne "of helth and felicitie.

"The chief study of the heretiks, and, in maner, al their "purpose, ys, to tourne upsyde down the Church, and to "make her which ys his mystical body, being of his flesh "and bones, which also he nourisheth and cherisheth, to "be a straunger, and not acquainted with him: a token of "Danyel's prophesie, and that the last day ys at hand."

The tyranny of ecclesiastical prosecutions.

Whatever success these kind of sermons had, to bring in their admired doctrine of transubstantiation, their greatest trust seemed to be in more violent methods, those of imprisonment and persecution; which, as was mentioned before, very many underwent in the very beginning of this Queen's reign. And what this was like to come to afterwards, all sober people looked upon with a sad eye. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton was one of these, who, about this time, bemoaned to his friend Sir Edward Warner, late lieutenant of the Tower, his own estate, and the tyranny of the times, extended upon divers honest persons for religion: and wished it were lawful for all of each religion to live safely according to their conscience. For the law *ex officio*, he said, would be intolerable, and the clergy discipline now might rather be resembled to the Turkish tyranny, than to the teaching of Christian religion. Which words he was not afraid at his trial openly to acknowledge that he had said to the said Warner.

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Discontents among the people. The Lady Elizabeth's troubles. Wyat's insurrection. The gentlemen pensioners' service.

Mutiny against the Queen.

THE uneasiness of the present government, and the strong fears of more misery to follow, had created many discontented spirits already among the Queen's subjects; and dangerous plots were now hatching: which caused Bishop

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Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, to send for the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen, and about forty of the commons, towards the middle of January; and, in a flourishing speech, laboured to sweeten the citizens, especially about the Queen's intended marriage with the Prince of Spain, that was now vigorously carrying on, and was one great reason of the people's disgust. But, however endeavours were used to prevent, matters were in this month of January ripened into a rebellion, and the city had an understanding herein. The Queen and her friends were in great fear, that the ill-affected towards her should seize the Lady Elizabeth, and, it may be, set her up for Queen. This made them resolve to secure her; but thought it best to attempt it at first in a gentle manner. The Queen therefore, out of great seeming care of her sister's person in these dangers, sends a kind letter to her, dated Jan. 26, (which was the day after Sir Thomas Wyat appeared openly in arms at Maidston,) to come up to her to St. James's, and to be with her: whose letter, as I had it from the original, was in this tenor:

" Right dear, and intirely beloved sister,

Queen Mary to her sister. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" We greet you well: And where certain evil disposed " persons, minding more the satisfaction of their own ma- " licious and seditious minds, than their duty of allegiance " towards us, have of late foully spread divers lewd and un- " true rumours; and by that means, and other devilish " practices, do travail to induce our good and loving sub- " jects to an unnatural rebellion against God, us, and the " tranquillity of our realm; we, tendering the surety of your " person, which might chance to be in some peril, if any " sudden tumult should arise, where you now be, or about " Dounington, whither, as we understand, you are minded " shortly to remove, do therefore think expedient you should " put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed, " to make your repair hither to us. Which we pray you " fail not to do: assuring you, that as you may most surely " remain here; so shall you be most heartily welcome to " us. And of your mind herein, we pray you to return

" answer by this messenger. And thus we pray God to
" have you in his holy keeping. Yeven under our signet
" at our manor of St. James's, the 26. Jan. in the first year
" of our reign. Anno 1553. 83

" Your lovyng syster,
" Marye the Quene."

The Lady Elizabeth's governors to the Lord Chancellor.

This resolution was taken by the advice of Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, and Privy Council. With the aforesaid letter from the Queen to her sister, orders also were sent to those that had the care and government of her, to bring her up. She was now at her house at Ashridge, very ill, and much indisposed in her health. Her governors therefore waited for her amendment, thinking it not safe yet to remove her. And she, in the mean time, signified to the Queen her sickness, and prayed her forbearance for a few days, protesting her abhorrence of those seditious practices. Her governors, on their parts, lest this gentleness towards their mistress might be interpreted in the worse sense, sent their letter to the Lord Chancellor, acquainting him with her condition, avowing their obedience and readiness to receive the Queen's and Council's commands. For thus they addressed themselves:

" May it please your good Lordship,

" That albeit we attend here on my Lady Elizabeth's
" Grace, our mistress, in hope every day of her amend-
" ment, to repair towards the Queen's Highness, (whereof
" we have, as yet, none apparent likelihood of health,) yet,
" considering this dangerous world, the perilous attempts
" and the naughty endeavours of the rebels, which we daily
" hear of against the Queen's Highness, our sovereign
" Lady, we do not forget our most bounden duty, nor yet
" our readiness in words and deeds to serve her Highness
" by all the ways and means that may stand in us, both
" from her Grace, our mistress, and of our own parts also.
" Which thing, although my Lady's Grace, our said mis-
" tress, hath tofore this signified unto the Queen's High-

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"ness of her behalf by message, it might nevertheless "seem to your good Lordship, and the Lords of the Coun- "cil, some negligence that we did not make you also privy "hereunto; we have therefore thought it our duty to de- "clare this unto your Lordship. Most humbly beseeching "the same to prescribe unto us the Queen's pleasure and "yours herein, or in any thing else, wherein we may serve "her Highness. And we, according to our most bounden "duties, shall not fail to perform the same always to the "uttermost of our lives. Our Lord knoweth it, to whose "blessed tuition we commit you."

The Lady Elizabeth sent to the Tower.

It was not long after she could have received the former letter from the Queen, but there came another sort of message to her, brought by three of the Queen's Privy Counsellors, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallys, great Papists, and a great number of armed men with them, to fetch her away; those knights coming up to her bedside at ten o'clock at night. And, the next day, they took her along with them in an horse litter, notwithstanding her great weakness and sickness, and earnest desire of some days' forbearance. How she was
84 brought to the Court, and kept a prisoner there for a fortnight, and not suffered all the while to see the Queen's face, and from thence committed to the Tower; and after some considerable tarriance there, sent away, with a strong guard, to Woodstock; and how afterwards back again to the court at Hampton, and from thence, after some weeks' confinement there, to her own house, under a guard; and all the hard usage she met with in the interval, and the great danger of her life's being taken away by assassination; for all this the reader may have recourse to Holingshed's or Fox's history. Only some passages I must relate, during these troubles, being there omitted.

What happened to her here. Foxii MSS.

When she was commanded to the Tower, two Lords were ordered to attend her: one, whose name is concealed, was very rough to her; the other as obliging: he was the old Earl of Sussex. The Saturday when she should have

gone to the Tower, that Lord said, that divers Lords that were of the Council were sorry for her trouble; "and "as for me," said he, casting his hands abroad, and speaking, as it seemed, with much agony, "sorry I am, that ever "I have lived to see this day." She had not been two days in the Tower, but mass was commanded to be said to her. One of the three gentlewomen, who were attendants on her in the Tower, named Mrs. Elizabeth Sands, afterwards married to Sir Maurice Barkley, refused there to come to the mass. Wherefore her father, Mr. Sands, brought Mr. Fecknam to persuade her. Which when he could not, but he himself was overcome in the Scriptures by her, neither yet would she be moved thereto by her father in those things which touched her soul's health; then was she displaced, and another put in her room, named Mrs. Coldburn; after Mrs. Marborow. Whilst the Lady Elizabeth was in the Tower, the children brought flowers unto her: one whereof was a child of Martin, keeper of the wardrobe: another was a girl called Susanna, not above three or four years old: another girl also there was, that delighted to wait upon our virgin prisoner with her flowers, who once innocently brought her some little keys she had got, and telling her she had brought her keys now, that she might go abroad. CHAP. IX. Anno 1553.

When she was to be removed from the Tower to Woodstock, (sent at that distance for no good intent, as it was thought,) in her journey thither she was brought to Richmond, where she made some small stay; the Court being there. At which many of her friends were joyful, thinking she was now set at liberty. Among the rest so mistaken was one Allen of the guard, who brought her a dish of apples, and thought also to have delivered her book, supposing that she had been delivered, and no prisoner. But he paid for his mistake, Sir Henry Benefield, an austere man, that had the guard of her, committing him to prison, and punishing him for his pains. At her being at Woodstock, one or two popes died. An hearse was set up in the town church. Also a jubilee came down with clean remission; And at Woodstock.

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and a general fast was appointed that week, to be observed on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday; also with commandment, that every one should be confessed, and the priest to write the confession. And so, after the confession, upon Sunday, the sacrament was to be received. In the mean time, one of the two yeomen that waited upon her, being somewhat diseased of an ague, and could not well fast, came to the priest and said, that the time had been that any might have hired one to fast for him, and asked, whether it would be allowed now? The priest said, Yea. And so it was agreed. The yeoman coming to the poor folks at the gates, asked, if any there would fast for him: and they said, Yea. And one poor woman, among the rest, desired she might fast, and offered to do it for three pence. Nay, said he, thou shalt have a groat, and meat also besides. The other yeoman seeing that, hired likewise another. When time of the confession came, which was Saturday, at night, the said yeoman, coming to the priest, was asked, how he believed in the sacrament of the altar? and said, he must believe to be there, flesh, blood, and bone. Nay, no bone, said the other, because the Scripture saith, *Ye shall break of him no bone.* Beware, said the priest, ye must take heed of that, and believe there both flesh, blood, and bone. So, much arguing was between them. The priest declared, he must write the confession, and that it must be sent up to the Queen. And so were all the confessions of the Lady Elizabeth's attendants: that so, as I suppose, they might be the better known, and such of her servants might be discharged, whose confessions were not catholic enough, and others put in their places. But to proceed. What would you, said the priest, that I shall write? Which do you believe? Choose you, said he, for your peril be it. As you teach us, so say that I believe. But put no bone, for then ye cannot break it. And so he wrote flesh and blood, but omitted *bone.* One Robert Horneby, then groom of her privy chamber, refused the same time. Whereupon, after coming from Woodstock to Hampton Court, he was brought before the Council, and so committed to the

Marshalsea. But at length, by Dr. Martin's means, delivered. CHAP. IX.

Thus that good Princess continued in imprisonment for near two years; and when she was enlarged and dismissed home, yet a guard was appointed over her at her own house, which were Sir Thomas Pope and Sir John Gage: who were always spies upon her and her family. And oftentimes her servants, whom she most favoured, were sent for away from her. And being at] Lamheir, Jerningham, that was master of the Queen's horse, came with another, who was her gentleman usher, and fetched away at once four of her women servants; Mrs. Ashely being one, whom she loved well, and was the chief about her. And these were laid in the Tower; for what reason it doth not appear. This happened a little before Bishop Gardiner's death: which proved a benefit to her, he being her great enemy. For after, she lived in more quiet and security. Anno 1553. She is dismissed; but under a guard.

But these afflictions sat close upon her, apprehending herself in danger every moment of some sudden death, knowing what enemies she had, and what snares had been laid for her. But she remained constant in her obedience to her sister the Queen; was very conversant and earnest in her prayers and devotions, and very much exercised in succouring of good men in their necessities, as she was able. During this her afflicted condition, all pious and sober men had a great eye to her, and were in great concern for her, on whom their future hopes, and the success of true religion, depended. One of these was Dr. Haddon, who, having a good genius in poetry, administered his comfort to her in a paper of smooth Latin verses; advising her therein to patience and trust in God, and a continuance in her well-doing, with a kind of prophecy of her preferment at the last: Her behaviour in her afflictions.

Elizabetha, diu multorum mole laborum
Obruta, sæpe pio volvis in ore preces.
Sæpe Deo tristes casus, et acerba dolorum
Vulnera proponis, sæpe requiris opem.
Non venit ad votum subito: cito crescat ut ardor

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Mentis, et in cœlo discat habere locum.
Distulit auxilium, sed tandem numine pleno
Spiritus adveniens, pectora mœsta levat.
Spiritus ille levat, qui Christi membra beati
Multa premi patitur, nulla perire sinit.
Fide Deo, succurre bonis, reverere sororem,
Sic tibi perpetuus cursus honoris erit.
Elizabetha, vale; Christo gratissima virgo,
Chara piis Princeps, Elizabetha, vale.

The occasion of her trouble, Wyat's rebellion.

But to proceed to the ground of all this trouble to the Lady Elizabeth: which was Sir Thomas Wyat's insurrection, occasioned by the great dislike the English nation took at the Spanish match, now resolved upon, as was mentioned above, and the fears of that royal Princess's safety. And so Wyat himself, at his condemnation, declared it plainly: "I was persuaded, that by the marriage of the "Prince of Spain, the second person of this realm, and "next heir to the crown, should have been in danger; and "I, being a free-born man, should, with my country, have "been brought into bondage and servitude of aliens and "strangers." A relation hereof is given us at large in Hollingshed and other historians: to which readers may have recourse. Yet some of the transactions of this stir, that perhaps are not read elsewhere, I shall set down, partly from the journal of one who then dwelt in London, and partly from certain letters wrote from the Court to the Earl of Shrewsbury, then in the north.

Vitell. F. 5. Ex Offic. Armor.

The city upon the watch.

Jan. 26, began the watching in arms at every gate in the city. For tidings were now come to the Queen and her Council, that Sir Thomas Wyat, Sir George Harper, Sir Henry Iseley, Mr. Cobham, Mr. Rudston, the Knevits, and divers other gentlemen, were risen, because of the Prince of Spain's intended coming to marry the Queen: and that they kept Rochester Castle, and the bridge, and other places.

Soldiers raised in London. Vitellius, F. 5.

Jan. 27, the city sent into Kent a great number of men in white coats. The captains to command them, and the

rest of the forces, were the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Ormund, Sir George Hayward, and divers others. But many of the guards and of the white coats took their opportunity and went over to Wyat's side: whereupon the captains went home again. Wyat had gotten some ordnance that belonged formerly to the King. After the captains retired, Wyat came forward towards Dartford, with his army, towards London. CHAP. IX. Anno 1553.

On the 28th, the Queen sent to Wyat and his company, the Master of the Horse and Mr. Comptroller, to know their intent: and they returned answer, that they would have the Queen and the Tower in keeping, and some other things. The Queen sends to Wyat.

On the 29th, Wyat, Harper, Iseley, and the rest, were marching towards Blackheath, and so forwards towards London, with a great army. 87 He comes to Blackheath.

How the Queen resented these doings, and how the conspiracy spread into the west and other parts, a letter will discover, wrote from some great Lord, Jan. 28, to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Wherein he ascertained him, "that the "Queen was in good health of her body, but sick in certain "naughty members of her commonwealth: as the Carows "in the west parts, and Wyat, Harper, and Colepepper in "Kent. Of which disease he trusted Almighty God would "shortly deliver her Majesty. For the Carows, they had "heard, were ready to run: that the country of Devonshire "would not harbour or countenance them: that Gawen "Carow made great haste out of Exeter: that the Kentish "men also seemed to faint: that Harper offered to per-"suade the people to go home to their houses, so he might "have the Queen's pardon: and that Colepepper made the "means he could to get thence. That the Duke of Norfolk, "and divers others, as the Lord Clinton, Lord Cobham, "the master of the Queen's horse, and divers other gentle-"men, were gone towards the rebels; who indeed had as-"sembled at Rochester, and there kept the passage. That "the Duke of Suffolk was stolen from his house at Shene, "with his two brethren, to Leicestershire, having been met The conspiracy spreads in the west. E Literis Com. Salop. in Offic. Armor.

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" at Stony Stratford. And that the Earl of Huntingdon " was gone into those parts after him; and that the Duke " was proclaimed traitor. That the cause of this insurrec- " tion they vaunted in all places to be the Queen's mar- " riage with the Prince of Spain."

Foreign succour feared.

And that which rendered this rebellion the more formidable was, that it was feared some forcible invasion at this time from France might assist and join with these seditious persons at home: which was the cause the Queen gathered all the strength she could, and sent to all her nobility and gentry, with the more celerity, to come in to her with all the force they could raise. To the Earl of Sussex (that was late her lieutenant, when he raised an army for her crown) thus she wrote the last day of January but one.

By the Quene.

" Marye the Quene.

The Queen to the Earl of Sussex. Titus, B. 2. p. 123.

" Right trusty and right welbeloved, we grete you wel. " And forasmuch as divers seditious persons, traiterously " conspiring together, have raised a most unnatural and " perillous rebellion against us, our laws, and dignity royal, " tending to the utter destruction of this our realm, if " speedy remedy be not provided: we do therefore charge " and require you, as ye tender the surety of our person, " and the preservation of this our native country, that rais- " ing al the force of hable men ye be hable to make of " your servants, tenants, and friends, and others under your " rules and offices, ye do with the same, in warlike maner, " repair unto us with all possible speed. Wherin the more " earnest expedition you make, the more acceptable service " shal ye minister unto us. This matter requireth so much " the more hast, for that many of the said rebels have 88 " openly said, that they want not in this their detestable " doings the aid and succours of certain of our ancient ene- " mies in foreign parts. Yeoven under our signet, at our " palace of Westminster, the xxx. of January, the first year " of our reigne.

" *To our right trusty and right welbeloved cousin " and counsillor, the Earl of Sussex.*"

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Now all the care was to keep Wyat out of the city. Therefore, Feb. 1, orders came, that all crafts should find a double number of men at this dangerous juncture. And that none but householders should come to London-bridge, and the gates and the draw-bridge there, to defend the city in that part: where great guns were planted; and afterward the bridge was broken down. There was then a precept, that each man in every house should make and provide a white coat for his soldier to wear.

The citizens guard London-bridge.

The same day, at noon, was a proclamation made in Cheapside, at Leadenhall, and Magnus church corner, with an herald of arms, and one of the Queen's trumpeters, accompanied with the Lord Mayor, and the Lord Admiral Howard, and the two Sheriffs, that Sir Thomas Wyat was a traitor and rebel, and all his fellows likewise: declaring therein, that the said Wyat required to have the Queen in custody, and the Tower of London in his keeping.

Sir Tho. Wyat proclaimed a traitor.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, the Queen came riding from Westminster unto Guildhall, attended with a noble retinue of lords and ladies, bishops and knights, heralds at arms, and trumpeters blowing, and all her guard in harness. There she declared, in an oration, to the Mayor and the city, and to her Council, her mind concerning her marriage, (which had occasioned all this present danger and disturbance,) that she never intended to marry out of her realm, but by her Council's consent and advice: and that she would never marry, but all her true subjects should be content with it, or else she would live as she had done hitherto. But that she would call a Parliament as shortly as might be, and as she should find cause. This the journal-writer makes the chief contents of her speech, to pacify and keep the citizens in a stay: but her whole speech is preserved in some of our chronicles. She then also told them, that the Earl of Pembroke should be her chief captain and general against Wyat, and the Lord Admiral should be associate with the Lord Mayor, to defend and keep the city from all attempts. After this, the Queen de-

The Queen comes to the city.

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parted from Guildhall, and rid to the Three Cranes in the Vintry, and took her barge to Westminster.

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A proclamation for taking Wyat.

On the 3d day went forth a proclamation, that whosoever should take the body of Sir Thomas Wyat, except Harper, Iseley, and Rudston, should have and enjoy, as a reward, an 100*l.* land to them and their heirs for ever. On the same day, Wyat, with the rest, came into Southwark, at afternoon, with his army: and the morrow after, they made their trenches in divers places, and planted ordnance.

Who comes to Southwark.

Orders to watch the passages into Scotland.

In the mean time the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the north, despatched letters both to Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir Robert Constable, who were chief officers in the marches between Scotland and England, that they should watch the passages into Scotland. And Wharton, Feb. 4, wrote to the Earl, that he presently had depeched two servants of his; one to his deputies at Cockermouth and Fornesse, to keep good watch for the apprehension of the Duke of Suffolk, or any other traitors or suspect persons, according to his Lordship's honourable commandment: professing, that therein, and in all other commandments, he should be ready to serve her Highness, and attend his Lordship, as might stand with his pleasure.

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Wyat comes towards London, by Kingston.

Feb. 6, being Shrove Tuesday, in the morning, Wyat and his company returned back from Southwark toward Kingston upon Thames, thinking to enter London that way: but there he found the bridge plucked up. Yet causing one of his men to swim over to fetch a boat, he and his men marched that night toward Kensington, and so forward. The same day, two men that were spies were hanged upon a gibbet in Paul's Churchyard: the one a spy of Wyat's, and the other under-sheriff of Leicester, for carrying letters of the Duke of Suffolk, and some other things. This day also were the Duke of Suffolk, and his brother, the Lord John, brought on horseback to the Tower, guarded by the Earl of Huntington, with two (others write three) hundred horse.

Spies hanged.

Duke of Suffolk brought to the Tower.

Wyat taken.

Feb. 7, in the forenoon, Wyat, with his army and

ordnance, were at Hyde-park-corner. There the Queen's host met them, with a great number of men of arms on horseback, beside foot. By one of the clock, the Queen's men and Wyat's had a skirmish, and many were slain. Wyat took the way down by St. James's, with a great company, and so to Charing-cross, and onward toward London, still crying, *God save Queen Mary!* till he came to Ludgate, and knocked there, thinking to have entered. But the gate being kept fast against him, he retired back again toward Temple-bar; and there yielded himself unto Mr. Norroy, the herald, in his coat of arms: where being mounted behind a gentleman, was brought unto the Court. By the way many of his men were slain ere they came to Charing-cross, some with morice-pikes, and some with bills: and many others of them cried, *We be the Queen's servants, and Englishmen*, under a false pretence, and to make men believe the Queen had given them pardon. And divers of them took the Queen's men by the hand, as they went towards Ludgate. This happened on Ash Wednesday. And the same night, Wyat, Cobham, Vane, and the two Knevets, and other captains, were sent to the Tower.

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As for the Court, how it stood there in this disturbance, take from the relation of one who was then one of the Queen's gentlemen pensioners, and present then in arms.

Preparations made at the Court for defence upon Wyat's coming. Underhil's Relat. int. Foxii MSS.

The Queen, and her people at the Court, were in great consternation. When Wyat was come to Southwark, being there with his army, intending to enter London that way, the gentlemen pensioners were commanded to watch in armour that night, for the preservation of the Queen's person: and they came up into the chamber of presence with their pole-axes in their hands. Whereat the ladies were very fearful; some lamenting, crying, and wringing their hands, and said, "Alas! there is some great mischief towards us! "We shall all be destroyed this night! What a sight is "this, to see the Queen's chamber full of armed men! the "like was never seen nor heard of!" But the concerns, it seems, were not the same in London; the gates whereof were fast shut up and locked. For when the Council had

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that night, about eleven o'clock, despatched George Ferris to the Lord William Howard, who had the charge of the watch at London-bridge the same night; Ferris, and two or three more of his company, being come to Ludgate, the citizens, who kept a strong watch there, notwithstanding they declared to them, that they came from the Court, and upon the Queen's urgent business, did but laugh, and refused to let them pass, pretending the keys were gone: and still much laughing were heard among them.

Sir John Gage, at the court gates, flies.

When Wyat could not pass the bridge, and was come about, old Sir John Gage was appointed without the utter gate of the court, with some of his guard, and his servants, and others with him: the rest of his guard were in the great court, the gates standing open. Sir Richard Southwel had the charge of the backsides, as the wood-yard and that way, with as many. The Queen was in the gallery by the gate-house. Then came Knevet and Thomas Cobham, and a company of the rebels with them, through the gate-house from Westminster upon the sudden. Wherewith Sir John Gage, and those with him, being armed only with old brigandines, were so frighted, that they fled in at the gates in such haste, that he fell down in the dirt, and so the gate was shut; whereat the rebels shot many arrows. By means of this great hurlyburly in shutting the gates, the guard that was in the court made as great haste in at the hall door, and would have come into the hall among the pensioners; which they would not suffer. All this that I now write is taken from the relation of Underhil, one of the gentlemen pensioners present at these transactions. Then they went, saith he, thronging towards the water-gates, the kitchens, and those ways. Gage came in among the pensioners all dirty, and so frighted that he could not speak to them.

The pensioners issue out.

The pensioners upon this issued out of the hall into the court, to see what the matter was; where there was none left but the porter, the gates being fast shut. As they went towards the gates, meaning to go forth, Sir Richard Southwel came forth of the back-yards into the court: Sir, said

the guard of pensioners to him, command the gates to be opened, that we may go to the Queen: we will break them open else; it is too much shame the gates should be thus shut for a few rebels. The Queen shall see us fell down her enemies this day before her face. Masters, said he, and put off his murrion off his head, I shall desire you all, as you be gentlemen, to stay yourselves here, that I may go up to the Queen to know her pleasure, and you shall have the gates opened; and, as I am a gentleman, I will make speed. Upon this they stayed, and he made a speedy return, and brought them word, the Queen was content they should have the gates opened. But her request is, said Sir Richard, that ye will not go forth of her sight: for her only trust is in you for the defence of her person this day. So the gate was opened, and they marched before the gallery window; where she spake unto them, requiring them, as they were gentlemen, in whom she only trusted, that they would not go from that place. There they marched up and down the space of an hour: and then came an herald posting to bring news, that Wyat was taken. Immediately came Sir Maurice Barkley, and Wyat on the same horse behind him, unto whom he yielded at the Temple-gate; and Sir Thomas Cobham behind another gentleman.

Their courage.

He that celebrated mass before the Queen on Wednesday, whilst Wyat was now at Charing-cross, was Dr. Weston, and wore harness under his vestment: as Weston himself reported to one Mr. Roberts. 91

Weston says mass now in harness.

Anon after, the guard of pensioners were all brought into the Queen's presence, and every one kissed her hand: of whom they had great thanks and large promises, how good she would be unto them. But few or none of us got any thing, as the forementioned gentleman wrote, although she was very liberal to many others, that were enemies to God's word, as few of us were.

The Queen thanks the pensioners for their service.

CHAP. X.

Victory over Wyat. Arraignments and executions of the Lady Jane and the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others. The Earl of Devon and Lady Elizabeth sent to the Tower. King Edward's Bishops deprived.

Anno 1553. DURING these disturbances, the Queen and Council were wholly ingulphed in cares, for putting things in a posture to meet with and quell the mutineers; insomuch that they had no leisure for other matters. And orders were now given out, that no salaries nor fees should be paid to any for a time. And no manner of suits were heard; nor yet, if any came with any, were they regarded. And since the taking of Wyat, the Council was continually employed about search into this conspiracy, which was thought to be great. The Lord Thomas Grey, the other brother of the Duke of Suffolk, was taken about this time, going toward Wales, and was coming up. And notwithstanding the said Duke and Wyat, with the most part of the captains, were now in hold, and in the Tower, yet such were their fears above, that there was nightly watch in the Court, in harness, and day and night in London.

The cares and fears of the Court.

The Lord Thomas Grey taken.

But now Wyat being overthrown and routed, and his chief accomplices in sure custody, on the 8th of February, commandment came from the Queen and the Bishop of London, that in St. Paul's church, and in every parish church in London beside, *Te Deum* should be sung; and that there should be ringing of bells every where, for the victory the Queen had obtained.

Te Deum sung.

In the midst of these disturbances, the Bishop of Winchester thought fit to give the Queen a sermon on Sunday, Feb. 11: wherein, according to the fierceness of his disposition, he exhorted her to use no mercy, but extreme justice, towards these Kentish rebels. To which sermon and counsel, all those bloody doings that followed the very next day, and week after, must be attributed, and that plenty of gallowses set up two days after in and about the city.

Bishop Gardiner preaches before the Queen.

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Executions.

The next week was taken up in executions; and a bloody week it proved, both in London and in the parts where the rebels dwelt. For it began on Monday, Feb. 12, with the taking off the head of the Lord Guilford Duddley, upon Tower-hill: and, within an hour after, the Lady Jane's head was stricken off within the Tower: who indeed had a very hard chapter, to be set up to be Queen, even against her will, by the Lords of the Council; and by them to be soon after adjudged to be executed for being Queen: which office they themselves, in effect, had imposed upon her. Who also took an oath roundly to bear true allegiance to her, and in a very short time broke that oath; nay, and it is to be feared, when they took it, intended not to keep it. This an eminent man in those times severely laid to their charge. "They that were sworn chief of the Council with "the Lady Jane, and caused the Queen [Mary] to be pro- "claimed a bastard through all England and Ireland, and "that were the sorest forcers of men, yea, under the threat- "ened pain of treason, to swear and subscribe unto their "doings; bewrayed the matter themselves underhand by "their wives, and other secret shifts: and afterwards be- "came counsellors, I will not say procurers, of the inno- "cent Lady Jane's death: and at this present are in the "highest authority in the Queen's house, and the chiefest "officers and doers in the commonwealth. And some of "them that wrote most earnestly to a certain lord of "the realm, [Archbishop Cranmer perhaps,] among many "others, in favour of the Lady Jane, by bastarding and "railing upon the Queen, were not ashamed, within a few "days after, when the same Lord was locked up in the "Tower, for his constant, although constrained, obedience "to the common order of the Council; to be the most "strange and rough examiners on the contrary part: as "though themselves had never halted in the matter." Perhaps the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of Pembroke, were intended by this writer, as some of the chief of these notable temporizers.

Lady Jane beheaded.

92

Ponet Bishop of Winchester, in his treatise of Politic Power.

But thus was the Lady Jane brought to the scaffold, that

Her character.

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incomparable woman, that carried so divine and brave a soul in a female body. She was of exemplary piety, as well as of excellent learning, being well skilled in the Latin and Greek tongues, and a great reader of the Grecian orators and philosophers. Ascham (who was well acquainted with her at Court, and had received many learned letters from her) coming in the year 1550. to her father's house in Leicestershire, when all others were taking their pastimes and at their sports, he, being admitted into her chamber, found her reading Plato's Phædo, in Greek, being then but fifteen years old. With which he was so taken, that (as he wrote in a letter to his friend, the learned Sturmius) that goodly sight was always before his eyes. And indeed she understood and spake Greek so perfectly, that, as he could but admire it, so he thought any one else would scarcely believe it. And when the same Ascham had understood that Sturmius had translated some orations of Æschines and Demosthenes into Latin, and intended to publish them, he exhorted him to dedicate them unto her, in respect of her learning and good-will toward learned men, and particularly to him and his. Ascham also gave this character of her: "That however illustrious she were by her fortune "and royal extraction, these bore no proportion to the ac- "complishments of her mind, adorned with the doctrine "of Plato, and the eloquence of Demosthenes[a]." He reckoned her and Lady Mildred, Sir W. Cecyl's wife, (who spake and understood Greek as if it were English,) to be
93 the two learnedest women in England: but gave the Lady Jane the preference. And, finally, he thought a more worthy pattern could not be propounded to the nobility.

Her elegy.

Her high birth, and virtuous qualities, and admirable accomplishments, her innocency and pardonable fault, her resolute and brave death, and Queen Mary's, and some other

[a] Cujus [D. Janæ] cultior est animus doctrina Platonis, et eloquentia Demosthenis, quam fortuna illustrior, aut regio genere, &c.

Non est, si quid in me judicii sit, dignius exemplum, quod in oculis hominum feratur, quod in lucem et conspectum appareat, quo reliqua nobilitas ad veram laudem, et insigne decus evocari possit. *Epp. Asch.*

courtiers' severity, in causing her to be executed, are excellently described by a wise and learned man in that age, and well acquainted with the transactions of that court, *viz.* Sir Thomas Chaloner: whose elegy upon her is worthy the reading; and may be found in the Catalogue. Wherein she is commended both for her beauty, and that which the more set it off, her becoming and taking speech; for her stupendous skill in tongues, being well versed in eight, *viz.* Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, French, and Italian, besides the English. She had a natural wit, and that improved by art and study. She played well on instrumental music. She writ a curious hand, and she was excellent at her needle. And died at scarce eighteen years of age. And notwithstanding all these rare endowments, she was of a mild, an humble, and a modest spirit, and never shewed an elated mind, till she shewed it at her death. For which the Queen was very hardly thought of: that when the nobles were indeed guilty of the crime, she should lay the punishment upon her that in effect was innocent. To this cruelty and injustice the poet attributed the shortness of Mary's reign, and her long languishing sickness, touched with the stings of her guilty mind for this blood: and that the chief authors of this dire counsel were taken off, not long after, by just vengeance from above; one dying of the dropsy, and another of the stone, and another with a grievous distillation or rheum, and others with other diseases.

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Numb. IX.

Thus this *black Monday* began with the execution of this most noble and virtuous lady and her husband. On the same day, for a terrifying sight, were many new pairs of gallows set up in London. As at every gate one, two pair in Cheapside, one in Fleet-street, one in Smithfield, one in Holborn, one at Leadenhall, one at St. Magnus, one at Billingsgate, one at Pepper-alley-gate, one at St. George's, one in Barnesby-street, one on Tower-hill, one at Charing-cross, and one at Hyde-park-corner. And there they stood for a terror to the citizens till Wednesday, Feb. 14, when men were hanged on every gibbet, and some quartered too. In Cheapside six; at Aldgate one, hanged and quartered;

Punishment taken upon the rebels.

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at Leadenhall three; at Bishopsgate one, and he quartered; at Moorgate one, and he quartered; at Ludgate one, and after quartered; at Billingsgate three hanged; at St. Magnus three hanged; at Tower-hill three hanged; at Holborn three hanged; at Fleet-street three hanged; at Paul's Churchyard four; at Pepper-alley corner three; at Barnesby-street three; at St. George's three; at Charing-cross four, whereof two belonged to the Court, *viz.* one Booth, a footman, and Vicars of the guard; at Hyde-park-corner three, one of them named Pollard, a water-bearer: those three hanged in chains. But seven were quartered, and their bodies and heads set upon the gates of London.

Earl of Devonshire sent to the Tower.

The same 12th of February, the Earl of Devonshire was sent to the Tower upon some suspicions against him, being of the royal blood, with a great company of the guard.

Lady Elizabeth sent for.

And the Lady Elizabeth, upon the same account, was sent for three days before; but not yet come. The let was, her sickness.

94 An embassy to the emperor.

On this inauspicious day (to carry the tidings of the noble blood that was shed therein, and the executions that were preparing to follow) the Earl of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord Fitzherbert, were despatched towards the Emperor's Court, accompanied with half a score gentlemen and their servants. They were convoyed over by Mr. Winter, admiral of that fleet; one secretly concerned in Wyat's plot.

On the 17th day the Duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and cast.

Twenty-three sent down into Kent to be executed.

On the 18th day were had into Kent certain captains, as Bret, and twenty-two more of the rebels, to suffer death there.

The severity of these executions exclaimed upon.

Knox's Admonition.

For the great quantity of blood shed upon this occasion, and for the numbers of innocent people that, without proof, suffered also, a writer in those times thus exclaimed: "Who "could ever have thought, that such cruelty could have "entered into the heart of a woman, and into the heart of "her that is called a *virgin?* That she should thirst the "blood of innocents, and of such as by just laws and faith-

" ful witnesses, could never be proved to have offended by " themselves. I find that Athaliah, in appetite to reign, " murdered the seed of the kings of Judah; and that He- " rodias's daughter, at the desire of a whorish mother, ob- " tained the head of John the Baptist. But that ever a " woman that suffered herself to be called *the most blessed* " *virgin*, caused so much blood to be spilt for the esta- " blishing an usurped authority, I think is rare to be found " in Scripture or history." And in respect of the gallows set up in divers places of London, he added: " I find that " Jezabel, that cursed idolatress, caused the blood of the " prophets of God to be shed, and Naboth to be martyred " unjustly for his own vineyard. But I think she never " erected half so many gallows in all Israel, as Mary hath " done in London alone." CHAP. X. Anno 1553.

On the 19th were arraigned in Westminster-hall, Sir William Cobham, and two of his brethren, the Lord Cobham's sons. Sir William and one of his brothers were not cast, (Hollingshed saith, they came not to the bar,) but Thomas Cobham the youngest was. On the 20th was arraigned the Lord John Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's brother, and cast; but afterwards obtained a pardon. Several arraigned.

On the said 20th day, one of the condemned persons going into Kent, to Cranbrook, to be executed, (a wealthy man,) was, upon farther consideration, fetched back again, and brought to St. George's church, and there hanged by four of the clock at night. The 21st day, the Lord Thomas Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's other brother, and Sir James A Croft, were brought on horseback to the Tower. On the 22d day was arraigned one Booth, sometime of Calais, and cast for treason. One executed at St. George's. Others arraigned.

The same 22d day, the Kentish men that had lately been in arms (to the number of four hundred and more, according to Stow; two hundred and forty, according to Hollingshed) went to the Court with halters about their necks, and bound with cords, two and two together; and so passed along through London to Westminster. And between the two tilts the poor prisoners kneeled down in Many of the rebels pardoned.

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the mire. And the Queen's Grace looking out over the gate, gave them all pardon: whereat they cried out, *God save Queen Mary!* And they went to Westminster-hall: and there they cast their halters and their caps about the hall, and in the streets where they went, and cried out, *God save Queen Mary!*

Lady Elizabeth sent for up.

95 The Lady Elizabeth, in the midst of these confusions, was sent for up, (as was said before,) some jealousies being surmised of her by her enemies, as though she had been concerned in this conspiracy. So that Feb. 23, though she were then sick, she came riding to London, through Smithfield, unto Westminster, between four and five of the clock at night, with an hundred velvet coats before her. Her Grace rode in a chariot open on both sides. And after her rode an hundred coats of scarlet and fine red, guarded with silver: and so through Fleet-street unto the Court, by the Queen's gardens.

Duke of Suffolk beheaded.

On the 23d, the Duke of Suffolk lost his head on Tower-hill, between nine and ten of the clock afore noon. To do right to this most noble prince, because he is so illy described, and passed over to posterity under such a wrong character, as I conceive, I shall here set down a truer and better. Sir John Hayward saith thus of him: "That he "was a man for his harmless simplicity neither misliked "nor much regarded." Bishop Burnet, "That for his "weakness he would have died more pitied, if his practices "had not brought his daughter to her end." But after these, I will leave this great peer to the opinion of the world, under the words of a good historian, that wrote before either of them. "Such was the end of this Duke of "Suffolk; a man of high nobility by birth, and of nature "to his friends gentle and courteous: more easy indeed "to be led, than was thought expedient: of stomach stout "and hard: hasty and soon kindled, but pacified strait "again, and sorry, if in his heat ought had passed him "otherwise than reason might seem to bear: upright and "plain in his private dealings: no dissembler, nor well "able to bear injuries; but yet forgiving and forgetting

His character.

" the same, if the party would seem but to acknowledge his " fault, and to seek reconcilement: bountiful he was, and " very liberal: somewhat learned himself, and a great fa- " vourer of those that were learned. So that to many he " shewed himself a very Mæcenas. As free from covetous- " ness, as void of pride and disdainful haughtiness of mind; " more regarding plain meaning men, than claw-back flat- " terers. And this virtue he had, that he could patiently " hear his faults told him by those whom he had in credit " for their wisdom and faithful meaning towards him. He " was an hearty friend unto the Gospel, and professed it to " the last." He entertained in his family John Aylmer, a very learned and good man, who was afterwards Bishop of London. He was a patron to Bullinger, that great light of Switzerland, who dedicated some of his Decads to him. But he must ever be famous to posterity for being father to that incomparable woman, the Lady Jane, above mentioned; whose death that he had been the instrument of hastening, aggravated his grief: which occasioned her to write a kind letter to him, to alleviate his perplexities in respect of her: which is extant in Fox's Martyrology.

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More pardoned with halters on.

The Queen extended her pardon on the same 23d day unto certain other Kentish men in Southwark; who went, it seems, as the others the day before, with halters about their necks. And having their pardons, cried, *God save the Queen!* and cast their halters on high in the streets as they passed along.

The sepulchre, and palms, and shrift ordered this Lent.

But in the midst of these matters I must not be silent, that the restoration of the old religion went on vigorously. For now, against Easter, commandment was given, that in all churches in London, the sepulchre should be had up again; and that every man should bear palms, and go to shrift.

96

Fears from some fled abroad.

Sir P. Carew.

Wyat's rebellion was not so concluded and put to an end, but that some of his complices, and particularly Sir Peter Carew, being fled abroad, were practising to attempt anew upon the Queen. She therefore hastily, in this month of February, issued out her orders and instructions to the

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officers of the counties, of the west parts chiefly, to make musters of the counties, and to appoint captains over them to be ready; and withal, effectually to put the Popish religion in strict execution. For which purpose, thus she addressed her letters.

By the Quene.

" Mary the Quene.

Orders for musters thereupon. Otho, E. 11.

" Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you wel. And " whereas we have heretofore signified unto you the de- " testable conspiracies, and abhominable treasons that were " in sundry places of this realm, even at one instant, and by " one accord practised against us, our crowne and dignity " royal, by the Duke of Suffolk and his two brethren, " Wyat, Carewe, Crofts, and other their complices: albeit " their snares being by the grace of God broken, and them- " selves in safe custody, to receive according to justice; " yet, considering that their said conspiracy, tending to the " utter destruction of us and our realm, is not only spred " through many parts of this our realm, among many cor- " rupt members of the same, but also made and attempted " in foreign parts, by the detestable traitor, Sir Peter " Carew, and certain others with him; we think it so " much the more necessary to have all our good subjects " not only warned hereof, but also to have them in such a " readiness, as they may be the more able to defend their " natural country, and us their sovereign Lady, against " these unnatural traitors. And for the doing hereof, we " have caused articles of instruction to be made, which ye " shall receive herewith.

" Our plesure and expres commandment therefore is, " that before all things, having earnest regard that God's " service be set forth and maintained, according to our " laws, ye forthwith, upon the sight hereof, apply your self " wholly, if it be not don, to the perfecting of the musters " of that our county of after such maner and " sort, as by our said instructions is appointed unto you, " naming to every hundred men a discrete and skilful cap-

" tain, to be taken of the inhabitants of the same shire. CHAP. X.
" Wherein, when ye shal have taken a true and perfect or-
" der, our plesure is, ye shal make a plain and ful certifi- Anno 1553.
" cate unto us, or our Privy Council, of the same: signify-
" ing thereby, both the whole number of able men of the
" said county, with the names of captains appointed for the
" leading of the same, &c. that they may be always ready
" upon one hour's warning, &c. Given at our palace at
" Westminster, Febr. the first of our reign."

Various other commitments, arraignments, and executions, were performed in the remaining days of the month of February, and the beginning of March: as namely, of Sir William Santlow, one of the Lady Elizabeth's gentlemen, the Mantels, the Knevets, the Isleys, Rudston, Bret, and Carow of the west, Sir Nic. Throgmorton, Sir James Crofts, Sir Edward Warner, Rogers, Vaughan, Thomas, 97 Fitzwater, &c. Some pardoned afterwards, and some executed. Commitments, arraignments, &c.

On the 9th of March, the Lord Thomas Grey was arraigned at Westminster, and cast. And on the 15th of the same, Sir Tho. Wyat also (who had been kept thus long, hoping to get out of him a confession of the whole conspiracy, and somewhat or other to bring the Lady Elizabeth into trouble) was arraigned and cast to be hanged and quartered, and his members to be set up. And accordingly he lost his head upon Tower-hill, April 11, and his estate was forfeited to the Queen. A part whereof was Alyngton Castle, and other lands in Kent: which she granted by lease afterwards to Mrs. Fynche, by whose means they fell into the hands of Sir John Guldeford, Kt. perhaps nearly allied to her. And he spared not, but cut down and sold away the woods in such great quantity, that, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the knowledge of this came to the Court. And the Lords of the Council thought fit to send a letter to him, requiring and charging him in the Queen's name, to cease and forbear from thenceforth to fell or sell any more woods than were already felled upon Lord Tho. Grey and Sir Tho. Wyat arraigned. Out of a Council-Book.

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the lands of Alyngton Castle, and other lands that sometime were Sir Tho. Wyat's, deceased, until the Queen's pleasure touching that matter were further known; or else, that his interest should be seen and considered by her Highness's learned Council. Which letter the said Lords signified, that they addressed to him upon credible information, that he had made such waste of the said woods, as he seemed thereby to intend rather a spoil, than the preservation of the same.

Throgmorton tried and cleared.

Sir Nicolas Throgmorton also, who had repaired up out of the country, and surrendered himself to the Council, underwent his trial soon after, in the month of April, but had the good fortune to be acquitted by his jury, notwithstanding strong jealousies of his being a deep conspirator: whose post was thought to be at London, as a factor, to give intelligence as well to them in the west, as to Wyat and the rest in Kent. That he gave notice to Wyat to come forward with his power, and that the Londoners would be ready to take his part: and that he sent a post to Sir Peter Carow also, to advance with as much speed as might be, and to bring his forces with him. He was said, moreover, to be the man that excited the Earl of Devon to go down into the west: and that Sir James Crofts and he had many times consulted about the whole matter.

Lady Elizabeth sent to the Tower.

These I pass over, and shall mention only one more, who, though innocent, smarted for these tumults; and that is the Lady Elizabeth, mentioned before: who, having been before cited up to the Court, and there remaining under some restraint for a while, and after let go home again, was, on the 18th day of March, carried to the Tower in the afternoon, when things looked black upon her. For Bishop Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, watched any opportunity to catch her tardy, whose succession to the crown, of all things in the world, he most feared. Therefore there was a pretence, that a bracelet was conveyed to her by Sir Tho. Wyat, wherein all the secrets of that conspiracy lay hid. This the Lord Chancellor, in his examination of Wyat's affairs, and of his accomplices, is said to search out, piercing

Parson's Ward Word, p. 44.

the matter further than others. The author whence I take this was so unkind to that lady, as to believe the thing; but so kind to Gardiner, as to clear him from using or urging his knowledge of this to the said lady's peril. But Wyat cleared her immediately before he went forth to his execution, and she most solemnly protested her innocency. Yet she could not escape close confinement, and very rough handling, as we heard before. CHAP. X. Anno 1553. 98

And in the examinations of those that were taken up for this plot, narrow inquiry was always made about this lady and the Earl of Devon. So it was with Sir Nic. Throgmorton, and very fain the Privy Counsellors employed in this work would have got out of him something against them. For when at Throgmorton's trial, his writing, containing his confession, was read in open court, he prayed the Queen's serjeant that was reading it, to read further, "That here- "after," said he, "whatsoever become of me, my words may "not be perverted and abused to the hurt of some others, "and especially against the great personages of whom I "have been sundry times, as appears by my answers, ex- "amined. For I perceive the net was not cast only for "little fishes, but for the great ones." Narrow examination about her and the Earl of Devon.

And as for the Earl of Devon, he was indeed tampered with by the conspirators to enter into their plot, persuading him to go down into the west; where his influence, by reason of his noble ancestors, would have been considerable for their purpose. He was told by Sir Nic. Throgmorton, that he and Sir Edward Warner, and divers other gentlemen, would accompany him out of town, and that Sir Peter Carow should meet him with a band of horse and foot, by the way of Andover, for his safeguard. But all would not move him to stir from London. So that the conspirators, seeing his prudent resolution not to meddle in this dangerous matter, gave out that he had discovered all to the Chancellor; or that it was come out by his tailor, about the trimming of a shirt of mail, and making a cloak. The Earl of Devon will not meddle.

While these agitations were in England, and Wyat, and Carow, and their parties, had, as was said before, sufficiently Spaniards misused.

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shewed their disgust of a match with Spain, many of the common sort, as they had opportunity, would abuse Spaniards, (of whom there seemed to have been good store here already,) and offer them indignity, especially merchants. Insomuch that many of that nation that were hastening over hither, and divers of them merchants with their ships and commodities, began to be at a stand, and were loath to venture themselves in a country so disaffected to them. Whereat the Queen, who as much favoured them, sent forth her letters in February to her justices and officers, to this tenor: "That whereas she was informed, that upon occa-

Which causeth letters from the Queen. Titus, B. 2.

"sion of certain vain and seditious rumours, lately spread "abroad by Peter Carow, Wyat, and other traitors of that "conspiracy, divers of the subjects of her good brother, the "Emperor, haunting this her realm, had of late been mis-"used, and uncourteously intreated by some of her dis-"ordered subjects, contrary to the good peace and amity "that was betwixt the said Emperor and her, she meaning "the conservation of her said good brother's friendship and "good neighbourhood; and understanding that for certain "his necessary affairs, he sent presently divers of his ships "and subjects to the seas, who, being warned by their late "evil entertainment here, stood in some doubt to traffic or "resort into any of the ports of her said realm; did let "them wit her will and special commandment was, that "they should give order and strait charge in her name unto "all such her havens, ports, or creeks, as were within that 99 "her county of that her officers and subjects, "dwelling in or about any of the said havens, ports, &c. "should not only suffer such of her said good brother's "ships and subjects, merchants, or others, as either by "force of weather, or otherwise, should happen to arrive in "any of her said ports, peaceably to enter and abide in the "same, without any their trouble or disquiet; but also to "use them in friendly manner, and to see them aided and "succoured with victuals, or such other things as they "should have need of, for their reasonable money: charg-"ing her said subjects not to fail hereof, as they tendered

" her displeasure, and would answer for the contrary at " their peril. Yeoven under our signet at our palace of " Westminster, the of February, the first year of our " reign." CHAP. X. Anno 1553.

A commission was, in the month of March, granted to the Lord Chancellor, the old Bishop of Durham, and the Bishops of London, Chichester, and St. Asaph, to deprive King Edward's bishops, upon pretence of their being married. And, on the 16th day, they accordingly deprived the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Lincoln, Chester, and St. David's. And on the next day, the Bishops of Hereford and Gloucester. Bishops deprived by commission.

About the 14th of March, in Aldersgate, or in a house near it, was a strange voice heard in a wall, that spoke unto several people. And, whatever it were, by it such seditious things were uttered, as it was afterwards complained of to the Lord Mayor. But it was not long before it proved a deceit, and was made known by divers what it was. And such as were concerned in it were taken up, and committed to several prisons; some to Newgate, some to the Compter, and others to the Tower. This voice was called, *the spirit in the wall.* It was given out to be the work of the Holy Ghost, or some angel. The report of it occasioned great flocking thither. It was discovered afterwards, that the words were uttered by whistle through the hole of a wall, which a wench dexterously did. And because the words were not very intelligible, there were certain confederates, that interpreted them to the by-standers. The tenor whereof was against the Prince of Spain, and the Queen's matching with him, and against auricular confession, the mass, and other Popish worship newly introduced. The voice in the wall.

As this year was fatal to the noble house of the Greys, so Sir Tho. Grey, related, it is probable, to them, was now in trouble. He was one of the best reputation in the parts adjoining to Scotland. John Lord Conyers, who had the charge of the east marches for anempst Scotland, and resided at Barwick, made this Grey of counsel with him in Sir Tho. Grey of the north in trouble.

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that charge. But the Queen had sent letters to the Lord Conyers for the said Sir Thomas to appear before the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord president of the north, and the rest of the Council there, the first Monday in Lent. But the Lord Conyers ventured, for all this, to stay him from appearing then; because, as he sent word to that Council, he could not then be absent, such need was of him. An attachment was soon after awarded out against him. But even now again the Lord Conyers desired the Earl, that he might answer by his attorney sufficiently warranted, and that a commission might be awarded to such of the country as should please his Lordship, to take his answer.

Anno 1553. John Lord Conyers warden of the east marches.

The north, how affected to religion.

As in the southern parts the people had no stomach to receive the old rejected Popish service, now lately enjoined again; so neither in the northern quarters had the common
100 people any better disposition toward it, at least in some places. Thus the town of Burneston, in the north riding of Yorkshire, was so averse to receiving again the mass, that they were complained of to the Council in the north; there being at that time no Bishop of Chester, (in whose diocese the parish was,) to apply to for remedy: which occasioned John Latymer and Christopher Nevyle, justices of peace, as it seems, in those parts, thus to write unto the Earl of Shrewsbury: "Further certifying your good Lord-
"ship, that the vicar and church-wardens of Burneston,
"within the limits of our commission, have complained to
"us the lack of things necessary for the setting forth divine
"service. Whereupon we have commanded them, in the
"Queen's name, to provide: which to do, they are very
"stubborn. And for because the town aforesaid is in the
"diocese of Chester, whereof there is no ordinary to make
"complaint unto; therefore we do certify your good Lord-
"ship, to the intent that we may know what is further to
"be done: that we may endeavour us accordingly. Dated
"March 18."

Ex Epist. Com. Salop. in Offic. Armor.

The Marquis of Northampton and others pardoned.

The old year went off with some expressions of the Queen's mercy. For March 24, the Lord Marquis of

Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and his two sons, and divers others, were delivered out of the Tower, and had the Queen's pardon. CHAP. XI. Anno 1553.

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A farther account of Mountain's troubles. The troubles of Dr. Crome. A pious nobleman in prison for religion.

LET us now look again upon Thomas Mountain, whom we left in the Marshalsea, and his fellow-prisoners. To him and the rest that lay there for religion, Wyat, being in Southwark, sent his chaplain, offering to set them at liberty, (but none else,) if they desired it. But either so ready were they to stand in a good cause, and to maintain the truth, leaving their cause in God's hand, or so unwilling to do any thing that might seem to give countenance to his rebellion, that they sent him a civil refusal with thanks. With which answer they understood Wyat was well pleased, as report was afterwards made to them. Wyat offers the prisoners in the Marshalsea liberty.

This same Lent there came unto Mountain, Dr. Chadsey, Dr. Pendleton, Mr. Udal, parson Pyttis, and one Wakelyn, a petty canon of Paul's. All these laboured Mountain very sore for to recant: "which if he would do, my Lord "Chancellor," said Chadsey to him, "would deliver you, I "dare say; and you shall have as good livings as ever you "had, and better." To whom he answered, "I would not "buy my liberty, nor yet my lord's favour, so dear, as to "forsake my good God, as some of you have done: the "price whereof you are like one day to feel, if you repent "not in time. God turn your hearts, and make you of a "better mind. Fare you well; you have lost your mark; "for I am not he you look for. And so we parted." Dr. Martyn also did one time send for him to come speak with him at the Bishop of Winchester's house, offering him many good livings, if he would submit himself unto the said Bishop. To which he answered, "If I should go about to Several Papist divines visit Mountain.

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" please men, I know not how soon my Maker would take " me away. For a double-hearted man is unconstant in all " his ways. I trust that your sweet balms therefore shall " never break my head. And seeing that I have begun in " the Spirit, God forbid that I should now end in the " flesh." Hearing this, he parted from him in a great fury; and going out of his chamber, he sware a great oath, saying, that he was as crafty an heretic knave as ever he talked with, and that he did nothing but mock at my Lord. " Thou shalt gain nothing by it, I warrant thee," said he: " Keeper, have him away, and look straitly to him, I coun- " sel you, till that you know further of my Lord's plea- " sure."

An abusive description of the Prince of Spain.

These prisoners had got among them an abusive description of the person of the Prince of Spain, and something reflecting also upon the Queen and the match: as indeed there were many libels dispersed against it, as going against the grain of the English nation. It was discovered and informed, that a copy of this description was among the heretic prisoners; and Mountain was reported to be the composer of it: whereas he had it from a friend, and one Stonyng transcribed it. Whereupon Sir Tho. Baker, Sir Tho. Moyl, and Sir Tho. Holdcroft, Kt. Marshal, sat in commission within the Tower, to examine Mountain, and three more, about it. They utterly denied they were the authors of it. Then, Sir Rich. Southwel, " To the rack, to the " rack with them: serve them like heretics and traitors, as " they be:" and suddenly fell fast asleep as he sat at the board. Afterward, upon examination, when one of them had asserted whence he had it, and Stonyng acknowledged he wrote it out; then they were all locked up every man by himself, and Stonyng stayed behind, and was had down to the rack, and laid upon it, and so pulled that he began to crack under the arm-pits, and other parts of his body: and then was taken off, and put in a brake of iron, his neck, hands, and feet, and so he stood all night against a wall, and the next day taken out again. And thus continuing prisoners in the Tower a quarter of a year, the

Council ordered them to be sent to the Marshalsea again, where they were before. What afterwards became of Mountain, and of his removal to the gaol at Cambridge, we shall hear under the next year. CHAP. XI. Anno 1553.

To the two eminent preachers I have mentioned before, I shall here add a third, now also taken into custody, namely, Dr. Edward Crome, once of the University of Cambridge, and of eminency while there, minister of Aldermary church, an old city minister, an excellent preacher, and a great setter forth of true religion, and well known and favoured by King Henry. Some say, that he afterwards recanted and subscribed, and so got his neck out of danger: as indeed many nowadays did, through the violence of the persecution, and some of these formerly of good reputation for their zeal to true religion. Of this Crome, being contemporary with Latimer, and of great fame through Henry, Edward, and Mary's reigns, I shall set down some passages to preserve his memory. Dr. Crome taken up.

In the year 1530, he was said by some to be abjured, and by some to be perjured too. It is certain that he was examined by the Bishop of London, and divers other of the prelates, in King Henry's presence, at York Place, concerning some doctrines which he had preached, being then parson of St. Anthony's, and noted and suspected for certain heresies and heretical doctrines, as they called them: namely, concerning purgatory, praying to saints, and saints praying for us; pilgrimages, the Lent-fast, the seven sacraments, worship of images, praying for the dead, merit by good-works, the authority the Bishops have to suspend; whether kings are bound to give their people the use of the Scriptures, or may prohibit it; concerning consecrations and blessings used in the Church. At his examination he declaring to the Bishops, that his judgment was according to theirs in these points, and that the mistakes concerning him and his doctrine arose from the misapprehension of the hearers; the King told him, after a long hearing, that he would see that he should have no wrong; but neither would he maintain him in any evil. So he seems to Examined before the King and the prelates, anno 1530. 102

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have acknowledged before them his faith in fourteen particulars, which sounded somewhat ill to the ears of a tho-

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rough-paced Gospeller. They are as follow, as I extracted them out of a Foxian MS.

His confession.

" The xith day of March, 1530, Mr. Edward Crome, " professor of dyvinytie of the Unyversytie of Cambridg, " and parson of S. Antonyes of London, being noted and " suspected for certain heresies, and for heretical doctrin, " was convented before the Bishop of London, and other " Bishops, at the King's house, called York Place, and did " acknowledg and confess his faith, as following:

1. " *Imprimis*, That sowles departed are afflicted and " purged in purgatorie.

2. " That the holy martyrs, apostels, and confessors, being " departed, are to be honoured, called upon, and prayed " unto.

3. " That the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us.

4. " That pilgrimage and oblations may be don meritoriously at the sepulchres and reliques of saints.

5. " That Lent and other fasting days now in use are to be " kept, unless necessitye do require otherwyse.

6. " That yt is necessary to salvation to beleve, that God " doth give grace to the seven sacraments; and that they " and every of them are to be receaved.

7. " That yt is lawdable and profitable to have images in " the churches in the memory of Christ and his saints.

8. " That the prayers of the living do profit the dead in " purgatory.

9. " That men may meryt by ther fasting and other good " works.

10. " That those that are forbidden by the Bishops (by reason of suspicion of ther faith) ought to leave off preaching and teaching, tyl such tyme as they purge themselfs " before ther superiours.

11. " That kings and princes are not bownd of necessitye to " suffer the people to have the holy Scripture in the vulgar " tongue.

12. " That kings and princes may for the time ordayn, that

" the people shall not have the Scriptures in the vulgar " tongue.

" That consecrations, sanctifications, and benedictions, " after the maner of Christians, receaved in the Church, " are lawdable. Anno 1553. 13.

" That I did ever beleve that these opinions are trew, " and whosoever doth hold the contrary, in my judgment, " doth erre." 14.

At the foot of these articles are these words: *Nota, That these were not subscribed, but only registered.* Hence we conclude Crome subscribed not unto these articles, but only confessed them, or some things to the like effect, by word of mouth before the Bishops. 103

This trouble went off thus without obliging him to a public recantation. But some of his friends thought it advisable, that he should make some declaration and explication more at large of his mind and judgment in those points, that, as the report went, he had acknowledged before the Bishops: which he did in his own parish church. I refer the reader to the Catalogue, where he may read it: where he will find that Crome did in effect own these articles, but mollified them as much as he could, and purged them from the superstitions and abuses which the Papists had grounded on them. His timorousness indeed made him sometimes acknowledge such doctrines, which he had much ado to reconcile to what he formerly had said: though he pretended that in that confession he revoked nothing that he had preached in times past. But this the reader may be judge of, that will take the pains to read what he delivered in his declaration. Explains in his own church his former confession. Numb. X.

His worth and merits were so much esteemed by the good Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, that about the year 1540, when King Henry was founding anew his cathedral of Christ's Church, Canterbury, he earnestly interceded with the Lord Crumwel, that Crome might be placed dean there, esteeming him the fittest in England for that dignity, using these words to the said Lord in a letter wrote from Croydon: " Assuring you, my Lord, that I know no Cranmer propounds Crome for Dean of Canterbury. Cleopatra, E. 4.

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" man meeter for the dean's room in England, than Dr. " Crome: who by his sincere learning, godly conversation, " and good example of living, with his soberness, hath done " unto the King's Majesty as good service, I dare say, as " any priest in England. And yet his Grace daily remem- " bereth all others that doth him service, this man only ex- " cept; who never had yet (beside his gracious favour) any " promotion at his Highness's hands. Wherefore, if it would " please his Majesty to put him into the dean's room, I do " not doubt but that he should shew light to all the deans " and masters of colleges in this realm. For I know that " when he was but president of a college in Cambridge, his " house was better ordered than all the houses in Cam- " bridge besides."

Preaches in St. Thomas of Acres.

About the time of Anne Ascue's suffering, *viz.* in the year 1546, he preached at St. Thomas Acres, now called Mercers' chapel. There he proved learnedly, in a time of Lent, " that Christ was the only sufficient sacrifice unto " God the Father, for the sins of the whole world; and " that there was therefore no more sacrifice to be offered " for sin by the priests; for that Christ had offered him- " self once for all." For this doctrine he was apprehended by Bishop Boner, and brought before Bishop Gardiner and other of the King's Council. To them he promised to re-

He recants at Paul's Cross.

cant or explain his doctrine at St. Paul's Cross. Which he did, Boner and all his doctors sitting by. But he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former assertions, than denied any part of them. Boner took him home with him, shewed him his dislike of his sermon, and had him before the Council; making him come up again at the Cross the next Sunday after his appearance there. And then, I suppose, his recantation was indited to him. And that it might be before the more witnesses, they procured the chief of the Council to be there. Then he denied Christ's sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and that the sacrifice of the mass was good,

104 godly, and a holy sacrifice propitiatory, and available both for the quick and the dead. And he confessed, that he

had been seduced with naughty books, contrary to the true doctrine of Christ. And in this doing, he said, he was not compelled so to say, neither for fear, nor by any other means, but only of his free and voluntary will. And this recantation, which was made June 27, was home indeed. Persecutions grew hot at this time: and he saw nothing but burning before him, unless he complied. Boner took care to preserve his recantation in his register, where it still remains.

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The sermon at Paul's Cross, explanatory of that at Mercers' chapel, take this account of from a manuscript.

In the 33d [it should be 38th] of the King, Dr. Crome preached at Paul's Cross, May the 9th, being Sunday, upon this Gospel, *I am a good shepherd*, &c. John ix.

Crome's sermon at Paul's Cross, anno 1541. Foxii MSS.

" In his sermon he noted Christ to be a good shepheard " chiefly in two points: one was, in teaching a doctrin not " reprovable; the other was, in that he gave his life for his " sheep, or to save his sheep from the wolf. Then did he " compare the good shepheard and the evil together, and " thus he said. The evil shepheard, who is not the owner " of the sheep, seeth the wolf coming, leaveth the sheep, " and flyeth, because he is a hireling, and the sheep not his. " But I am a good shepheard, saith Christ, &c. Then he " noted the evil shepheard, therfore to be called, as appear- " eth in the same chapter, a hireling, a thief, a murderer. " Then, said he, we ought to give thanks to our good shep- " heard, which gave his life for his sheep, making to his " Father one everlasting sacrifice: which sacrifice once " offered, hath satisfyed for the sins of al that are, were, or " shall be saved until the end of the world. And then he " gave God thanks, which hath layd aside many strange " voices. *For my sheep*, saith Christ, *hear my voice; and* " *the voice of a stranger they know not.* Then he declared " the Bishop of Rome his usurped power to be a strange " voice, his pardons, pilgrimages, purgatory, Peterpence, " faigned religion, foundations of monasteries and chaun- " tries, to be strange voices. And in this uttering, said he, " I have found my brethren the priests wondrously of-

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By two things he offended the priests.

" fended with me, and that for two causes. One was, they " say, because I speak against their living: the other cause " is, for because that I have spoken of late mych ayenst the " Bishop of Rome, calling him *beggar*, occasioned so to " do by the Gospel that then I was in hand with, which is " in the 18th chap. of St. Luke.

Answer to both.

" To the first thus I answer; I for my part would my " brethren to have a living, even as I would myself to have " a living; but I would not have them to abuse the blessed " sacrament for a living, but that they should have it after " the truth, as God's word appointed it to them.

The Pope compared to a beggar.

" Now to the second, saith he, thus I answer; The Bishop " of Rome begging by his primacy, pardons, purgatory, " Peterpence, pilgrimages, faigned religion, foundation of " monasteries, and chauntries, is a bold, valiant, sturdy " beggar. Wel, the beggar is now gon, said he; yea, the " King's Majesty, with his high court of Parlament, have " taken this beggar by the head, and whorled him quite out

This beggar's staff.

" of the realm, like an idle beggar. But, alack! this bold " beggar's staf hath this beggar of Rome left here behind " him: which staf beateth both the bodies and souls of " men. Now, saith he, the Bishop of Rome, that bold " bragging beggar being thus cast out, laud be to God and

105 " our Prince, his staf would I wish to be with him; yea, I " would wish himself to have it in his own hand. For " many poor men are dayly beaten with it. And I my self " have been beaten with it. For, as I understand, men of " worship appointed thereunto of late, have preached, and " in their sermons have beaten me with the staf of the beg- " gar; and that even for saying, that the sacrifice of the " mas doth not take nor put away sin. But I put it to " your judgment, to judge what he would say, if he durst, " to our sovereign Lord the King; considering that he in- " deed doth alter their fond foundations, and put them to " other, considering the error therein. That the Bishop of " Rome hath the conditions of an angry beggar, we may " prove it thus. The angry beggar threatneth, curseth, and " fighteth; the Bishop of Rome threatneth, first, with in-

" terdiction al such as will not obey his froward wil; se-
" cond, he curseth with excommunication al such as aid or
" counsil those which regard not his interdiction, as the
" chronicles of England, and of other countries, make
" mention. Thirdly, he fighteth by setting princes toge-
" ther by the ears against him which regardeth not his in-
" terdiction and great curse; promising great indulgence
" for their so defending holy Church.

" Then turned he to the text again, desiring men to pray
" for the good shepheard; and, according to the custom,
" prayed. The prayers done, he stood up, and said these
" words: Worshipful audience, I come not hither to recant,
" nor yet am I commanded to recant, nor, God willing, I
" wil not recant. Yet notwithstanding, divers and many
" have sent letters abroad informing their friends that I
" should recant, to the great slaunder of God's word, and
" of me being a poor preacher of the same, admitted within
" this realm of England. But as for me, I care not; but
" yet I would wish them that they would send half so
" many letters, informing their friends that I have not re-
" canted. Wel, God forgive them; and yet, wil they nil
" they, I will pray for them, wil them good, and wish them
" good. And then he shewed them, that in a sermon made
" at the Mercers chappel on Passion Sunday upon the ixth
" chap. to the Hebrews, he declared with the text, that
" Christ our high Shepheard, entring into the holy place
" once for al, not with strange bloud, but with his own pre-
" cious bloud, hath found plentiful and eternal redemp-
" tion. Upon the which occasion, said he, I said, and say
" again, that the Bishop of Rome hath wrongly applied the
" sacrifice of the mas, making it a satisfaction for sins of
" the quick and dead, as he hath don the bloud of martyrs
" oftentimes. And then he shewed, that to cal it a sacrifice
" he would not stick, for a sacrifice it is of thanksgiving to
" our only Shepheard for his once offered offering; which
" hath made a ful satisfaction of al the sins of them which
" believe and cleave to him by faith. Yea, it is *eucharistia*,
" which is to say *sacrificium laudis*; yea, and it is to us a

Falsely reported to have recanted.

Which he denieth at the Cross.

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"commemoration of Christ's death and passion, according "to his own words, *Hoc facite in meam commemoratio-* "*nem.*"

Crome noted for his learning and charity in King Edward's days.

In King Edward's days he still flourished in fame and reputation for his preaching and piety, and noted for his charity and patronage of learning and learned men. I find a letter of address in this reign to him from one Thomas Mannyng, a poor scholar, for his relief: who having studied for divers years in Oxford, maintained at his parents' charge, they being now dead, and he eighteen years old, could, for want of maintenance, follow his studies no longer there: which necessity brought him to London;
106 where he set up his poor condition upon Paul's church doors: but no relief followed. Then he was advised to apply himself to Dr. Crome; which he did by a letter in Latin, superscribed thus; *Viro non minus eruditione, quam sapientia et authoritate claro, Magistro Doctori Crome.* Wherein he laid open his poor condition to him in good elegant style, and that he fled to him *tanquam sacram anchoram:* "That the public fame that went of him, that he "was a favourer and patron of all candidates of good lite- "rature, put him in great hopes of finding success; it being "generally reported, that he both could and would afford "succour unto such." He was, I suppose, one of those divines in London, into whose hands the wealthy and well-disposed citizens deposited their charitable monies, for the exhibiting to ingenious men at the Universities: whereof, for the honour of that city, there were many in those days there.

Whether he recanted under Q. Mary.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, he was, with other divines of the greatest fame, taken up: and some report that he recanted: of which I make a doubt. For, to trace him as near as we can, Jan. 13, he was laid in the Fleet for preaching on Christmas-day without licence, since the Queen by proclamation had forbidden all preaching. Jan. 30, he, with Taylor, Bradford, and some others, appeared before the Bishop of Winchester, and other bishops, sitting in commission from Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate,

in St. Mary Overy's church: when Crome desired two months' respite for the giving in his answer: and it was granted him, saith Fox, by a mistake; for one month only was granted him: within which space, nor at the expiration of it, it is certain he did not recant, but remained firm. For toward the latter end of April, there was a purpose, that he with Rogers and Bradford should be conveyed to Cambridge, to dispute there, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer had done at Oxford. And May 8, I find his name, with Hooper, Ferrar, Bradford, Philpot, and other eminent divines then in prison, subscribed to a declaration, that they would not dispute but before the Queen or Parliament, or else by writing, because of the foul play their fellows lately met with at Oxford. And I find in a letter from Ridley to Hooper, he desired, in his name, to salute that reverend father, his fellow prisoner, Dr. Crome. "By whom," said Ridley, "since the first day that I heard of his most godly "and fatherly constancy in confessing the truth of the Gos- "pel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the "Lord. For the integrity and uprightness, the gravity "and innocency of that man, all England, I think, hath "known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in "such abundance of iniquity, and decay of all godliness, "hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a wit- "ness for the truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard- "hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession "of so grave and innocent a man will not move to acknow- "ledge and confess the truth of God!" And in the margin are these words: "Of this good father's godly end and con- "stant confession of the truth, you shall read the next "edition of the Book of Martyrs." This is inserted by Coverdale, who put forth this book of the Martyrs' Letters, anno 1563. But we do not find any account of Crome in the after-editions of the Book of Martyrs, which makes me leave this matter under doubt.

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Martyrs' Letters.

And his carriage before the Bishop of Winton, and the rest of the commissioners, seemed not to be with that boldness and resolution, as appeared in some of his other fellow-

Judiciary proceedings with Crome.

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prisoners: which yet he might do out of a prudent wariness, to avoid the extreme danger he saw now impending,

Anno 1558.

if he should shew himself immovable, seeing them resolv-

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ing to make quick work, and Hooper and Rogers by them sentenced to death the same day he appeared before them. For the judiciary process against him stood thus, as I col-

Fox's MSS.

lect from the Acts themselves. On the 29th and 30th days of January, when the commissioners sat in great formality and state at the church of St. Mary Overy's, alias St. Saviour's, on which days Hooper, Rogers, Bradford, Tayler, Saunders, and Cardmaker, were summoned, and all of them, but the last, condemned; then also Crome appeared. To whom Bishop Gardiner, the chief commissioner and spokesman of the rest, repeated his exhortation, which he before now made him, which was, to reconcile himself to the unity of the Catholic Church, and confess his faith in the sacrament of the altar, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Here the reverend man entering into a dispute, did not shew himself resolved, but *in multis hæsitabat*, that is, *hesitated in many things*, say the Acts. So he was appointed the next day, *viz.* Jan. 30, to come before them again, between eight and ten in the morning. When that day came, Dr. Crome was called; he is said, "with an humble spirit and supplication, to request further time to be "granted him to deliberate with himself, and to consult "with learned men for the information of his conscience in "this his cause;" saying, "that he intended not pertinaciously to adhere to his private opinion; but if he could "be persuaded by the word of God, he should willingly "alter his conceived judgment." And so praying for two months to be granted him, my Lord Bishop understanding and seeing his humility, allowed him the space of a month then next ensuing for the effect abovesaid. But Crome, by all this, seems to me rather to have intended the gaining of time, than that he meant to comply. But let this lie at the reader's conjecture. I shall add but this more of Crome, that the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of Chichester, after a disputation held with Bradford, at parting, willed

him to read a book, that, as they said, did Dr. Crome good: which leaves the matter dubious.

Among the rest now cast into prison, and there detained, for the profession of the Gospel, I must not forget one who was noble, and the more truly noble, in that he most sincerely adhered to the true religion in the midst of these dangers. His name I cannot certainly assign; but I suspect him to have been the Lord Russel; who was now, I am sure, a prisoner. Divers letters were now wrote to him, to comfort and establish him: which was the way used then by the preachers, when they had not the liberty of free access. It had been this lord's desire, that letters of this sort might be writ to him; declaring in what good part he took them. One of these letters, addressed to him by some pious divine unknown, (probably Lever,) I have seen, and thought worthy preserving in the Catalogue. He commended him, "for his incredible stoutness in Christ his master's "cause, and added, that it was not altogether in vain, that "God's word had been taught and read unto the nobles; "that all of them were not jeerers and mockers, [it seems "most of them were,] covetous and ambitious, fleshly and "riotous. He wished that a few more were of that earnest "zeal and boldness in Christ, that this lord had declared "himself to be. He exhorted him to weigh what a good "master his heavenly Father was, that made him so good "a scholar, to find in his heart to despise all things in com- 108
"parison of him and his word, as favour and fair words "of men, honour, riches, pleasure, lands, possessions, pa-"rents, and friends, wife and children. This was the Lord's "working in him. He advised him to be strong, and esta-"blish his conscience upon the Lord's word. And, finally, "by no means to consent to or receive the mass: but to "compare the mass that was of man's making, with the sup-"per that was of Christ's institution." But I betake the reader to the letter itself.

Anno 1553. A nobleman in prison for the profession of the Gospel.

Numb. XI.

CHAP. XII.

The deprivation of the married priests. The injustice and severity thereof. The Romish clergy now in place. Their unclean lives. Their character.

Anno 1553. Proceedings with the married clergy.

ONE of the chief things thought upon, in order to the re-instating of the Pope and his religion, was the getting rid of the clergy throughout England, that favoured King Edward's proceedings; that they might no longer officiate in their churches, but be thrown out, to let in others that were of the Popish sort. The taking advantage of their wedlock was thought a good expedient for this purpose. For the Parliament, in the last reign, having by two several acts allowed priests to marry wives, great numbers of the clergy in all parts had joyfully taken this liberty. But this only thing was now made matter of deprivation, by the Queen's order and letter to all the Bishops in the beginning of March; influenced so to do by Gardiner, and some other violent Papists about her; notwithstanding the laws were yet in force that allowed their marriage. But, however, upon this order, officers were presently appointed in every diocese to make inquiry, and to turn out of their livings and livelihoods all priests that had taken wives, and to divorce them asunder.

In the diocese of Litchfield. Int. Fox. MSS.

And thus it was in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, R. Sampson, the Bishop there, speedily sending out his commissaries so to do. Thus I find in the original papers of this inquisition, that D. Pole, LL.D. vicar-general, and principal official to the Bishop, articled and deprived divers of the clergy for this cause; namely, H. Williams, dean of the church of Litchfield, who married Eliz. King, widow of Alan King, of London. Also Nic. Cotton, vicar of Great Over in Darbyshire, who married Joan Cooper, widow. J. Prynne, curate of Quatford in Shropshire, who married Thomasine Holt, widow: and J. Garleke, chaplain, who married Ann Oreton, single woman.

Priests deprived.

Tho. Chedulton, canon of the church of Litchfield, and a commissary to the said Bishop, at this time, and on this

occasion, articled divers other priests for their marriage, and deprived them: namely, William Wain, vicar of Marston; John Dawson, vicar of Melburn; Tho. Gossenel, rector of Trussely; Peter Hart, rector of Matlock; Bernard Brandon, chaplain of Pentridge; George Davye, chaplain, curate of Scropton; Sir Thomas —— chaplain of Codnor. Also Henry Holgreve, vicar-choral of the prebend of Longdon, in the cathedral church of Litchfield; Richard Hewer, clerk, vicar-choral of the prebend of Hondesacre in the said church. CHAP. XII. Anno 1553.

Moreover, in the archdeaconry of Stratford, David Pole aforesaid did article and deprive several other beneficed priests for the same grievous crime of marriage: as, Nicolas Morrey, rector of the church of Rolleston; Tho. Eynsworth, vicar of the church of Uttoxater; Rob. Baslowe, vicar of Burton upon Trent and Stapenhul; Ro. Ashton, rector of Moccleston, and vicar of Sondon; Rich. Slany, vicar of Penne; Jeffrey Bagshaw, vicar of Colwich; Edm. Crockel, Edw. Hawes, and Rich. Brooks, chaplains; and John Garlyke, and Henry Thecka, clerks. 109

In the archdeaconry of Coventry, Rich. Walker, canon resident of the church of Litchfield, and the Bishop's special commissary in this behalf, did article and deprive these persons following for having wives: Hugh Symonds, vicar of the church of St. Michael Coventry; Will. Benet, vicar of Trinity church, Coventry; Rich. Baldewyn, rector of Allesley; Simon Pope, rector of Warmington; John Boole, rector of Southam; Tho. Wyrley, rector of Bourton upon Dunsmore; William Warner, rector of Radwey; John Vernam, vicar of Stotteswel; Edw. Hopkinson, vicar of Hilmoreton; Will. Forster, vicar of Corley; John Alcock, vicar of Kynnesbury; John Cruer, vicar of Pakewood; Will. Bond, of Upper Whittacre; John Sendal, chaplain of Byrmyncham; Tho. Hewes, chaplain of Manceter; Henry Farryngton, chaplain of Shelton; ——— Hartewel, chaplain of Kirkeby Monachorum; Edward Bolevaunt, rector of Witnasshe, and Will. Masshender, chaplain, late canon regular of the order of the Premonstre.

It was objected against all these married priests, three

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and forty in number, (besides God knows how many more in this single diocese,) that some of them were professed of the rule of St. Benedict, or St. Augustin, or St. Francis, or St. Dominick, or of the Cistertian, or Premonstratensian, or Carthusian order; or that they had taken holy orders; whereby, according to the holy canons, and constitutions, and ordinations, and laudable ecclesiastical customs used in the Church, especially the western or Latin Church, they had all vowed chastity and continency. The form of the articles against them may be seen in the Catalogue.

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One appeals.

And in this business these deprivers were so quick, and went so roundly to work, that they stayed not for the appearances of the priests to answer for themselves, nor sometimes so much as cited them to answer, but deprived them to rights, without any more ado: which caused one of them so served, being more brisk than the rest, and knowing he had law of his side, to appeal to the Queen and the Parliament, for the wrong and injury done him. His name was Pope, rector of Warmington. He set forth, that he was a man of unspotted life and conversation; that commissary Walker had pronounced against him a definitive sentence, contrary to all laws and right; without any citation or calling him to appear, without any conviction of crimes, or confession of the party. Besides all this wrong, that he threatened that he would not yet make an end with him, but bring him into further trouble: which was the cause of his appeal to the Queen's Majesty, whom he styled, *Defender of the Faith, and supreme Head in earth of the Church of England and Ireland:* and to the court of Parliament, or to any other competent judge, to which by right and the statutes of this realm he might appeal: which appeal, being somewhat remarkable, I do reposit in the Catalogue. For the further hearing and examination of this business, there seemed to be a commission sent down to several divines and lawyers in the neighbouring dioceses; whose names were, as they are written on the back-side of this appeal, John Wyat, B. D. rector of the parish church of Kegworth, in the diocese of Lincoln:

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Rob. Patchet, LL. B. and commissary of John bishop of Lincoln, Will. Weston, M. A. in the county of Leicester. Also the Rector of the church of St. Michael of Buntington, in the diocese of York; John Rookesby, George Palmes, and John Dakyns, &c. Anno 1553.

Thus all the married clergy were thrust out of their livings for this most grievous crime of matrimony, though allowed them by the laws of the land: which act was horribly severe and unnatural, and turned some thousand of men, women, and children a begging. And which was worst, the married priests had no other callings to betake themselves to, to get food to feed themselves and families. But little regard was had hereto. Only here was a harvest for other Popish curates, to get into benefices and livings. Of this, thus did a grave writer in those very times, and suffered in this kind, express his mind: "They that enjoy "the profits of their possessions [that were married] I "would should right well note, that like as princes and "rulers be subject to changes, and that death as soon "knocketh at the door of the rich as of the poor, so a "man's right dieth not; and law in another world will "charge the transgressor, though ease in this world so flat-"ter the conscience, that God is forgotten, and the flesh "maketh full merry. What is extortion, if this be not? "to put out of goods and living one without a cause, and "to thrust in another without a just title? But all this "cannot suffice you, unless you may please your throats "and ears with crying out upon us, thieves, heretics, and "traitors, when you have taken from us both our country, "our goods, and most lawful possessions; yea, and all that "we have, saving God alone, whom with his word ye have "left to us, and driven away from you, to our comfort, "and your eternal shame and perpetual infamy." Thus the losers would, at least, have leave to talk and complain. The injustice of this deprivation, and the cruelty thereof. Ponet against Martin.

However strictly the married priests were looked after and punished by divorce and loss of their livings, yet some escaped this inquisition; being the less suspected when they complied and conformed themselves to the religion of Some priests escape divorce.

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the State. Such an one was Fairbank, a curate of Warbelton in Sussex. He had not put away his wife, notwithstanding the Queen's injunctions, but kept her secretly. This man had preached in his parish in King Edward's time, that none of them should believe any other doctrine than he did preach and teach them, according to the doctrine set forth in that King's days. But, in the beginning of Queen Mary, he preached doctrine clean contrary. This gave great offence to some of the soberest of his parishioners, and created a contempt of his person and ministry. And one Woodman, a parishioner of this man's, would not suffer him to christen his child, and charged him not to be lawfully called, he meant, to officiate as a priest under Queen Mary, since none were to do so, but those that were divorced from their wives, which he was not.

The priests single, but unclean.

The Romish clergy, that now came into play, mightily valued themselves for their being unmarried, and for having no wives, as the Protestant divines had. Yet they were men, even the Bishops and dignitaries not excepted, scandalously addicted to uncleanness; and the loose women they consorted with well known. And sometimes their adulteries
111 and fornications so notorious, that they underwent public shame and punishment. And as they were of unclean lives, so many of them were uncleanly and basely begotten, to the disparagement of the church wherein they were preferred.

Boner's family.

Boner, bishop of London, was bastard all over. He a bastard, his father a bastard, his grandfather a notorious whoremaster. For this was his pedigree, as I find it set

Mr. Petyt's MSS.

down in a collection of old MSS. "Sir John Savage, "Knight of the Garter, and of the Privy Council to King "Henry VII. and after slain at Bulloign, had issue lawful "Sir John Savage, kt. who dwelt in Worcestershire: base "issue, Sir John [or George] Savage, priest, parson of "Danham in Leicestershire: who had bastards, four sons "and three daughters, by three sundry women." Which priest, therefore, Bale bestowed this gird upon: "He was "a good ghostly father, old women said, which were well "loden with sins, and led away with divers lusts." The

names of his children were as follow: "1. George Wim- CHAP. XII.
"sley, [or Wimbesley,] priest, chancellor of Westchester.
"2. John Savage, alias Wimsley, archdeacon of London Anno 1553.
"and Middlesex, and parson of Torperley in Cheshire.
"3. Randolph Savage, of the Lodge in Cheshire. 4. Ed-
"mund Boner, gotten of Eliz. Frodsham: who, when she
"had conceived, was sent to Elmesley in Worcestershire,
"to one Thomas Savage, and afterwards was married to a
"carpenter [or a sawyer] called Boner, of Potters Handley,
"by Malvern-hills. 5. Margaret, who married with one
"Claydon of the Wall in Cheshire. 6. Helene, who mar-
"ried to one Hais of Litley in the said county. 7. Eliza-
"beth, who was married to one Goldenstocks in the same
"county."

This Bishop Boner was father to Dr. Darbyshire, his chancellor, as ordinary fame went. And he had another base son that was steward of his lands: which gave occasion to a severe repartee Bale made to this Boner, upon his dislike of King Edward's Office of Baptism, and the imposing upon the infants scripture names, which then began to be given; declaring himself to be for changing the names of Susanna and Rachel, for Joan and Katharine. "His Lord-
"ship is better acquainted," said he, "with Katharine and
"Joan out of the Bible, than with Rachel and Susanna
"within the Bible. And that appeareth well by his fruits
"abroad." Boner's sons.

Gardiner, bishop of Winton, and Tonstal of Durham, and Oglethorpe of Carlile, were also base born. Of whom the first, among other women, kept one Mrs. Godsalve. His church and college of Winchester was scandalous for lechery. Simon Palmer, formerly the relic-keeper, in 1551, so abused a wench of twelve years old, that she could not go for ten days after. His business was brought before the Bishop's chancellor, Mr. Gascoin, Sir Henry Seimour, and Mr. John Foster, justices of the peace: but by subtile contrivances he escaped hanging. To this church belonged also Sir William Harman, priest, that visited one Daniel's wife; and Sir Peter Langrige, priest, that was too free with Bishop Gardiner and his church, unclean.

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others. But the foul stories of these, Bale (from whom I take these informations) reserved to relate in his Roman votaries.

Declarat. of Boner's articles.

Dr. Darbyshire.

Wymsley.

Dr. Weston.

Dr. Darbyshire, mentioned before, Boner's son and chancellor, kept one Anne Caudel, and had children by her. Wymsley, Boner's base brother, when he was parson of Torperley, was known to have three or four familiars, and several children by them. Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and after of Windsor, for his scandalous life in adultery,

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was deprived of his deanery by Cardinal Pole. Bale mentions Mary Hugfal of Oxford, his old familiar, and the goodwife Peerson, his provider, and Christian Thomas, a widow whom he brent, or sealed with his hot iron, (to use his phrase,) at Oxford. He moreover tells the world in print concerning these bishops, Boner, Gardiner, Tonstal, White, and some others of that function, as Cotes, bishop of Chester; also Dr. Weston, Dr. Smith, Young, Martin; that he had in his possession a register of their whoredoms, and of their bastard children. And this he received from certain of their own familiars, as he called them, and their privy conveyers; but now repentant. He means, those that were their pimps and bawds, that conveyed whores to them, and their misbegotten children to nurses. Priests within their own parishes had panders, to procure them loose women; which Bale styled, "trusty trulls, known within the "parishes to be helpers at such needs, and lusty queans, "which used to walk abroad in beggars apparel, pye-"wenches, and sausage-makers." And when such as these were not at hand, too often were these churchmen guilty of sodomy; and working that which was unseemly so much as to utter, with boys, their chamberlains, that made their beds, and that helped them at mass.

In his declaration.

Some priests brought to shame for their uncleanness.

Dr. Barkley, Queen Mary's chaplain, having to do with an impudent woman at Wells, she lightened him of all he had: for which act he had her in prison, but could recover nothing but shame. Another priest, called Sir Tho. Snowdel, whom they nicknamed Parson Chicken, was carted through Cheapside, for assoiling an old acquaintance of his

in a ditch in Finsbury-field: and was at that riding saluted with chamber-pots and rotten eggs. Sir James Tregennow, curate of St. Ives in Cornwall, told Bale, Octob. 1, 1553, and he reported it also in the presence of several other gentlemen, as a matter of sport, that one day he got two fishermen's wives with child, only to uphold the church's profits of chrisoms and offerings. Harpsfield, Bishop Boner's chaplain, whom Bale called Dr. Sweetlips, from his smooth words and fair discourse, and his crosier-bearer in holy confession, enticed a man's wife in London to uncleanness: which she, like an honest woman, discovered.

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Nor were two eggs more alike than these priests were to their fellows in former reigns. For, to add a few passages to shew what they were in King Henry's time: Bale tells us, that he remembered a priest at Malden in Essex, an unlearned lusk, that lay long about a young gentlewoman to have had his lewd pleasure of her. But more for doubt of hazarding her marriage, than for any true fear of God, she kept him always back; till at last she promised to have his purpose, if he came while the pies were baking. And then he came upon pretence of confessing her, and had his will of her. In the year 1530, not far off this town of Malden, one came to be confessed at the pardon of the Augustines, lamenting that she being naught with a priest, which was by that act the father of her eldest son, was the cause of disinheriting the right heir, the younger brother, that was only her husband's son. Much ado there was to keep her husband from the knowledge of it, and her from despair. For she was come almost utterly to despair of God's mercy for so wicked a fact. Mr. Wharton, a justice of peace in Suffolk, told Bale, that he brought once to the Duke of Norfolk a wench in man's apparel, with four waiting chaplains, good curates, that had one after another bestowed their chastity upon her.

Unchaste priests in K. Henry's reign.

In Bendly in the marches of Wales, the curate had a love 113
for an husbandman's wife in the parish: but could never come at her, till he had caused her to feign herself sick. And then he came like a religious confessor, with his cake

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of god in a box, and the parish clerk or sexton, with a bell and a lantern. Entering the chamber, he bade the sexton and all to avoid, that he might commune with the sick concerning her soul's health, and minister to her the sacraments and sacramentals. The door fast barred, he got to bed with the woman; and his god stood upon the cupboard, which he made his bawd. But by a hole in the wall they were both seen and discovered, the door being broke open upon them. But the matter coming before the Bishop of Worcester, he assoiled his chaplain with some little penance.

Wickliff of the priests.

And that this was the old wont of the priests, appears from a passage taken out of a book of Wickliff, *De Hypocrisi;* "That in his time the gentlemen or nobles being occupied "in the wars, the merchants in their affairs, the plowmen in "their labours, the priests, monks, and friars most filthily "abused their wives. They made them believe, in confes- "sions, that it was very wholesome to be doing with them "in the absence of their husbands, and very medicinal for "divers diseases. They affirmed also, that it was a much "less sin to have to do with them, than with any laymen; "promising, in conclusion, that they would make answer to "God for their sins. And some of those women, he saith, "certain monks slew, which would in no wise condescend "to their wicked persuasions."

Considering all which premises, and the shame and sin of priests and people, by the forbidding marriage to the clergy, the allowance of it under King Edward must needs, by all impartial men, be approved; especially since the word of God countenanceth it, and the ancient practice of the Church.

The virtue and learning of Queen Mary's priests.

But besides the honesty of the priests in this Queen's reign, their virtue and learning was such, [that is, so little,] saith our forementioned author, that in good King Edward's time they were glad to hide their heads. But now they swarmed abroad by heaps; and were admitted for money, as fit to hold the people in blindness and ignorance. For as Bale sarcastically expresseth it, "their office now was to

"say their prayers in Latin, without understanding, pro- "perly, to bear their candles soberly, and to offer them to "the saints mannerly, to take their ashes devoutly, to carry "their palms discreetly, to creep to the cross on Good- "Friday featly, and to receive their little white maker on "Easter-day honourably." And in this also consisted the complete devotion of a Popish layman, as well as priest. Anno 1553.

I leave these passages, before recited in this chapter, upon the credit of John Bale, from a work of whom I have taken them: who, though he is sometimes blamed, and blameworthy indeed, for his rude and plain language, and sometimes charged for making mistakes, (which, nevertheless, could hardly be avoided by an historian, as he was, that was forced to take up many things from the information of others,) is an author of high esteem, and of commendable diligence and integrity, and to whom posterity is much beholden for preserving from utter perishing much of the English ecclesiastical history. A censure of J. Bale.

And thus was the Church now plentifully furnished with 114 ignorant, scandalous priests, notwithstanding their single lives. And being placed in their respective parishes, they did not seldom quarrel with their parishioners for chrisoms, candles, purification-pence, eggs on Good-Friday, the four offerings, dirge-groats, and such like. For that was the usual reward for singing a mass for a soul. And sometimes, in lieu of that groat, they had a peck of wheat, or a cheese, or a pudding given them. The priests' demands from their parishioners.

The priests, especially the better sort of them, took much care about the habit and apparel they wore. They went about in side-sweeping gowns, with great wide sleeves, four-cornered caps, and long tippets, new shaven crowns, and smooth smirk faces. For they shaved their beards, and so were bound to do, as well as their crowns. Their apparel.

Bale, to set out the vices of this order of men, according to his way, bestows these nick-names upon them: Sir Laurence Loiterer, Sir Peter Pickthank, Sir James the Jangler, Sir Saunder Swepestreet, Sir Godfrey Goodale, Sir Thomas Tippler, Sir Quintin Quarreller, Sir Harry Whorehunter, Their nicknames.

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Sir Simon Smelsmock, Sir Benet Buggerer, Whirlery-whisking Weston, Wanton wagtail Winchester.

Anno 1553. Popish service.

And now, for a sober, grave, intelligible service of God, used in the former reign, came into use, "blind Latin "patterings and wawlings," (I use the words of John Bale, who would call a spade a spade;) "whereas one priest "crieth like a pig, another bleats like a sheep, another lows "like a cow, another grunts like an old sow, another howls "like an owl, another chatters like a pye. And then step-"peth forth Sir Laurence Loiterer, and he plays jack "monkey at the altar, with his turns and half turns," (he means in regard of the many ceremonious postures then used,) "and an hundred toys more."

Priests mind secular employs.

To conclude this chapter, and these accounts of Queen Mary's priests and mass-sayers. Though these men little minded studying the Scripture, or preaching the Gospel, or improving themselves in divine knowledge; yet very many of them were not idle, but addicted themselves to secular things: divers belonging to noblemen and gentlemen, and looked some to their hawks, and some to their dogs; some were their stewards, others their gardeners, others their accomptants, or the like. But generally they were noted for their spitefulness, and diligence in informing against the Gospellers, and bringing them under imprisonment and suffering. And the more ignorant they were, the more bigoted. These matters are more fully related by a sober and grave man that lived in the midst of these times, and knew them well enough.

Dr. Pilkington's saying hereupon. Exposition upon Aggee.

"If," saith he, "ye want one to keep a curre, rather than "a cure, to be a hunter or a faulkner, to be an over-"seer of your workmen, to be your steward, or to look to "your sheep and cattle, to be your gardener, keep your "orchard, or write your business; who is meeter for any of "these businesses than Sir John Lack Latin? What "a wickedness is this, that they should take so much pains "to be so cunning in these things that God looks not for "of them; and in those things that God hath charged "them withal, they can see nothing at all? They be dumb

" dogs, not able to bark in rebuking of sin; and blind " guides, not able to rule their flock. But if the world be " on their side, they can then play the wood dogs, biting " and snatching at every man near them, and let no honest " man dwell in rest by them, but accuse, burn, and consume " all that speak against their mischiefs. If there be a " trental to be said, or any money to be gotten for masses, " diriges, relics, pardons, &c. who then is so ready as " they? They can smell it out a great many miles off. But " if a man want comfort in conscience, would understand " his duty towards God, or God's goodness towards us, " they be blind beasts, ignorant dolts, unlearned asses; and " can say nothing, but make holy water, and bid them say " a Lady Psalter." So he.

Their gluttony, idleness, and luxury.

The Popish priests, indeed, made a shew of self-denial and mortification by their abstinence from marriage: but beside their known uncleanness, their gluttony, and idleness, and luxury was as well known: which thus Ponet sets forth: " I marvel much that Martin is not ashamed to " commend his fond opinion [of the single life of priests,] " with the feigned austerity and sharpness of the fat-bellied " priests, whom he would seem to defend. All the world " seeth, that their whole life is spent in nothing else than in " eating and drinking, in idle walking and pastimes, and in " providing for furring of their backs, and fattening of " their bellies, and in gorgeously decked chambers, and soft " sleeping. For maintenance whereof I report me to all " the world, what pains they take in purchasing pluralities, " totquets, non-residences; that they may heap prebend " upon prebend, benefice upon benefice; lest at any time " their backs or their bellies should lack of their lusts: " fearing lest their spare godly diet should cause their " neighbours to call them niggards."

Book of Priests' Marriages.

Bale's Vocation.

In this year did John Bale aforesaid, late bishop of Ossory, and now an exile, set forth his book, entitled, *The Vocation of John Bale to the Bishopric of Ossory in Ireland, and his Persecutions in the same, and his final Deliverance.*

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Now also did Dr. White, Bishop Gardiner's chaplain, and a pretender to poetry, set forth a book in favour of Popery,

Anno 1553. Diacosio-Martyrion.

entitled, *Diacosio-Martyrion*, i. e. *The testimony of two hundred, for the truth of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist; wrote three years ago against P. Martyr; now first published by John White of Winchester College: London, Dec.* 1553. 4to. It was writ in Latin verse, and dedicated to the Princess Mary. So that it seems to have been printed before, with a new title-page now, to recommend it the better to sale.

Henry Lord Stafford writes.

And Henry Lord Stafford, to shew his compliance with these times, translated two epistles of Erasmus, wherein was undertaken to be shewn, the brain-sick headiness of the Lutherans; and printed it by Will. Riddel, in 16°.

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Some new Bishops consecrated. A new Parliament. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer at Oxford: their disputation there. Divers remarkable matters happening in the months of April and May. Divers trials, executions, processions. Punishments. The Queen's progress.

Anno 1554. April. New bishops made.

THOUGH there was now a great vacancy of episcopal sees in the Church, yet none were consecrated bishops before April 1. when Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, did consecrate and bless in the church of St. Saviour's in Southwark, alias St. Mary Overy's, (which belonged to him,) before the high altar, six new bishops, found out for their purpose: *viz.* White, warden of Winchester, to be bishop of Lincoln; Gilbert Bourne to be bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Morgan to be bishop of St. David's; Dr. Brokes, bishop of Glocester; Dr. Cotes, bishop of West Chester; Maurice Griffyn, (commonly called Mr. Mores,) parson of St. Magnus, bishop of Rochester; and Parfew, alias Warton, the bishop of St. Asse, that is, Asaph, was translated to Hereford. All was performed, at

this recovery of the Papal religion, with extraordinary state and ceremony. For the church was hanged with cloth of arras (*tapetis, stragulis, et aliis preciosis vestibus ornata*) and other costly carpets: and a goodly mass was said. And when all was done, *Te Deum laudamus* excellently sung. And at the conclusion, all departed to the Lord Chancellor's to dinner; where was as splendid an entertainment as possibly could be.

Anno 1554. Registr. Eccl. Cantuar.

Apostle-mass revived.

On the next day, *viz.* April 2, began the Apostles' mass again at the cathedral of St. Paul's.

The act for uniting Ongar and Greensted repealed.

The same day began Queen Mary's second Parliament. She rode thither in her parliament robes, and the bishops and temporal lords in theirs; and after a goodly mass of the Holy Ghost sung, they repaired together to the house. This Parliament continued to the 5th of May, and then dissolved. Among the public acts of this Parliament, one was for the repealing of an act made for the uniting of the parish churches of Chipping Ongar and Greensted in Essex, the inhabitants of each to repair to Greensted as their parish church. This was done, I am apt to think, in displeasure to William Morice, esq. an old and great professor of religion, and who had suffered for it; and whose younger son Ralph was secretary to Archbishop Cranmer. He for some reasons had got this union of the two parishes established by act of Parliament in the 2d of King Edward, being then a burgess of Parliament. He lived at Chipping Ongar aforesaid, and was patron of that church, and died in the beginning of this reign. In that act of repeal, this gentleman is severely charged for this act of his, and is very illy represented to posterity, and perhaps, according to the custom of these times of Queen Mary, worse than he deserved: and being dead, could not vindicate himself, nor was it safe for his children to do it. He is charged to have done it inordinately for private lucre and profit: and that it was without the knowledge and consent of the parishioners of Ongar: and that in the said act of consolidation of those two churches were contained false suggestions and untrue surmises concerning the distance and value of the said

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churches and benefices. And that the parsonage of Ongar was worth 10*l.* per ann. so long as the said Morice did truly pay his tithes. And that by colour of this act he did enter into the said church and churchyard of Ongar, the mansion-house and glebe land of the parsonage, and divers other pieces of land to the said church appertaining; through which the people of Ongar, and others, had their highways and paths from time to time: and that he took away all the ornaments, bells, vestments, chalice, and lead of the church, and converted it to his own use, and covered the said church with tiles. It set forth, that the church of Greensted was not able to contain half the parishioners, nor the curate of Greensted able in winter to pass the brooks running and overflowing between the towns of the said parishes; whose churches were distant three quarters of a mile and more: so that divers had died without confession and counsel of their curate, and without administration of the holy sacraments. In this act of the Queen it was decreed, that the advowson and presentation of the parsonage of Ongar should belong unto James Morice, William's son and heir, and his heirs and assigns.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer, dispute at Oxon.

Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Father Latymer, were sent down in the beginning of April, from their prison at London, to dispute their doctrines at Oxford. But this was nothing but a vain-glorious design of the Papists, to vaunt their own religion, and to run down the late reformation with words and noise. Here Dr. Weston, who was the moderator, in his disputation with Latymer, belied openly a great many particulars of King Edward's proceedings. Thus, upon the removing of altars, and setting tables in their stead; which tables were ordered to be placed not altar-wise, but table-wise, and the person that officiated, to turn his face, not to the east, but to the people, thus abusively did this man set it out: "A sort of apes, they could "not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, "another day east; one that way, another this way." Because the cup was appointed to the laity, and the minister was to say, Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood

The reformation misrepresented by Weston.

was shed for thee, and be thankful; the same merry gentleman represented the office thus: "They get them a tan-"kard, [as though they refused the use of the chalice,] and "one saith, I drink, and I am thankful. The more joy of "thee, saith another." And because the reformers, in the second edition of the Communion-Book, put in a proviso, that no adoration was intended to the sacrament, Weston would have this to be done solely by the persuasion of a Scot, (whom yet he named not,) and none other. "A re-"negade Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping "of Christ in the sacrament. By whose procurement that "heresy was put into the last Communion-Book. So much "prevailed that one man's authority at that time." But there was no Scot that ever I could read or hear of, that assisted at the review of that Communion-Book. And indeed Cranmer, Ridley, and Cox, were the chief that managed that affair, though they consulted with Bucer and Peter Martyr. And as for Knox, the Scotchman, he was hardly come into England (at least any further than Newcastle) at this time, much less had any thing to do with that work. Again, speaking of the reformation in England, he laid it as a reproach upon the directors of it, that they followed no other churches but their own fancy: "You neither agreed 118
"with the Tygurines nor Germans, or with the Church, or "with yourselves." Indeed they took their direction and pattern from the word of God and the primitive Church. And, finally, because they took away altars, and pulled down other superstitions out of the churches, and placed not such holiness in the walls and stones as the Papists did, he laid to their charge, that they were against all churches: "They "will be like, they say, to the Apostles. They will have "no churches: a hovel is as good for them." And thus the holy and wise reformation was to be ridiculed and be belied by this court divine, openly before the University, the better to bring the scholars back to the old superstitions.

In this jolly Doctor's disputation with Latymer, I shall insert one observation, which is not mine, but a learned

Latymer proveth that women

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man's who wrote and lived in those times. In disputing about women's receiving the sacrament, "Weston was not ashamed to maintain as a truth, that women ought not to receive the communion: making it, as it were, doubtful, and not plain by God's word: and that for declaration and proof of the same heretical opinion, among other questions, he demanded of the holy martyr, where he found in Scripture that women ought to receive the sacrament? Unto whom Latymer answered, Yes, and it please your mastership, I shall find it in the Scriptures, that women ought to receive the sacrament. Nay, quoth Weston, that can you never in the Scriptures. Yes, quoth Latymer, here I have it, I trow, in St. Paul, *Probat scipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat*, &c. I pray you, Mr. Doctor, *cujus generis homo?* Doth not this word *homo* signify in both kinds, as well man as woman? Here was Mr. Doctor blank. But lest he should have this shameful foil at this holy man's hand, Weston being their chief commissioner, the bench of the doctors consulted for an answer, whereby to deliver Weston out of the briers: and in conclusion they made this resolution to the auditory, that the Greek word was ἀνὴρ, which Greek word signifieth *man* only, in the masculine gender. A meet answer, forsooth, for such as seek to maintain their heresy they care not how: for indeed the Greek word is not ἀνὴρ, as they falsely alleged, but ἄνθρωπος, which answereth to *homo*, and signifieth both man and woman, according to Mr. Latymer's learned saying. And so Weston, glad to avoid his own shame some ways, consented to their lie, and made a catholic conclusion of it, that it was not so in the Greek: which was an impudent lie. Weston indeed was ignorant in Greek: a fit divine in the mean time." For the said author observed, that at Paul's Cross, in the hearing of the whole audience, he had said, the Greek word ἀνθρωπομορφῖται signified *hominum devoratores, devourers of men*, when indeed it is the name of those heretics who held that opinion, that God the Father hath the form and shape of a man, and such members and

Anno 1554. must communicate.

Ponet in his book against Dr. Martin.

parts of a body as be ascribed to him in Scripture. Where- CHAP. XIII.
upon the said author made this inference: "What boldness
"have they among the ignorant, [as Dr. Weston had in Anno 1554.
"this Paul's Cross sermon in venting falsehood,] when in
"the midst of an University, among a great number of
"learned men, they be not ashamed to belie the very text
"of Scripture for the maintenance of their heresy, and to
"condemn him for heresy who most learnedly defended
"himself with the truth of God's word, by this and sundry
"places, to their perpetual shame, to be registered in 119
"chronicles for ever, and to God's eternal glory."

And as by disputations with these venerable men true religion was triumphed over at Oxford, the like vain triumph was determined to be shewn at the other University of Cambridge; and that in May, in parliament time, for the greater ostentation. And a commission was in a readiness for the sending down thither Bishop Hooper, Bishop Farrar, Dr. Taylour, Mr. Philpot, Mr. Saunders, all very learned men, and all prisoners; and Dr. Weston and his company were to enter the lists with them also. But Hooper, who had intelligence of it, being in the Fleet, speedily conveyed the notice thereof to the other divines then in the King's Bench and Marshalsea; and very prudently, to prevent their dealing with them as they had done at Oxford, he gave this advice to them in a private letter: "How they knew that those that were to be their censors Fox, Mar-
"and judges thirsted after their blood; and that in the end tyrol.
"of these disputations the adversaries would cry out *Vic-*
"*tory*, as they did against those great learned men and
"godly personages at Oxford. Wherefore, he said, for his
"part he would never answer them, except he had books
"present, because they used not only false allegations of
"the doctors, but also took a piece of them against the
"whole course of their minds. Next, he would require
"sworn notaries to take things spoken indifferently, though
"it would be very hard to get such; for that the adverse
"party would have the oversight of all things, and then
"make their own sayings and arguments better than they

Another disputation intended at Cambridge.

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" were, and those of their opposites worse. And then, thirdly, " if two or three, or more, should speak together, or with " mocks and taunts illude and mock them, then he advised " it were best to *appeal*, to be heard before the Queen and " the whole Council: which would much set forth the glory " of God. For many of them, he said, knew already the " truth; and many more of them erred rather of zeal than " malice; and a third sort, that were indurate, would be " answered fully to their shame, though to the smart and " blood-shedding of the other part. For he was, he said, " assured of this, that the commissioners appointed to hear " and judge them, meant nothing less than to hear the " cause indifferently; for that they were enemies to them " and their cause, and were at a point already to give sen- " tence against them. So that, if it were possible, they " should speak with St. Stephen, that the adversaries should " not be able to resist; or else, with Christ, to use silence " and patience."

Hooper added, " That he knew they would deny this " appeal; but yet advised they should challenge it, and " take witness thereof of such as were present, and demand " indifferent hearing and judgment, either before the Queen " and her Council, or before all the Parliament, as they " were used in King Edward's days. And of this, he de- " sired within a day or two to know their resolution, since " he knew, that when they should be carried down, they " should be kept asunder, and not suffered to come at one " another, to confer together."

Some noblemen created.

For the more honourable reception of the Prince of Spain, (of which now was all the talk,) certain persons were made noble. Sir John of Bridges was created, on the 8th of April, Lord Shandois; and the same day, Sir John Williams, Baron of Thame, and appointed lord chamberlain to the Prince, and Sir Anthony Browne, master of his horse. And the same day, the Lord William Howard, lord admiral, and his captains, were habited in white and green velvet and satin, taffeta, and sarcenet; the trumpeters also in green and white; and all the mariners so arrayed.

On the same day, somebody unknown hanged a cat on the gallows beside the cross in Cheap: (for the gallowses in the city, whereon the rebels in the month of February last were hanged, still remained for a terror.) The said cat was habited in a garment like to that the priest wore that said mass: she had a shaven crown; and in her fore feet held a piece of paper made round, representing the wafer. This gave great offence: but, notwithstanding all the search that could be made, the doers could not be found. Whereupon, April 13, it was proclaimed, that whosoever he were that would discover him or her that had done this unseemly deed, he should be rewarded with twenty mark.

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A cat hanged upon the gibbet in Cheap, in derision.

Sir Thomas Wyat's fatal day was now come, being the 11th of April, when, between nine and ten of the clock afore noon, on Tower-hill he was beheaded. And by eleven of the clock he was quartered on the scaffold, and his bowels and members burnt beside the scaffold: and a car and basket being at hand, the four quarters and the head were put into the basket, and conveyed to Newgate, to be parboiled. And the day after, his head was set upon the gallows on Hay-hill, beside Hyde-park, where three men hung in chains; being the place where the Queen's men and Wyat's had a skirmish, and he and his officers overcome. One of his quarters was set up upon a gibbet at Mile-end; and another beside Newington, beyond St. George's in Southwark; another beside Thomas of Waterings; and the fourth at ——

Wyat executed.

On the 17th day of the foresaid month, four more, charged to be in the late insurrection, were brought to Guildhall, London; namely, Sir Nic. Throgmorton, Sir James A Croft, Mr. Winter, (who was admiral to the fleet that was to fetch over the prince,) and Mr. Vaughan. Where Vaughan gave evidence against Sir Nicolas, and Winter's confession was made use of to the same purpose. But after a long trial, he so well pleaded his own cause, that the jury acquitted him: but they were severely fined. The trial is extant in Hollingshed's History.

Sir Nic. Throgmorton tried and quitted.

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Two pillorized.

On the 21st were two men set on the pillory in Cheap, for speaking seditious words and false lies against the Queen and her Council: and one of them had his ears nailed to the pillory.

On the 23d, being St. George's day, the Queen now being at St. James's in the fields, repaired to the chapel, and went, according to the old custom, a procession with all the knights of the garter that were then present: and the same day were created the Prince of Spain, and the Earl of Sussex, knights of that order.

The Prince of Spain received into the order.

Lord Thomas Grey executed.

On the 28th, the Lord Thomas Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's brother, a valiant and brave gentleman, lost his life, being beheaded on Tower-hill, between nine and ten of the clock, and buried at Alhallows Barking in Tower-street. The day after, Sir James A Croft and Mr. Winter were brought to Guildhall, and the former was arraigned and cast.

Postil mass.

April 30. began the postil mass at St. Paul's, at five a clock in the morning every day.

May.

Rogation-week at St. James's.

Rogation-week being come, May 3, being holy Thursday, at the court of St. James's, the Queen went in procession within St. James's, with heralds and sergeants of arms,

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and four bishops mitred: and Bishop Bourn, beside his mitre, wore a pair of slippers of silver and gilt, and a pair of rich gloves, with ouches of silver upon them very rich. And all the three days there went her chapel about the fields. The first day to St. Giles's, and there sung mass. The next day, being Tuesday, to St. Martin's in the Fields; and there a sermon was preached, and mass sung: and the company drank there. The third day to Westminster; where a sermon was made, and then mass, and good cheer made: and after, about the park; and so to St. James's court. The same Rogation-week, went out of the Tower, on procession, priests and clerks, and the lieutenant with all his waiters; and the axe of the Tower borne in procession: the waits attended. There joined in this procession the inhabitants of St. Katharine's, Radcliff, Limehouse, Poplar,

Stratford, Bow, Shoreditch, and all those that belonged to the Tower, with their halberts. They went about the fields of St. Katharine's and the liberties. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1554.

Good store of Spanish gold had already come into England: for the English were to be reconciled to the Spanish match by a liberal distribution of it. It seems the Portugal pieces admitted of contest as to the prices of them: which cost the Queen a proclamation, dated May 4, to ascertain the value they should go at. Which was, that from the date of the publication thereof, every single crusado of Portugal, with the long cross, being of the just standard, fineness, and weight, should be deemed and accepted to be of value 6*s.* 4*d.* of current money of this realm. Every pistolet, being of the just standard, fineness, and weight, should be deemed and accepted to be of the value of 6*s.* 2*d.* Every single crusado of Portugal, with the short cross, being of the just standard, to be of value 6*s.* 8*d.* And every of the said coins should be commonly paid and received through her Highness's realms, and other her dominions, in all payments and receipts, according to the said rates. And all, dwelling, conversing, and trafficking within the Queen's dominions, were strictly commanded to observe the tenor of this proclamation, upon pain of imprisonment, and other punishment, at her Highness's pleasure. This was dated from John Cawode's house, the Queen's printer, May 4, 1554. Values set upon Spanish gold.

This month of May was much occupied in masses and processions after the old fashion. For as there was a great procession at the Court, and in the liberties of Westminster, May 3, wherein the Queen assisted, as was said before; so May 6. was a goodly evensong at Guild-hall college, by the masters of the clerks and their fellowship, with singing and playing: and the morrow after was a great mass at the same place, and by the same fraternity; when every clerk offered an halfpenny. The mass was sung by divers of the Queen's chapel and children. And after mass done, every clerk went their procession two and two together; each having on the surplice and a rich cope, and a The fellowship of clerks, their procession.

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garland. After them, fourscore standards, streamers, and banners. And each one that bare them had an albe or a surplice. Then came in order after them the waits playing; and then, between thirty clerks, a choir singing *Salve festa dies.* (There were four of these choirs.) Then came a canopy, borne over the sacrament by four of the masters of the clerks, with twelve staff-torches burning. This procession, in this order, went up Lawrence-lane, and so to the further end of Cheap; and back again to Cornhill to Leadenhall, and thence down to Bishopsgate-street unto St. Ethelborough's; and there they put off their copes: and so every man to dinner. There every one that bare a streamer had money given him, according as they were in bigness.

A royal dirge.

122 On the 10th day of this month of May was a dirge at Westminster and at Paul's by torch-light. And the morrow after, there and at Westminster was mass. There they of the Queen's Council and divers lords did offer money for the souls of King Henry VII. and Queen Elizabeth, and for King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine, and for King Edward VI.

The fishmongers' procession in Whitsun-week.

Whitsuntide being now come, there was great and jolly processioning all the three days, according to the old custom. On Whitsun-Monday, May 14, was the procession of St. Peter's in Cornhill, commonly called *the fishmongers' procession.* The motions were in this sort. First went a goodly choir of clerks, singing; and a fourscore of priests, wearing copes of cloth of gold. Then followed the lord mayor and aldermen in scarlet. Then the company of fishmongers in their liveries: they and the officers bearing white rods in their hands. And so to Paul's: and there they did their oblations after the old fashion. Divers other parishes went their procession this day. On Whitsun-Tuesday was the Hackney procession to Paul's. And after this, came the procession of St. Clement's, and the mayor and aldermen accompanying. There were in these processions goodly choirs singing. On the Wednesday, May 16, came to Paul's the Islington procession.

Corpus Christi procession.

On Corpus Christi day, *i. e.* May 24, were many gay

processions in many parishes in London. For many had long torches, garnished after the old fashion, and staff-torches burning; and many canopies borne about the streets. Among the rest, those of the parish of St. Sepulchre's went about their own parish; and in Smithfield, as they were going there, came a man unto the priest that bare the sacrament, and began to pluck it out of his hand, and incontinent he drew his dagger. But hands were soon laid upon him, and he carried to Newgate; and then he feigned himself mad. His name was Street, a joiner by trade, living in Coleman-street. This story is thus noted by the writer of the Journal whence I take this and divers other things, otherwise a diligent man; and so it is also set down in a chronicle, wrote not long after those times, called *A brief Chronicle of London*. But all this proved afterwards but the slander of a priest, and falsely represented to cast a blot upon the professors of religion. The truth of the matter was discovered by Fox, who diligently inquired into it, and had his information from the party himself: which was thus. The person being a simple undesigning man, passing by chance that way in some haste, and having no other way to go, went under the canopy near the priest. The priest seeing the man so to presume, apprehended some danger near, and being more afraid than hurt, let the pix fall. The poor man was presently apprehended, and carried to the Compter; and the priest accused him before the Council, as though he had come to kill him; whereas the fellow protested no such thought ever entered into his mind. But from the Compter he was had to Newgate, and there cast into the dungeon, and chained to a post, and miserably handled; and so extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now haired out of his wits indeed: and so he was removed to Bedlam.

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Disturbed.

Vitellius, F. 5.

But now from processions to look upon other things happening about this time. On Whitsun-Monday, the Lord Garret, or Gerald, was created earl of Kildare. Upon Tuesday in Whitsun-week, Thirleby, bishop of Norwich, came to Court. Upon Wednesday came over from Spain

Lord Gerald made Earl of Kildare.

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the ancient Spanish ambassador, with a gray beard; being the same that had been here when King Edward died. And as the bruit went, he was to be Marshal, and to execute martial laws upon all strangers, subjects of Spain, either Spaniards or of the Low Countries: the better to keep good order among them, who in these days were very apt to domineer over the English, that the English nation might be the less grieved by that insulting people; or perhaps, and in more likelihood, by these pretences of justice to exempt the Spaniards from the laws and judicatories of England. This old gentleman hardly escaped the French on the narrow seas; two of the ships, wherein his horses and stuff were, falling into their hands; and he himself, being in a small pinnace, escaped. On Thursday, that is, the day after his coming over, he, with the rest of the Emperor's ambassadors, came to the Court, and spake with the Queen; no question, about the affair of the marriage between Prince Philip and her.

Anno 1554. The Spanish ambassador comes.

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William Thomas executed.

On Thursday this Whitsun-week, William Thomas, esq. clerk of the Council to King Edward VI. was arraigned at Guildhall, and cast to suffer death, and to be drawn and quartered. And the very next day was drawn upon a sled, being a proper man, from the Tower unto Tyburn: where, upon a pretence of treason, he was hanged; and after, his head was stricken off, and then quartered. And the morrow after, his head was set on London-bridge, and three quarters of him set over Cripplegate, living perhaps thereabouts. This Thomas was a man of great parts, and therefore perhaps it was not thought fit he should live; and who, for his English Pilgrim, a book of his writing, wherein so much was spoken in favour of King Henry's divorce, was not to be forgotten. More will be said of him hereafter.

Lady Elizabeth delivered out of the Tower, but under safe custody.

And on Saturday following, (or, as some, Sunday, May 20,) at one of the clock in the afternoon, the Lady Elizabeth was delivered out of the Tower by the Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain; and took her barge at Tower-wharf, and so went to Richmond by water forthwith, with-

out landing any where till she came there: where she was to abide for some time; but under several of the guard, and other small officers, for each office in the Queen's house. But her continuance here was but short, being conveyed hence to Windsor, and so to Woodstock. At her coming out of the Tower, were a number of people in boats to see her, greatly rejoicing at the sight of her, but heavy for her trouble, seeing her go under safe keeping. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1554.

The rebellion was by this time pretty well allayed, but the discontents of the people remained still; which continued the Queen's fears. For in Norfolk especially were many that carried about vain prophecies, and spread rumours reflecting upon the Queen's person and state, to blow up the people, as was believed, into displeasure with the Queen and her government; many of which had come to her ears: which occasioned her to send forth letters to the justices of peace in that county, dated May 23, as she had done once before to them, for the good order and stay of the county from rebellious tumults and uproars, and for the having special regard to vagabonds, and such as spread false and untrue tales, and to see them punished. These last letters were partly reprehensory, for that the justices had taken no more care in the execution of the contents of her former letters, and for passing over such faults without punishment, winking at, or at least little considering them; (which was to her, as she wrote, very strange;) and partly to find out the authors of these bruits and prophecies, and then to take punishment according to the quality of the offence. And for the more effectual doing this, to divide themselves into several parts of the county, whereby the better to discover the ill-affected; and lastly, to meet often to confer together herein, and to send letters hereof every month to her Council. This letter of the Queen's will deserve, for history sake, to be preserved: which I have accordingly done. Prophecies and bruits in Norfolk concerning the Queen. She writes to the justices. 124 No. XIV.

On the 23d of May, a certain woman was set on the pillory in Cheapside, for speaking lies and seditious words against the Queen's Majesty. And on the 25th, two more Some pillorized.

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were set on the pillory in the same place; the one for horrible lies and seditious words against the Queen and her Council, and one of his ears nailed. The other's crime was for seditious and slanderous words against the Queen, her Council, and the magistrates. What these seditious words were, I cannot assign; but most probably they concerned the late terrible executions, or the Spanish match, or the overthrow of the late King's proceedings: all of them things very ingrateful to the common people. On the 26th day, the same man was again set on the pillory, one of whose ears was nailed, and now was the other nailed. A woman was also now set on the pillory for speaking certain words touching the Queen's proceedings. The pillory was employed again the 30th day of this month, a man and a woman being set on it. The man's crime was for seditious and slanderous words; the woman's for speaking of false lies and rumours: and her fault, it seems, being the greater, her ear was nailed to the pillory. And the 1st of June the same woman was set on the pillory again, and her other ear nailed for the same offence.

Earl of Devon conveyed out of the Tower to Fotheringay castle.

As the jealousies of the State had conveyed the Lady Elizabeth out of the Tower westward, May 19; so May 25 the Earl of Devon was conveyed thence northward, that is, to the castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire, by three or four of the clock in the morning, accompanied with certain of the guard, and divers knights, whereof Sir Thomas Tresham was one.

Lord John Grey brought to Westminster-hall.

On the 27th of May, the Lord John Grey, another of the late Duke of Suffolk's brothers, went from the Tower unto Westminster-hall by land. But he was not arraigned there till the 11th of June, when he put himself upon the Queen's mercy.

The Queen's progress.

On the 29th, the Queen removed from St. James's, passing through the park, and took her barge at Whitehall, and so to Richmond, in order to her progress: which was chiefly commenced to meet her beloved, the Prince of Spain. Which affair now falling in my way, I shall, according as notices have come to my hand, proceed to relate.

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Before her departure, the Lord Treasurer went to wait upon her, and, like a good husband for the crown, shewed her belike how low her treasure was, and therefore prayed her to be sparing of giving away her lands, especially in his absence, (as knowing there would be many such suitors pressing upon her in this her journey,) at least, not before he had advice of it. This counsel the Queen took well at his hands, and promised him she would not determine any gift without first acquainting him with it. Being gone no farther than Farnham, Sir Edm. Peckham (who was one of those that had proclaimed and stood up for her in Bucks) requested of her certain lands; which she declined fully to grant, till she had consulted with her treasurer, according to her promise. To him therefore she sent a letter, dated July 5, and included Peckham's bill, relating the particulars, desiring him to peruse it well; and that if he thought it were such land as she might give with her honour, she should think it very well bestowed; for that he was one that had well deserved it, as she wrote the treasurer, and as yet had not any kind of recompence.

The Lord Treasurer's request to the Queen.

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The Queen much esteemed this her treasurer, who managed her Exchequer with great care and vigilancy; of which she was very sensible. And to shew herself grateful, to oblige him the more, in the conclusion of the foresaid letter, she wrote this postscript with her own hand: "My "Lord, I most heartily thank you for your daily painful-"ness taken in my service." And the letter was subscribed, "Your Mistres assured, Marye the Quene," with her own pen. But now let us turn to our Queen's matrimony.

The Queen's value of him.

CHAP. XIV.

The Queen's match with Spain. Much disgusted. The King and Queen pass triumphantly through London. The articles of the marriage. The Queen's present to the Emperor's ambassador.

Anno 1554. THIS match with Spain, however most apparently disgusted by the Queen's subjects, went resolvedly forward. And the Earl of Sussex was sent over by the Queen in a very honourable embassy, to conclude the marriage between her and Prince Philip, and to conduct him into England. Then did the said Philip give him a sword, with five great stones set in it, *viz.* a great table diamond, a great table ruby, a great pointed diamond, and another great table diamond, and one great ballos. The said Earl in his last will bequeathed, that his brother, Sir Henry Ratcliff, kt. should have, during his life, the custody and use of these five stones. And so immediately after Sir Henry's death, to the next heir male of the said Earl that should be Earl of Sussex. And he gave charge to his brother, the next Earl, to see to the performance of this; that so it might be a remembrance of the service in that case done in his house of New-hall in Essex, as the will ran.

The Earl of Sussex goes into Spain.

Ex ejusd. Com. testamento.

Of this match the Queen, who had lost so much time, was very fond, and earnestly desirous of the consummation of it; though afterwards she had but little comfort therein. And when in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign Sir Tho. Smith drew up a private discourse, whether it were more advisable she should marry a stranger or an Englishman, I am greatly inclined to believe he meant Queen Mary's marriage with Philip in this period following: "I "heard, not many years ago, of a certain lady, who having "the picture sent unto her of one whom she never saw, "who should be her husband, was so enamoured thereon, "and so ravished, that she languished for love, and was in "manner out of her wits for his long tarrying and absence. "But I ween, hot love was soon cold, and not long after "repented."

The Queen's desire of this match.

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Great offence taken at the Queen for this match.

Chr. Goodman.

And the Queen, by this act, did infinitely lose herself among her people: and every man's mouth almost was opened against the match: for the nation had a great detestation against the Spaniard, knowing their lofty, proud, domineering tempers, and vicious inclinations. One had the confidence to write thus against the Queen, partly for her severity and overthrow of the former reformation, and partly for her matching with Philip; addressing thus to the nobility and counsellors: "God's word she abhorreth, 126
"Antichrist she hath restored, her father's laws contemned,
"her promise broken, and her brother, good King Edward,
"as an heretic, condemned; not thinking it enough to ex-
"press her tyranny upon them that lived, except she shewed
"cruelty, or rather a raging madness, on the bodies of God's
"servants long before buried, drawing them forth of their
"graves to burn them as heretics: and in fine, utterly ab-
"horring the English nation, hath joined herself to adul-
"terous Philip, the Spanish King: to whom she hath
"and doth continually labour to betray the whole kingdom:
"and yet ye cannot or will not see it. Neither yet, for
"all this, to be stirred up to bridle her affections, and with-
"stand her ungodly doings, to promote the glory of God,
"and to preserve your brethren and yourselves. But, think-
"ing to retain your promotions by flattery, do hastily draw
"God's vengeance upon yourselves and others. And do
"you think that Philip will be crowned King of England,
"and retain in honour English counsellors, and credit them
"with the government of his state, who have betrayed their
"own? Shall his Spaniards be nobles without your lands
"and possessions? And shall they possess your promotions
"and livings, and your heads upon your shoulders? Come
"they to make a spoil of the whole realm, and leave you
"and yours untouched? Where is your great wisdom
"become, your subtile counsels and policy, whereon you
"brag so much? To whom be these things hid, that every
"child espieth?" Make abatement for some of these undutiful expressions, and you see the displeasure of the English nation against this match, and the continuance or in-

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crease of it. For this was writ two or three years after the marriage was celebrated.

Anno 1554. Winchester charged for this Spanish match.

These be the words of one: and another about the same time, I mean broad-spoken Knox, thus accosted the Bishop of Winchester, who was the great match-maker: "I speak "to thee, Winchester, more cruel than any tiger; shall "neither shame, neither fear, bridle thy tyrannous cruelty? "Shamest thou not, bloody beast, to betray thy native "country, and the liberties of the same? Fearest thou not "to open such a door to all iniquity, that whole England "shall be made a common stews to Spaniards?" And a little after——"And what is the cause that Winchester, "and the rest of his pestilent sect, so greedily would have "a Spaniard to reign over England? The cause is mani- "fest: for as that nation surmounteth all others in pride "and whoredom, so for idolatry and vain papistical and "devilish ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very "sons of superstition." And the same writer, turning his speech to the Papists, thus accosteth them about Queen Mary's match: "Would any of you have confessed two "years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been false, dis- "sembling, unconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises, "except such promises as she made to your god, the Pope, "to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father? "I am sure you would full little have thought it in her. "And now doth she not openly shew herself to be an open "traitoress to the imperial crown of England, contrary to "the just laws of the realm, to bring in a stranger, and "make a proud Spaniard king, to the shame, dishonour, "and destruction of the nobility; to the spoil, from them "and theirs, of their honours, lands, possessions, chief of- "fices, and promotions; to the utter decay of the treasures, "commodities, navy, and fortifications of the realm; to the "abasing of the yeomanry; to the slavery of the common- "alty; to the overthrow of Christianity and God's true re- "ligion; and, finally, to the utter subversion of the whole "public state and commonwealth of England?——Speak "now, ye Papists, and defend your monstrous mistress,

Faithful Admoni- tion.

The mis- chiefs of it.

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" and deny, if you can for shame, that she hath not uttered " herself to be born (alas! therefore) to the ruin and de- " struction of noble England?"

Seditious words against the match.

Nor did the common people spare to vent their indignation against this marrying with Spain. They spread abroad many reports and abundance of news concerning the King and the Spaniards, to blemish and deface them, and perhaps a great deal more than was true. Many were the rhymes and ballads, letters and books, both written and published against that match and nation: insomuch that the very next Parliament after the marriage, that sat in Nov. 1554, it was enacted, " that such as imagined or spake " any seditious or slanderous news, rumours, sayings, or " tales of the King or the Queen, should be set upon the " pillory, if it fortuned to be said without any city or " town corporate; but if within any city or town corporate, " then to have both his ears cut off, unless he paid 100*l.* to " the King within a month.

" If any spake any seditious news, rumours, or tales, to " the slander of the King or Queen, of the speaking or re- " porting of others, he was to be set upon the pillory, if it " fortuned to be without any city or town corporate; if it " happened to be within, then to have one of his ears cut " off, unless he pay 100 mark to the King and Queen " within a month after the judgment given. But if any " should set forth a book or ballad, rhyme, letter, &c. to " the slander and reproach of the King or Queen, or to the " enraging and stirring of any insurrection, or should pro- " cure any such book or ballad, &c. to be set forth, his " right hand was to be stricken off. And if they offended " again, to be imprisoned during their lives." As these severe laws shewed the severity of the government, so likewise how discontented the people were at this Spanish match, by the multitude of abusive writings against it, that they were fain to have them restrained by such kind of laws.

The city was to contribute a great part towards this so-

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lemnity, the new married Prince being to pass through it. Therefore, in the month of June, earnest preparations were making for his reception. As first of all, June the 4th, all the gibbets were taken down in all places in London and the suburbs, having stood there ever since February, to the terrifying and disgracing of the city; and might have stood longer still, had it not been very convenient to have them out of sight upon the triumphal entrance of Philip. On the same day the mayor and aldermen ordered a scaffold to be made about the fair cross in Cheap, for the repairing and gilding of it against the Prince's coming. At the same time a fifteenth and an half was granted by the mayor, aldermen, and common council, to be laid upon the commons, forthwith to be raised towards the charges in preparing the city for the said Prince. Ordered also by the same, that two aldermen should watch every night, and one or two constables till three or four in the morning, for fear, as it seems, of some disturbances among the citizens, in detestation of this Spanish affair. On the 9th day, the said cross in Cheap was covered with canvass from the foot to the top, in order to the repairing of it, as was aforesaid, and for the preserving it from soil after it was done, that its first splendid appearance might be preserved for the joyful day.

Anno 1554. Preparations in the city for the Prince's reception.

July 19, Philip, Prince of Spain, arrived at Southampton, being Thursday.

Proclamation for the nobility to meet the Queen.

July 21, by ten of the clock, was proclaimed through London, that the Prince of Spain was landed at Southampton, and that every peer, lord, and lady of quality, should resort unto her Grace's city of Winchester with all speed, to her Grace's wedding. The same afternoon a command was issued from the Lord Mayor, that every one should make bonfires in every street where they dwelt. This night, in many places, tables were set, and plenty of good liquor for all comers, till ten o'clock at night, together with ringing of bells and pastimes. On the 23d of July, it was commanded, that every parish in London should go in procession, and to sing *Te Deum* also in every parish, and that

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there should be ringing of bells, being the day the Prince departed from Southampton to Winchester, where he was to meet the Queen. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1554.

Harpsfield, the Bishop of London's chaplain, was put up to preach at Paul's Cross, July 29, being the next Sunday after the wedding day. And he prayed in his beads for the King and the Queen, Philip and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily; Archdukes of Austrich; Dukes of Milain, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tyrole. And Aug. 1, the King and Queen were proclaimed in London, with all these their titles: which were greatly augmented when the Emperor, his father, resigned and laid aside his empire: for then thus ran his swelling style; Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Aragon, the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Navar, Granado, Toledo, Valentia, Gallicia, Malerca, Sivil, Serdova, Cordova, Mursia, Corsiga, Jaen, Algarve, Algasica, Giberaltarre, the islands of the Canaries, the islands of the Indies and of the ocean seas; Archduke of Austria; Marquess of Oreston, Errel, Barsillonia, Biscay, Molina; Duke of Burgoign, Brabant, Milain; Lord of Flaunders and Tirole. And his revenues were prodigiously great within his own realms, in lands, rents, and customs, and other profits, besides the West Indies, and other dominions, as Italy, and the like: being accounted nine millions yearly, accounting a million at 100,000 dollars; which, at 5*s*. the dollar, is sterling 2,475,000*l*. The truth is, I think, he was the greatest Prince in Europe; and yet neither the Queen nor the realm was the better for him, but much the worse, as appeared in the sequel: and would have proved still much worse had the Queen lived. The King's and Queen's style first pronounced at Paul's Cross.

For it was well enough known afterwards, that the great drift of this Prince by this match was, to let himself this way into the possession of the kingdom: which the Lord Burghley, in a letter of his to a nobleman of Scotland, de- Philip designs to make himself master of England.

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clared in these words: "It is well known how he [the King "of Spain] had figured himself an empire over all this part "of the world; what plots he laid for the compassing "thereof. A foundation was laid for the subduing of this "land in Queen Mary's time, he being then our King in "right of his wife. The conquest was fully concluded after-"ward under colour of religion; as by the Prince of Orange, "then of the Privy Council, it was since revealed. But his "designs were broke by the seasonable death of Queen "Mary his wife." Thus that great statesman.

Charge given for civil entertainment of the Spaniards.

But when the match was by Parliament consented to, (which had cost a rebellion, and many men's lives already,) and several articles were adjusted about it, (one whereof Bishop Ridley, when in prison, could not but take notice of in a letter to Bradford, *viz.* that the King was to be protector of the Prince to be born,) great preparations were making every where, as well as in London, for an honour-
129 able entertainment of him. And the Queen perceiving well how illy affected the people generally were to the Spaniards, and fearing quarrels between them and the English, that could not abide their haughty and scornful behaviour, issued out her proclamation, "that all the strangers that ac-"companied the Prince into England, should be used with "all courtesy and friendly entertainment by her subjects, "giving them no cause of strife or contention, either by "their deeds, words, or countenance. She commanded also "all noblemen and gentlemen to take order with their ser-"vants herein, upon pain to be committed to prison with-"out bail or mainprise, and to abide further punishment "by fine or otherwise." This proclamation may be found in the Catalogue.

Numb. XV.

The Queen writes to the noblemen to be present.

Her Majesty also took care to get as great a court and shew of nobility about her as could be, against her meeting of the Prince. To the Lord Clinton, lord admiral, she writ to be ready to repair unto her upon the arrival of the Prince of Spain, having heard that he was embarked at the Groyne, July 17. To the Lord Darcy of Chich, June 21,

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she also directed letters to wait upon her person upon the said Prince's arrival; as she did to many other of the peers, being absent.

His genealogy from John à Gaunt.

And to adorn this royal wedding the more, and to reconcile the English nation the better to it, books and epithalamiums were written in the praise of the Spanish Prince: among the rest, was a book made of his genealogy, shewing how he was sprung from English royal blood, even from John à Gaunt, a son of the victorious Edward III. From whom also it was shewn, that she, his royal consort, was derived also; that so,

Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,

as it ran in one of the verses. For John of Gaunt had a son, who was Earl of Somerset. That Earl of Somerset had John Duke of Somerset. That Duke had a daughter, who was Margaret Duchess of Richmond: from whence sprung Henry VII. her son, and from him Henry VIII. the father of Queen Mary: all which, Whyte, bishop of Lincoln, had handsomely comprised in a copy of verses, which are preserved in Fox. This Whyte had been Bishop Gardiner's chaplain, who set him on work. But Mr. Bale somewhere taking notice of this, threw in something that was enough to spoil all this flattery. It was a passage taken out of Tho. Walsingham, a monk of St. Alban's, concerning a friar, named Walter Dyss, who was employed to bring in a false issue of John à Gaunt; *Potestas concreditur*, writes he, *inaudita Waltero de Dyss, ut ad Ducis Lancastriæ profectionem conduceret*, &c. Whereupon, saith Bale, "If that were well known, how it first came to pass "by the crafty conveyance of a friar, they might seem to "have small honour of that clerkly conveyed genealogy, "[which the Bishop of Winchester and his friends had "now published.]" The narration of this cheat, Bale adds, is plain in Walsingham's book *De Schismate Ecclesiæ*.

Acts, p. 1337.

His declaration of Boner's Articl. fol. 9.

Nine motions of marriage for this lady unsuccessful.

But at last the Queen got an husband, after she had been proffered in marriage by her father no less than eight times before, and as often put off: (besides once in her brother's time, *viz.* 1549, to the Infant of Portugal:) namely, first, to

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the Daulphin, son to Francis, anno 1518, when she was but two years old. After that, to the Emperor Charles, anno 1522. Then to the King of Scotland. A fourth time, to King Francis: and a fifth, to the Duke of Orleans, in the year 1527. This motion also went off, or was delayed at that time; and the matter moved again about the year 1535, or 1536, as I conjecture. At this time, as I find by
130 a Council-paper, the King demanded, that the Duke should be brought into England, and live here, to be instructed in the English language and manners of the people; the King then intending to advance her to the crown imperial of this realm. The French ambassadors, Mons. de Tarbe and Pomeray, would by no means yield to this, nor that he should stay but a month or two at a time. And they demanded, that the King should make and declare the Lady Mary legitimate, that she might be preferred in the succession before any of his daughters. But this the Council, in the King's name, would by no means condescend unto: so that in fine this also came to nothing. The sixth proffer of her was to Don Louis of Portugal, in the year 1538, in the terms she then was, excluded by act of Parliament from all claim of succession. The seventh time, to Charles, the youngest son of Francis, the French King, in the 33d of King Henry's reign, *annoque Dom.* 1541. When, Feb. 27, the King granted a commission to the Duke of Norfolk, William Earl of Southampton, the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, and to the Lord Winchelsey, to treat with the French King about it. Once more (but the date uncertain) she was upon the point of marriage to one of the German Princes, *viz.* the Count Palatine. The treaty whereof is extant in a volume of the Cotton library.

Vitellius, c. 16.

This Spanish match unhappy.

But now being thirty-eight years old, and having the sole dispose of herself, she matched herself to Philip the Spaniard, she being half a Spaniard, *viz.* by her mother. A great personage indeed he was, being an Emperor's son, and the greatest prince of birth and possessions in all Christendom. But yet a most unhappy match, both because it was the cause of the losing of Calais, and so exceedingly

disliked by her subjects, who could not endure the Spaniards, as the Spaniards could not endure them: who yet were forced to serve the Spaniards' turn to their irreparable detriment. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1554.

But meeting at Winchester, in the cathedral they were married, on Wednesday, July 25, being St. James's day, the Spanish saint, by the Bishop of that church: of whom we have said so much, and shall say more, making such a figure in these times. The royal wedding dinner was kept there, the King and Queen dining in the hall of the Bishop's palace, sitting under the cloth of state, and none else at the table. The nobility sat at the side-tables. The gentlemen pensioners were the chief servitors, to carry the meat. And the Earl of Sussex, their captain, was the sewer. The second course at the marriage of a King is given unto the bearers. So was the meat now, but not the dishes; for they were of gold. The Spaniards were greatly out of countenance for their dancing, especially King Philip dancing with the Queen, when they saw the Lord Bray, Mr. Carow, and others, so far exceed them. The wedding celebrated at Winchester.

The triumph being ended, after they had been first at Windsor, and then at Richmond, they came in their barges to Southwark, that they might enter London triumphantly the next day. So having laid one night at Suffolk-place, called also Southwark-house, on Saturday the 19th of August, they both rode over the bridge through London to Whitehall. In the city they were received with pageants and all manner of splendour. But something in the fine painting upon the conduit in Gracechurch-street was taken such notice of, that it had like to have cost the painter dear. The picture represented the nine worthies; whereof King Henry VIII. was one, who, according to former draughts of him, was pictured with a book in his hand, and *Verbum Dei* wrote upon it: which the Lord Chancellor esteemed as a reflection upon the good Catholic religion that was now restored again; which, it seems, was very jealous of the Bible. Hereupon the painter was sent for, and chidden; and commandment immediately given, that They pass triumphantly through London.

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the book should be wiped out, and a pair of gloves put in the place. But London had little joy of these guests. For shortly after began a cruel persecution here against the preachers and earnest professors and followers of the Gospel, and a searching of men's houses for their books. For now many were written and printed privately, when sermons were forbidden, for the confirmation of men in the reformed doctrine and profession. But that we shall hear more of in the sequel of our story.

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Latymer's sense of a foreigner's becoming King of England.

And now that happened which old Latymer feared or foretold in one of his sermons before King Edward, in the year 1549. He spake of that terrible sense that was upon the nation in general, if either she or her sister should marry a foreigner: whereby a foreigner might come to wield the English sceptre, a thing the nation could not endure. And if it so should happen that any of them should marry a stranger, he wished that, though they were both to succeed to the crown, they never should. "O, what a plague "were it, said he, (by occasion of that passage of Moses, "*Thou must not set a stranger over thee*,) that a strange "king, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should "reign over us! Where now we be governed in the true "religion, he would extirp and pluck away all together, "and then plant again all abomination and Popery. God "keep such a king from us. Well, the King's Grace hath "sisters, my Lady Mary and my Lady Elizabeth, which "by succession and course are inheritors to the crown; who "if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue "God knoweth. But God grant, if they so do, whereby "strange religion may come in, that they never come to "coursing nor succeeding.

First sermon before the King.

"Therefore, to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, "and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this "realm at these days; all covetousness, wherein the ma-"gistrates and rich men of this realm are overwhelmed; all "lechery, and all other excessive vices, provoking God's "wrath (were he not merciful) even to take from us our "natural King and liege Lord; yea, and to plague us with

" strange kings for our unrepentant hearts." And a little after: " Make haste, make haste, and let us learn to con- " vert, to repent, and amend our lives. If we do not, I " fear, I fear, lest, for our sins and unthankfulness, a hy- " pocrite shall reign over us. Long we have been servants, " and in bondage, serving the Pope in Egypt: God hath " given us a deliverer, a natural King: let us seek no " stranger of another nation: no hypocrite, which shall " bring in again all papistry, hypocrisy, and idolatry." This looks like a prophetic spirit in that man. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1554.

But now, lastly, to shew upon what foot this marriage stood, and what were the terms whereon it was concluded, I shall here set down the articles of the treaty. And the rather, because Hollingshed, who pretends to give an account of them, hath scarcely given half of them: briefly, The articles of marriage between Philip and Mary. Cott. libr. Julius, F. 6.

I. They shall be married in England, &c.

II. The Queen shall have the whole disposition of all benefices, offices, lands, revenues, and fruits of her realms and dominions.

III. They shall be bestowed only upon Englishmen: and that all matters shall be treated in the tongues accustomed. And the laws and customs to be preserved and maintained.

IV. If Queen Mary overlive Prince Philip, she shall have, out of the Emperor's courts, 40,000*l.* Flemish for her dowry.

V. That their children shall succeed in this realm. 132

VI. That the realm of Spain, both the Sicils, the dukedom of Milain, and other dominions in Italy, shall remain to the Lord Charles, eldest son of the said Prince, and to his heirs. And for lack of such issue, the eldest of this matrimony to succeed.

VII. The eldest son of this marriage shall succeed in the dukedoms of Brabant, Luxemburgh, Gelders, Zutphen, Burgundy, Friseland, in the counties of Flanders, Artois, Zealand, Namur, and the land beyond the isles.

VIII. If no male issue happen, then the eldest female shall inherit the lands of Lower Germany.

IX. If the Lord Charles die without issue, and none

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other children come of this marriage but women, then the eldest daughter of this marriage shall succeed not only in the Lower Germany and Burgundy, but also in the realms of Spain and England.

X. In all the said causes, the privileges and customs of every country shall be observed. And the same to be administered by the natural-born of the same.

XI. That the said Prince shall not promote to any office, administration, or benefit in the same realm of England any stranger.

XII. The said Prince shall receive into the service of his household and court, gentlemen and yeomen of the said realm of England, in convenient manner, and shall esteem, nourish, and use them lovingly; and shall bring up none nto the realm that will do wrong to the subjects of the same. And if they do, he shall put them out of the court.

XIII. The said Prince shall alter none estate of the laws and customs of England.

XIV. He shall not lead away the Queen's Highness out of this realm, unless she herself desire it; nor the children of them, unless it be thought good by the council and nobility.

XV. In case, no children being left, the Queen shall die before him, he shall not change any right in the said kingdom, but shall suffer it to succeed to the right heirs.

XVI. The said Prince shall not carry out of the realm the jewels, nor any whit of the principalities of the same realm; nor suffer any part thereof to be usurped by his subjects or others: but shall see all the places of the realm, and especially the forts and frontiers of the same, faithfully kept, to the profit of the said realm; and that by the natural-born of the same.

XVII. That the same Prince shall not suffer any ships, guns, and other ordnances of war, to be removed and conveyed out of the realm, but shall contrariwise cause them diligently to be kept and renewed, when need requireth: and provided, that they may be always ready in their strength and force, for the defence of the realm.

XVIII. That the realm of England, by occasion of this marriage, shall not directly nor indirectly be intangled with war, that is presently between the Emperor and the French King; but shall, as much as in him lieth, see the peace thereof kept. Anno 1554.

Soon after this marriage the Emperor sent over one Draberncott, a gentleman of his chamber, to congratulate his son and daughter-in-law. And to her was wrote a kind letter in French with his own hand, beginning: The Emperor congratulates the marriage.

" *Madame ma bonne fille et cousine: Comme le desir a* 133
" *esté plus grand, et de sy long temps, de la venue de mon* His letter to the Queen.
" *fils, le Roy, vostre mary, en vostre royaume*," &c. The Titus, B. 2.
contents whereof were: " That as his desire was great
" and long, that his son, the King her husband, should
" come into her realm; so the understanding of the love that
" was between them, and that she particularly had towards
" the person of his son, did double his content of this cor-
" responding affection of them both. Then *De laquelle je*
" *desire la perpetuation, et le fruyt, tant requis, que j'es-*
" *pere Dieu endonnera: et que l'assistance, qu'il vous*
" *pourra feire en l'administration et defence de v're*
" *riaume, et autorité, soit tel qu'il convient. Puisque vous*
" *avez tousjours eu en moy et en luy telle confiance, à la*
" *quelle je puis dire qu'il puisse satisfaire de son coste,*
" *comme je m'asseure de sa bonne volonté, et vous pouvez*
" *vous asseurer de la meme. Il y a aucuns jours que j'avoys*
" *deliberé d'envoyer L ——— Draberncott, jentilhomme de*
" *ma chambre, (porteur de cette,) pour vous visiter, et mon*
" *fils, et congratuler à vous deux la consummation du*
" *marriage*, &c. *i. e.* Of which he desired the continuation
" and the fruit, so requisite, that he hoped God would give
" it: and that the assistance which he would afford her in
" the administration and defence of her realm and autho-
" rity, should be such as was convenient. And since she
" ever had such confidence in him and his son, wherein he
" [the Emperor] might say, that his said son was able to
" give her satisfaction on his part, as he assured himself of

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" his good-will towards her, and she might assure herself of " the same. That it was some time since he had thoughts " of sending Monsieur Draberncott, a gentleman of his " chamber, (who was the bringer of his letter,) to visit her " and his son, and to congratulate them both of the con- " summation of their marriage, but the delay thereof hi- " therto was occasioned by urgent business that took up all " his time, as that gentleman could make report." And then he concludes, " *La fin de ceste sera de vous asseurer* " *ancoyres pour tousjours de l'affection de celluy qui de-* " *meure à jamais,*

" *Votre bon pere, frere et cousin,*

" *Charles.*"

The Emperor's ambassador goes home.

In September the Emperor's ambassador returning home, the Queen made this noble present of plate to him; as I find it in a Cotton MS.

Plate.	*Weight.*
Three gilt bowls with a cover . .	96 *oz.* ½.
Three gilt bowls more with a cover .	105 *oz. quar.*
Three gilt bowls more with a cover .	122 *oz. qrt.*
One pair of gilt pots	155 *oz. di'.*
One other pair of gilt pots . .	92 *oz.* 3 *qr.*
One pair of gilt flagons . . .	173 *oz.*
One standing cup with a cover, &c.	

The rest is torn off: but it seems there was much more. So liberal was the Queen to this ambassador, in acknowledgment of her obligations to the Emperor his master.

Spanish artisans in London.

There were many Spanish artisans already got into England and London. In which city they began to set open shops for selling and trading. But for fear of provoking the city, they were commanded to shut them up again, it being contrary to the orders and privileges of that place for any but free denizens to open shop there.

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Cardinal Pole coming legate a latere. *Dr. Thorneden, suffragan of Dover. Masses. Elizabeth Croft does penance. Apprehensions from Scotland.*

BUT as to the state of religion, a legate *de latere* was hastening towards us from the Pope, who had now a fair game to play. And this legate was Reginald Pole, the English cardinal, an outlawed traitor: who being come as far as Flanders, was gently stopped for a while by the Emperor, for some politic considerations. But though he remained there this summer, (and in June I find him at Brussels, the Emperor's court,) and had not yet arrived as far as England, yet he was not idle in exercising his legatine authority. For he constituted Robert Collins his commissary for Canterbury, by his letters patents: but a mutable man. For in King Edward's reign, at a visitation at Wingham, he had preached, that Christ was a full satisfaction for all sins past, present, and to come. And this, one Bland, who then heard him, told him openly to his face, when he sat to judge him. And Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, he intrusted with the power of absolving all under his jurisdiction, that had erred from the unity of the Church, and had complied with the reformation: and, moreover, of communicating a power of absolving to other priests, that they might absolve others under their cures. And so also to Dr. Richard Thorneden, or (as he is commonly written in Fox) Thorneton, suffragan of Dover, the Cardinal committed a faculty of absolution, though not to that degree as to authorize other priests to absolve, as he had granted to Harpsfield. Because Thorneden had not deserved such a privilege to be granted him, having himself gone so freely forward in the late schism. So that Thomas Goldwel, one that had constantly attended upon Pole, and lately been his messenger into England, was fain to intercede very hard with the Cardinal, before he would either continue him suffragan, or yield unto him any privilege at all.

Anno 1554.

The Legate not yet in England, exercises his authority here.

Collins, his commissary.

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Anno 1554. Thorneden, suffragan of Dover, variable.

For Thorneden had sent by Goldwel very humble and submissive letters to the Legate. But he had received such informations of him, as made the Legate hesitate much about him: as, that he had agreed with all the evil proceedings of late in England, as well against the sacrament of the altar, and the supreme authority of Christ's vicar in earth, as in the use of the late Communion-Book, and the marriage of priests; and that he had conferred orders upon base, unlearned, and evil disposed persons: by reason whereof they had taken upon them to preach, and had done much hurt in Kent. So that men commonly reported of him, that if there should be any new mutation, he would be as ready to change again as any other: which things created Goldwel much work to obtain any thing of the Cardinal for him. But, at last, not only an absolution was procured and sent him of all matters past, but divers faculties: yet, charging him not to confer them upon any, but such as he knew would gladly receive them. And Goldwel told
135 him, that there was never a bishop in England that had so great authority conferred on him concerning those under his cure; nor any other in England, besides Archdeacon Harpsfield.

Reproved.

Thorneden being thus reconciled to the holy see, and thus furnished with his faculties, presently fell upon the exercise of his function in celebration of the Popish mass in all his pontifical attire. For which Goldwel gave him a severe reprimand, in a letter to him from Brussels in June, (which seems to have been written by the Legate's direction.) That so presently after he had received his own absolution, instead of an humble and penitent deportment for his past miscarriages, he presumed to sing mass in his *pontificalibus* on the holy days immediately following, and to minister to children the sacrament of confirmation. Whereas it would, he said, have been more honour to God and himself, and edification to the people, if, like as he had offended in the face of the world, to the damnation of many, he would have shewed himself penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many: not only not to have celebrated

so very *pontificaliter*, but also for a time to have abstained, for reverence, *totaliter* from the altar, according to the old custom of the Church, and as he had known some to have done. Anno 1554.

This Thorneden, or Thorneton, (for he is writ both ways,) thrust himself into Adisham living, the incumbent, a learned and good man, being alive, *viz.* Mr. Bland aforesaid, who was afterwards burnt at Canterbury, an. 1555, for his holy profession. And this intruder was one of his judges. This man once said, that in his conscience he had abhorred the mass three years. And when sitting upon the bench, Bland's judge, he called him a *sacramentary*, Bland told him, that he heard him say those words, and then he was a *sacramentary* himself. But the Suffragan not liking to have these past matters rubbed up, told him, he lied, nor ever said it. But the other replied, he could produce witness of it, and assign, if need were, the very day and place, where and when. But he sufficiently repaired his reputation by being in this reign so instrumental to the death of many holy professors, by virtue of his commission and suffragan authority. Once declaring he abhorred the mass.

The Paul's Cross sermon, June 10, was preached by Dr. Pendleton, (for his mutability akin to Thorneton,) and between ten and eleven o'clock, while he was preaching, a gun was shot off, and the bullet went over him, and hit the wall; it being a pellet of tin; whether it were done by some out of detestation of Pendleton's doctrine, or his person; who had been a zealous professor of religion in King Edward's days, which he basely renounced under Queen Mary. But notwithstanding the narrowest search, the shooter could not be found. A gun discharged at the Paul's Cross preacher.

June 24, a priest at his parish church, near Charing-cross, sung the English Litany: for which he was sent to Newgate. A priest sent to Newgate.

Now none of the holydays of note passed without some extraordinary masses and processions. On the same 24th of June, being the festival of St. John, was the strangers' mass; which was kept at St. Edmund, Lombard-street, The strangers' mass.

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Anno 1554.

The sextons' mass.

London, performed with much solemnity, and the church hung with rich cloth. And the next day was a mass kept at the Grey Friars for the sextons of London. And after, they went a procession, with the waits playing and clerks singing, through Cheapside unto Soper-lane, and back again through Paul's Churchyard by the Dean's Place; 136 and through Warwick-lane unto the Grey Friars, whence they set out. And so to dinner unto the Cook's-hall. For with good dinners these processional shows commonly ended.

Prince of Piemont comes.

The same 25th day the Prince of Piemont came to London, with a great company of Spaniards wearing crosses, some red, some green, some white.

On the 29th of June, being St. Peter's and St. Paul's day, was a fair at Westminster-abbey, and a goodly procession, and after mass. There the Prince of Piemont and divers Spaniards heard mass in King Henry the Seventh's chapel.

Eliz. Croft doth penance.

Now came the time for Elizabeth Croft's penance, the maid that practised the fraud of the voice in the wall by a whistle, in Aldersgate-street. For now, a scaffold being made at Paul's Cross for her to stand upon, on the 6th of July, one of the prebendaries then preached, and the maid standing as aforesaid, she acknowledged openly, that it was one John Drakes, Sir Anthony's [some priest's] servant, that employed her. She wept pitifully, and kneeled down, and asked God mercy, and the Queen, and bade all people beware of false teaching: and said, that promises were made her that she should have many good things given her; as though that had been the cause that induced her to this deceit. And on the Thursday following, *viz.* July 10, one who was a weaver, dwelling in Golden-lane, being of counsel with this maid, was set on the pillory.

Apprehensions from Scotland.

This summer were great apprehensions from Scotland; which was always upon England's back, whensoever the realm was in hostility with France, being set on by that crown. The Queen of Scots early in July was expected at Jedworth, a town in Scotland upon the borders. For

great provisions were making for her reception, forty puncheons of wine, with other necessaries, being laid in. Of which the Lord Conyers gave the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord president, notice by a letter, July 1, signifying, that he thought she would shortly make her repair to the borders; requiring the Earl, that such as he had already given warning unto, both in Richmondshire and other places, might be in a readiness upon one hour's warning to come thitherward, if need should so require. And for the better knowledge of her intent, the said Lord Conyers had upon feigned matters written unto that Queen, and given order unto the messager to learn what he possibly might of her purpose: upon whose return he gave the Lord President further advertisement. And of this approach of the Scotch Queen he also certified the Lords of the Queen's Council. Nor was this the first time he gave intelligence hereof to the said Lord President. For on the 6th of June the said Lord Conyers signified it, and what the report was of the reason of her coming; writing in this tenor to him:

Anno 1554.

Lord Conyers to the Lord President of the north. E literis com. Salop. in Offic. Armor.

"The Scotch Queen doth intend, before the latter end "of this instant June, to make her repair unto these east "borders or confines of Scotland. And for the more cer- "tainty thereof, I am assured, that her provision is there "made accordingly. But to what purpose her coming is, "I am not as yet surely advertised: but, as she doth al- "lege, the same is only for justice sake, and to minister "the same unto such evil doers on the borders of Scotland, "as do go about to break the peace and amity between the "realms. But whatsoever her intent is, I trust, by the "grace of God, with the small power I have, to put myself 137
"in such readiness, as for the sudden, if her purpose so "were, that she and her force should be resisted. And, if "need further require, I do intend, as my duty is, to send "unto your Lordship, being lieutenant in these parts, for "such aid and relief as occasion shall serve, &c. From "Barwick, 6 June.

"Yours, &c.

"John Conyers."

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The same Lord, upon more narrow inquiry into these motions of the Scotch Queen, this July 19, further informed the Lord Lieutenant. "So far as I can learn, the Scotch "Queen doth greatly desire, that justice be ministered on "the borders. And, for the more appearance thereof, sithence "her repair to Jedworth, I do well understand, that she hath "called before her divers of the most and greatest faulters, "both of Tividale and the March, and doth punish them in "ward. So that by mine intelligence I cannot wit, that "she meaneth any thing at this time towards these pieces, "saving only the administration of her laws, and the paci- "fying the deadly feuds which are among divers surnames "of her borders."

Anno 1554. Ubi supra.

The Queen of Scots departs from Jedworth.

Soon after this, the Queen went away, without offering, as yet, any injury to England. For as the same Lord wrote, July 28, "that the Scotch Queen departed from Jedworth "the 13th instant, and came the same night unto Kelsay, "and the next day to Hume castle; and so along the bor- "ders unto Langton, Haymouth, Donbarr, and Adding- "ton: and that she had travailed very earnestly to bring "her subjects unto amity and love one with another; and "took, of divers surnames, pledges for the observing and "keeping of good rules; as of the Carrs, the Scots, with "divers others. And that for the redress of those marches "between him [the Lord Conyers] and the wardens of "Scotland, he was well answered, and as to equity and "justice appertained: and as good delivery made on both "parts, as had been done in a great while before."

CHAP. XVI.

Bishop Boner's visitation. Orders for Cambridge. Visitation of Oxford.

Boner visits his diocese.

IN the vacancy between this marriage, and the sitting of the next Parliament, Boner, bishop of London, visited his diocese: which visitation began Sept. 6. For this purpose he prepared a book of articles, containing thirty-seven in number: according to which articles, six men in every

parish were to make inquiry, and to bring in their presentments by the 23d of September, of all that had offended against any of them. Boner went in person this visitation. Of his fury and high displeasure, when he came to Hadham, because the bells rung not to welcome him, and a rood was not set up in the church, and such like matters, Fox makes relation; making a mention also of the Bishop's articles, but sets them not down; which therefore I have put into the Catalogue: whereby it may appear to him that reads them, that this visitation was instituted chiefly to root out the reformation, and the godly clergy that favoured it, out of his diocese. A bitter invective against these articles John Bale set forth in 1554, exposing the Romish clergy and their vices. This book was entitled, *A Declaration of Edmund Boner's Articles concerning the Clergy of London diocese: whereby that execrable Antichrist is in his right colours revealed.* His epistle is dated from Basil, "To his faithful brethren of London diocese, and so "forth to all the Christian believers within England, Ire-"land, and Scotland."

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In these articles Boner had called the ordinances of King Henry and King Edward, *schismatical*, and said, that they were *contrary to the ancient order*. Whereupon the foresaid author shoots these sharp words at him: "Why should he "say, that they were *schismatical*, *contrary to ancient or-*"*der*, repugnant to the customs of the Catholic Church? "They were set forth according to the Scriptures of God, "and are agreeable to the order of the primitive Church. "If the holy Scripture, and the primitive Christen Church "be old, and an order allowed, then were their ecclesiastical "ordinances, according to the old order, allowable: and he "for his slanderous report is more worthy of a halter than "a mitre. In the foresaid King Henry's days, he not "only allowed them, and praised them, but also he magni-"fied and advanced them even to the very stars. Then "were they a maintenance to Christ's Gospel; then were "they to the honour of Almighty God; then were they "to the commodity of all Christen people, by his own

Calls the former King's ordinances schismatical.

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" report. In those days were both he and they evangelical: " now are they become altogether schismatical. O creep- " ing heretic! O dissembling Gnatho! O abhominable " flatterer! With how double a heart, and more wicked a " conscience, hast thou borne that deceitful face of thine " for these twenty years space? Didst thou not know, " that he that resisteth the power, which is of God's ordi- " nance, procureth to himself damnation? Thou oughtest " not thus to have mocked therewith; neither yet now in " the end to have railed thereon, for conscience sake, if " thou hadst any conscience."

The Bishop comes to Dunmow in his visitation.

Before we leave Bishop Boner's visitation, let us trace him a little into Essex: " where passing from place to place, " [I use here a Foxian MS.] to visit his flock, (not as " Christ passed by the coasts of Tyrus and Sydon, and the " parts of Samaria, to preach the gospel of peace, to help " their diseases, and to give life to the people; but, as the " bishops of that church be ever wont, to glean their mo- " ney, to keep down the gospel, to spy out heretics, and " bring poor men to the fire,) arrived at the town of Dun- " mow, where Dr. Byrd was then vicar, who of late afore " had been bishop of Chester, and thereof lately de- " prived, for that he was lawfully married. For the which, " notwithstanding he shewed himself so repentant, (saying, " that he married against his will, and for bearing with the " time, and thereupon did unlawfully repudiate his lawful " wife,) that he was again invested, and not only made vicar " of Dunmow, but also Bishop Boner's suffragan, attending " upon the Bishop in his visitation to confirm children after " the manner of that office.

Dr. Byrd, suffragan,

Divorced; but his chastity suspected afterwards.

" This Dr. Byrd was well stricken in years, having but " one eye; and though he, to flatter with the time, had re- " nounced his wife, being made of a young Protestant an " old Catholic; yet, as Catholic as he was, such devotion he
139 " bare to his man's wife, that he had them both dwelling " with him in his own vicarage, she being both young, fair, " and newly married, that either the voice of the parish " lied, or else he loved her more than enough. But of such

" covered cautelty, being taken for good Catholic chastity, " I have not to deal, referring that to Him, which once, I " trust, shall purge the Church of all such cloaked hypo- " crisy." And thus far of the man; now to the matter.

He preaches before the Bishop.

" It happened that this Suffragan above mentioned was " appointed by the Bishop to preach in the church of Dun- " mow. For it was not meet nor seemble that the Bishop, " being occupied with other weightier affairs, and of more " importance, should debase himself to such petit functions " of preaching, but to commit them rather to other inferior " substitutes. Thus the Suffragan, at the Bishop's assign- " ment, upstert to the pulpit, with no small expectation of " some great account of learning to be looked for at his " hands. The theme which he took was, *Tu es Petrus, et* " *super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*, &c. Upon " which ground, his intent being to advance and extol the " high preeminence of St. Peter's excellency, he waded so " far, as himself knew not where he was, nor any man else " understood whither he would. So deep was he drowned " in the profoundness of that divinity, that the more he " strove to get out of the labyrinth, the further he wound " himself in that subtile maze: so far had he overreached " his key, that he was gone clean beyond *Ela*, and almost " beyond himself. So that where the drift of his sermon " was, if he could have brought it out, to prove the stability " of St. Peter, and so successively of the Pope's seat, sud- " denly he slipped into the weakness of St. Peter, and of " all mankind, reciting this text, *Antequam gallus cantet*, " *ter me negabis*, &c. *Before the cock crow, thou shalt* " *deny me thrice*, &c. Meaning belike, by the fall of Peter, " to excuse his own weakness, and of all Adam's children, " if he could well have discharged the matter.

" These two contraries standing so disjointly, were more " than a wonder to the audience, and no less trouble also to " the preacher himself; who still dwelling in this fruitless " babble, and, as you would say, hanging still upon a note, " might not well tell how to wind himself out. All this " while the Bishop was disquieted not a little, and stood

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"upon thorns; for he made faces, his elbow itched, and so "hard was his cushion whereon he sat, that many times "during the sermon he stood up, looking towards the Suf- "fragan, giving signs, and such signs as almost had speak- "ing, to proceed to the full event of his cause in hand: "which was, as he looked for, either to establish the usurp- "ed seat of Rome, or else to maintain the Altar-God. For "in these two consisted the chief scope of all that visitation. "But my Lord's Suffragan either could not or would not "take up his meaning."

Bp. Gardiner sends orders for Cambridge.

Thus did Boner act his part for the Catholic cause. If we look over to the other zealous Roman Bishop, he, I mean, of Winchester, we shall find him not less busy, as in other respects, so for the reforming the University of Cambridge, whereof he was Chancellor. But in October, or thereabouts, he sent Christopherson, now master of Trinity college, with divers orders, and especially for the observation of three articles, which it seems were not so exactly regarded before.

I. That every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

140 II. Touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue. In which, no question, the University followed Sir John Cheke's reformed and correct way of reading and sounding it; though this Gardiner, their chancellor, in King Henry's days, had sent a peremptory order forbidding it. But he being under a cloud in the reign of King Edward, Cheke's way prevailed again. And so now it was to be forbidden again.

III. That every preacher there should declare the whole style of the King and Queen in their sermons.

Upon these and several other orders, many students left the University. Some were thrust out of their fellowships; some miserably handled. Four and twenty places in St. John's college became vacant, and others more ignorant put in their rooms.

Visitors at Oxford.

At this time were visitors at Oxford too; where many were deprived. Then Dr. Tresham, a canon of Christ's

Church, called all the students of that college together, and in an oration persuaded them to receive the mass. He had got a great many fine copes of the Queen for that college, intended at first for the use of Windsor. He also got them our Lady bell of Bampton; or at least so he promised them to do. And then he said, they should have the sweetest ring of bells in the realm. Goodly reasons to sway them to Popery!

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CHAP. XVII.

The professors of the Gospel, clergy and laity, under persecution. Their benefactors. Some account of them.

All the reformed bishops and preachers removed.

BUT now to look a little back towards the beginning of this year. In order to the restoring and establishing the Romish religion, it was thought convenient to remove out of the way the reformed bishops and clergy; which the rigorous courses they took effectually brought to pass: clapping up all of the most note or eminency upon some pretence or other, either that they preached without licence, or owed the Queen money for first-fruits or tenths, or used King Edward's Service-Book, and the like: so that the Tower, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, the King's Bench, Newgate, and the two Counters were full of them. But that it might be known (whatever of heresy or unsound doctrine was laid to their charge) that they were orthodox and sound in faith, and what the opinions in truth were for which they lay in prison; and also, that it might appear that there was an unity of doctrine among these professors; therefore they caused a certain confession of faith to be written and published abroad; which the chief bishops and preachers, then living, and under confinement, subscribed their names unto, and made a public challenge to maintain the same by dispute or writing: which, among other excellent records, is preserved by Mr. Fox in his Acts; and which I have transferred a copy of in my Catalogue, as very well worthy to be perused by such as desire to be thereby informed in

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the history of these persecutions. But to give here a brief account of it:

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Their confession.

The confession consisted of eight articles;

I. That they believed all the canonical books of Scripture to be God's very word, and that it was to be the judge in all controversies of faith.

II. That they believed the Catholic Church, as an obedient spouse, followed the doctrines of this book. And therefore she was to be heard accordingly.

III. That they believed all the articles of the faith set forth in the Apostles' Creed, and in the symbols of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Toletum; and of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus, which was about the year 376.

IV. Concerning justification, they believed, that it was only of God's mercy in Jesus Christ; and that it was perceived and had by none but by faith only: which faith was not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost, whereby the mind is illuminated, and the heart suppled to submit to, and obey the will of, God; and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness.

V. They believed that the external service of God ought to be according to the word of God: and that therefore all things done in the congregation ought to be done in a tongue that may most edify; not in Latin, not understood by the people.

VI. That God only by Jesus Christ is to be prayed unto: therefore they disallowed invocation of saints.

VII. That as a man departs this life, so he shall be judged at the last day, and entereth into the state of the blessed for ever, or the damned for ever: and therefore that he is past all help, or needs no help. Therefore purgatory, masses, &c. are the doctrine of Antichrist.

VIII. That the sacraments of Christ, baptism and the Lord's supper, ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ. Therefore they held, that the mutilation of the sacrament, and the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the adoration of the bread, &c. is Antichristian.

This confession was signed, May 8, by Farrar, Hoper, Coverdale, bishops; Rogers, Bradford, Philpot, Crome, Saunders, and others, eminent divines. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1554.

The prisoners in the King's Bench had tolerable fair usage, and favour sometimes shewn them. There was a pleasant garden belonging thereunto, where they had liberty sometimes to walk. Upon which Philpot, in a letter to Careless, reflected when he was removed thence to the Bishop's Coal-house, one of the worst prisons in London: "This loathsome and horrible prison," said he, "is as pleasant to me as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench: "though my Lord's Coal-house be very black, yet it is "more to be desired of the faithful than the Queen's palace." They that were kept here in this prison of the King's Bench, had also liberty of meeting together for religious worship, where Philpot, or some other eminent and godly men, did use to preach to and exhort the rest: so that they were greatly confirmed and strengthened. "Blessed be the time," (writes Careless to Philpot on this account,) "that ever I "came to the King's Bench, to be joined in love and friend-"ship with such dear children of the Lord." Nor did they want any thing here, by means of liberal supplies of charity from well-affected citizens. "We are all cheerful and merry "in our cross, and do lack no necessaries, praised be God," said the same Careless. The reason of this favour to these prisoners was chiefly because the officers secretly favoured the Gospel; whom, I suppose, Philpot meant, when, in a letter to Careless, then lying in this prison, in the conclusion, he bade him salute his loving friends, Master Meryng, Master Crooch, with the rest, and especially Master Marshal (probably the knight-marshal, or his under-marshal) and his wife, with great thanks for the kindness shewed unto him. Those also in the Marshalsea had the favour indulged them of meeting daily together, to join in the English prayers. Thus Bradford once brake off a letter suddenly, because, as he wrote there, their *common prayer* time called him.

The condition of those in the King's Bench.

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And Marshalsea.

The sustainers of these and other prisoners of the Gospel,

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and of such as were fled abroad for religion, were not known, their names being studiously concealed, for their safety, in those times. Yet some of them, who, by money, clothes, and provisions, administered unto their necessities, were these; whose names I have collected and set down here, in grateful and lasting memory of their good deeds:

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The contributors to them and other afflicted professors.

Mr. Robert Harrington and Lucy his wife.
Mr. Heath and his wife.
Mr. Elsing and his wife.
Sir William Fitz-Williams, and the Lady Fitz-Williams, his wife.
Mr. Hurland and his wife.
Richard Springham, John Abel, Richard Hills, Thomas Eaton, George Eaton, or Heton, } Merchants of London.
Robert Parker and Anne his wife.
Richard Chambers.
John Mannyng.
Robert Cole.
John Lidley.
The Lady Vane.
Mrs. Wilkinson.
Mrs. Warcup.
Mrs. Elizabeth Brown.
Mrs. Ann Hartlepole; who made some compliance afterwards.

Sir William Fitz-Williams.

Of these, Sir William Fitz-Williams was knight-marshal of the King's Bench; a good man, and a lover of the Gospel: to whom Bradford wrote a letter, and presented him with Bishop Ridley's disputation, which he translated from a Latin copy that Ridley himself had corrected. Concerning Richard Hills, I find that in the year 1548 he was living in Strasburgh; and to him Archbishop Cranmer recommended Martin Bucer, to put him in a way of coming safe into England. One of this name, and, I suppose, the same, was master of the Merchant Taylors' company, and gave

Rich. Hills.

500*l.* towards the purchase of an house, called the Manor of the Rose, sometime belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, for the building of a free-school. And there the great school, commonly called the Merchant Taylors' school, is now kept. Richard Chambers did, in King Edward's days, expend great sums of his money in charity, which ran in two streams; one towards the supply of such as were students in the Universities, and the other towards other godly poor. For he was a great favourer of learning, and a friend to the oppressed. In the reign of that King, he visited both Cambridge and Oxford, allowing pensions to many hopeful young men there. At Oxford he afforded 6*l.* a year to Mr. Jewel to buy divinity-books, and exhorted him to set his mind intensely upon that study. For he did not only relieve the wants of the needy, but greatly edified them by his counsel. And commonly when he was to dispose his charity, he took a preacher with him, who instructed the receivers of his bounty, and admonished the students of their duty: which office Peter Martyr sometimes performed, and sometimes Jewel. And there is a Latin speech, which Jewel made upon this occasion, extant in the life of that learned man, writ by Dr. Humfrey. And the said Chambers, being afterwards an exile at Frankford, continued his good deeds, in helping and succouring the students, and poorer sort of the English nation there. Thomas Heton, or Eaton, who had been extraordinary bountiful and compassionate to the exiles, while he had wealth, in Queen Elizabeth's time was reduced to want; and he that had relieved others, now in his old age needed to be relieved himself. Tho. Sampson therefore, in the year 1573, wrote earnestly to Sir William Cecyl, Lord Burghley, and then Lord Treasurer, in his behalf, to move the Queen to allow him the transporting of some thousands of cloths without paying custom.

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Stow's Surv. Dowgate-ward.

Richard Chambers.

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Thomas Heton.

Robert Parker and his wife were among those pious Gospellers that retired into Germany in these days for their consciences; and, as it seems, kept house with four children, Anne and Cecilie, and two sons, the one named Went-

Robert Parker.

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worth, (perhaps from the lord of that name, on whom Parker might be some dependent,) the other Peregrine, so named, I make little question, because born a stranger and a pilgrim, as the Duchess of Suffolk her son, by Mr. Bertie, born in these days, obtained the like name; and Sir Tho. Wroth had a son now born, he being an exile, whom he called Gerson, of the same import. This gentleman was very helpful to those of his godly countrymen among whom he dwelt; and particularly to Bartholomew Traheron, late dean of Chichester; who, in gratitude, dedicated to him and his wife (whom he styled *exiles for Christ's cause*) his lectures that he read and printed there; "inasmuch as the "bowels of the saints had been refreshed by them, and to "render this testimony of their singular godliness: praying "God Almighty to augment in them the knowledge of his "truth, and love of righteousness." He seemed a person, as of great piety, so of an inquisitive mind in the doctrines of religion. For when a certain gentleman, who had been an auditor at Traheron's lectures, censured some passages therein, as that he had said, that "it was God's will and or-"dinance that Adam should sin," speaking too irreverently of God, seeming to make God the author of sin, Parker procured the same gentleman and Traheron to have a meeting, to debate this matter before him: which ended in an agreement upon the chief points that before were in controversy between them.

Anno 1554.

Lady Vane.

As for these women aforesaid, the Lady Vane was a very pious lady, and of large munificence: unto whom, out of great respect, were letters writ from Bradford, Philpot, Careless, Trahern, Rose, and others. She lived to the year 1568, and in Holborn departed this life; whose end was more like a sleep than death. She seems to have been Sir Ralph Vane's widow, who was beheaded with the Duke of Somerset.

Mrs. Wilkinson.

To Mrs. Wilkinson there is a letter extant from Archbishop Cranmer, exhorting her to flee: and another from Bishop Hoper, and two or three from Mr. Bradford, upon his receiving gifts from her: in one whereof he prayed God, "to recompense into her bosom all the good that ever

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"she had done, to him especially, and to many others, both "in that time of trouble, and always heretofore." Mrs. Warcup was a widow; among other whose good deeds, this was one, that she was instrumental in saving the life of Jewel, that afterwards proved a great light to the English Church. For when in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, fleeing away from Oxon, being on foot, he was so tired and spent, that he laid himself down upon the ground, half dead; then Augustin Bernher, that good man, by mere chance, or rather by great providence, met him in that forlorn condition, and setting him upon an horse, brought him to this lady, who refreshed and entertained him, and after conveyed him safe to London, whither he was going, in order to his flight beyond sea.

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Mrs. Warcup.

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Beside these helpers and concealers of ministers and other eminent professors, who supplied them with necessaries, or kept them privately in their houses, I trace two more out of Bradford's letters: the one was Mr. Coker, of Malden in Essex, a man of some quality there: to whom the said Bradford wrote a letter, and therein begged him to find out some hole to hide John Serchfield for some time. The other was Mr. Richard Hopkins, who was sheriff of Coventry. This man was taken, and put into the prison of the Fleet. The crime, as was conjectured, was for sending a New Testament to a thief that was condemned. While he lay there, Bradford sent him a comfortable letter. After divers weeks' imprisonment, he got his liberty, and fled into Germany with his wife and eight children; and was there a reliever of others.

Mr. Coker.

Mr. Hopkins.

Lastly, the citizens of London must not be forgotten, who throughout this hard reign were very bountiful to the poor sufferers. In acknowledgment whereof, Careless, in the year 1556, wrote a letter of thanks to them, beginning thus: "When I had with myself well weighed and con- "sidered the great charge and burden that you have borne "and been at, not only with me, but also with many other "poor afflicted people of God, ever since the time that ty- "ranny last broke loose in this miserable land," &c.

The citizens bountiful to the prisoners.

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Anno 1554. Aug. Bernher, a faithful messenger.

As the prisoners of Christ had these kind benefactors, so there were at hand to them trusty messengers, which were almost as needful as the other; by whom liberality and letters, and other things, were secretly conveyed to them, and letters and messengers sent from them in durance to their friends abroad, or to the congregations, for the comforting, counselling, and strengthening of them. One of these their faithful servants was good Augustine Bernher, a Swiss by nation, if I mistake not, but that had been long Latymer's servant, and who put out his sermons after his death, with his own preface before them. This man was excellently serviceable to the poor prisoners and martyrs, travelling continually from place to place, and from one prison to another, and standing upon no pain or danger to do good offices for the poor professors. And when Cranmer, Latymer, and Ridley were prisoners at Oxon, he took a journey thither to them with relief, letters, and business. As for the wives and fatherless children of such as died for religion, he was a kind of overseer to them. Robert Glover, in his last letter before his martyrdom to his wife and children, about 1556, advised them to flee, and to take Bernher's advice, whom he called an *angel of God:* "God send thee a good "guide, and a good passage, if it be his will, out of this "idolatrous and bloody realm. As Christ committed his "mother to John, so I commit you in this world to the "angel of God, Augustine Bernher. His advertisement "if you shall follow, I trust you shall not decline from the "fear of God." There is a remarkable passage related by Fox of this Augustine: That a few days before Glover should be burnt, he felt his heart very lumpish and cold, and could perceive no joy nor comfort in his soul: which he complained of to Augustine. Augustine bade him persist, for his cause was good; and God would in due time instil comfort and joy into him. And withal prayed him, when this came to pass, to give him some sign of it. The good man continued praying most earnestly to God for consolation. And at his going to execution, when he had most need of it, he felt a joy spring within him, as it were, on a

Mart. Letters, p. 543.

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Acts and Mon. p. 1555.

sudden; and then he cried out, clapping his hands, *Austin, he is come, he is come.* This Fox had afterwards from Austin's own mouth. Several letters there be of Bradford to this Bernher. He also sent him a treatise of the baptism of children to write out: and that being done, he promised him other things; for his own instruction, I suppose, and for the instruction of others. This Bernher lived long after in Queen Elizabeth's reign, in a living in the country, called Sutton, if I mistake not, and died in peace. Anno 1554.

Grimbald false.

As they had these true friends, so they had false ones too, treacherous Judas's, that betrayed them; discovering to their enemies who their benefactors were, the relief they received, the letters they wrote, and such like. Of this sort was Grimbald; who this year being in the Marshalsea for religion, was persuaded to recant; and confessed and revealed every thing he knew concerning the professors. Many writings of Ridley he got, and secretly put them into the hands of the Popish superiors. But this recantation of his was kept secret from the prisoners, and they were not to know it, though they suspected him: and so remaining among them, he served as a spy upon them. He was often visited by many of the great Popish doctors. Dr. Weston came to him; whereof Saunders took notice in a letter to a friend: "What he hath with him concluded, I "know not. Pray that it may be to God's glory." And after a visit Dr. Story gave him, Bradford was more closely confined, and the keeper threatened: whereat Bradford desired Bernher, in a letter, to learn, if he could, what Mr. Gr. had spoken to Dr. Story and others. "The cause of "all this trouble, both to my keeper and me, is thought "come by him." At this time it was made death to the keeper for any to speak with Bradford.

CHAP. XVIII.

The principles of the Protestants as to obedience. The exiles: who they were; and where they harboured: their writings. Some Protestants recant. Bishop Barlow's recantation.

Anno 1554. The Protestants' principles for obedience.

THIS then is some account of the condition of the professors, as to their troubles and friends; Popery being now established, and every where taking place, though the hearts of the Protestants rose against it; and some, as opportunity served, joined in insurrections and mutinies; 146 others, of a more easy or timorous spirit, complied with the Queen out of flattery, or to save their skins. Yet it was the current principle among the wisest and best of them, that the Queen, being now their sovereign, was to be obeyed, as far as she commanded things lawful; but in other matters, to obey God rather than man, and to submit patiently till God's good time of deliverance came. This is expounded by the words of one that lived in those times, and was afterwards a bishop under Queen Elizabeth. "Although," said he, "kings and rulers in commonwealths "were then heathens," [that is, when St. Peter wrote, that we must obey the king as chief and highest ruler,] "and "not christened, yet he bids obey them as the chief and "highest; and neither willeth any to be disobedient, to "pull the sword out of their hand, nor to set up himself "above them, but humbly to obey them in all things not "contrary to God's truth and religion. But if they com- "mand any thing contrary to God's word, we must answer "with the Apostles, *We must rather obey God than man.* "And let no man think, that in displeasing of God he can "please man: for God, who hath all men's hearts in his "hand, will turn his heart to hurt thee, whom thou wouldst "please and flatter by displeasing and disobeying God. "Nor owe we any obedience to men in such things wherein "God is offended and disobeyed. If England had learned "this lesson in time of persecution, we should neither, for

Pilkington's exposition upon Aggee.

" fear, at the voice of a woman, have denied our Master " with Peter, nor, for flattery, have worshipped Baal, nor " rashly rebelled, but humbly have suffered God's scourge, " until it had pleased God to have cast the rod into the fire. " The which he would sooner have done, if our unthankful " sturdiness had not deserved a longer plague. The Lord, " for his mercy sake, grant that both we and all other may " hereafter beware from like pulling on our heads the right- " eous scourge of God for our wickedness, and the unpatient " bearing of the same when it cometh." From hence we may take what was the sense of the gravest and chief Protestants in those days, in the case of obedience and disobedience, and submission and resistance to princes that command unlawful things.

Many flee abroad.

This was the state of the Protestants that remained in the land: but many fled away, and turned voluntary exiles, to escape the fury that was coming upon all that were resolved to stick to the true religion, and would not comply with the newly introduced Papal superstitions. They were dispersed abroad in divers and sundry places, where the gospel was professed; as Frankford, Argentine or Strasburgh, Basil, Zuric, Wezel, Geneva, and other towns. Some of the chief of them in these places were as follow.

Exiles at Frankford.

At Frankford were Mr. Isaac, a Kentish gentleman; at whose hired house in this town were harboured Richard Chambers and Thomas Sampson, late dean of Chichester: who were the two first that earnestly desired Jewel, upon his first coming, to make a public confession of his fault in subscribing. This Chambers, who was treasurer of the contribution money for maintaining the exiles, gave some allowance to the said Jewel. Here were many persons of quality, besides those above mentioned; as Sir Francis Knowles, after treasurer of Queen Elizabeth's chamber, and Henry his eldest son. Here also were Sanford, Rob. Crowley, Rob. Horn, late dean of Durham; David Whithead, an ancient learned divine, and once recommended by Archbishop Cranmer to be Archbishop of Armagh; Thomas Lever, a grave learned man, of St. John's college in Cam- 147

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bridge; who afterwards went to Arow in Helvetia, and was there minister of another congregation of English: and the Scotch preacher, John Makebray, who was the first that preached the gospel to the English here, for about a year, and then went to another church in Low Germany.

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At Argentine.

At Argentine, were Alexander Noel, prebend of Westminster, and afterwards dean of St. Paul's; Arthur Saul, late fellow of Magdalen college, Oxon; William Cole, fellow, afterwards president, of Corpus Christi. Here also sojourned those learned knights, Sir John Cheke, Sir Richard Morison, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Peter Carey, Sir Thomas Wroth. Also J. Ponet, late bishop of Winchester; Edmund Grindal, late bishop Ridley's chaplain, afterwards archbishop of York and Canterbury successively; Edwin Sandys, late master of Katharine hall in Cambridge, afterward archbishop of York; Thomas Eton, a merchant of London. Bale reckoneth up a great many more.

At Basil.

At Basil was Bale, for the printing-presses' sake. Here latewardly also were James Pilkington, Richard Turner, and Thomas Bentham, all preachers: who also read lectures there. The first upon Ecclesiastes, both epistles of St. Peter, and St. Paul to the Galatians. The second read upon the epistle of St. James, and that to the Hebrews and the Ephesians; and Bentham upon the Acts of the Apostles. Here also resided one Plough, a preacher, who wrote an apology for the Protestants, anno 1558.

At Zuric.

At Zuric, hither came about twelve English: Laurence Humfrey was one, afterwards the King's learned professor of divinity in Oxford; and John Parkhurst was another, late rector of the rich living of Cleve, and afterward bishop of Norwich. They all lived together with much comfort in the house of Christopher Froscover, printer; and paid each for his ordinary. Humfrey extolleth the great hospitality and kindness of the magistrates of this town, and of the ministers; namely, Bullinger, Pellican, Bibliander, Simler, Wolphius, Lavater, Zwinglius, Gesner, and Gualter. He styled it, *incredibilis humanitas, et civium omnium omnia*

Vit. Juell.

officia charitatis plenissima. These twelve came hither before P. Martyr came from Argentine to be professor of divinity here: who, when he came, brought Jewel along with him. Here were also James Pilkington, late master of St. John's college, Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Durham; Thomas Bentham, late fellow of Magdalen college, Oxon, afterwards bishop of Litchfield; Thomas Lever, lately at Frankford; Thomas Spenser, Rob. Beaumont, Nic. Carvil. These being here, had supplies yielded them by Chambers, and certain London merchants; Richard Springham, John Abel, Thomas Eton, and some others, whose names were studiously concealed. CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1554.

In Freezland, and particularly at Wezel, were to the number of an hundred persons, men and women. Among the rest here were Scory, late bishop of Chichester; Thomas Young, late chanter of St. David's, afterwards archbishop of York; Geo. Roo; John Rough, not long after a martyr. These, in their religious meetings, used the order set forth in the time of King Edward. Coverdale was some time their preacher, until he was called by the Duke of Bipont to be preacher at Bergzaber. Here sojourned some time the pious Duchess of Suffolk, and Mr. Bertu, her husband. At Wezel.

At Geneva was Knox, King Edward's chaplain, and after, the great reformer of Scotland, a violent man against the English book; and William Whittingham, after dean of Durham, John Bodly, Anthony Gilby, William Kethe, John Pullain, Christopher Goodman, and several others, that employed themselves in making another translation of the Bible, with marginal notes, and afterwards was printed. At Geneva. 148

Many of these being thus safely settled abroad in Protestant towns and cities in Germany, Switzerland, or elsewhere, did spend their time in writing of books and letters, to the use and benefit of those good people that they had left behind, to exhort them to stedfastness and patience. Among these was Ponet, or Poynet, late bishop of Winchester, a very learned man, who wrote as learned a book Some of the exiles write; *viz.* Ponet.

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in answer to Dr. Martyn, and in vindication of himself, who had writ before in behalf of priests' marriage. "I

Anno 1554. "have," said he, "pen, ink, paper, and quietness, God "be praised, enough. All which they [the Papists] have "as well as I. But one thing I have on my side which "they have not, which is a comfort to me and trouble to "them; that is, truth. *Truth*, I say, is on my side, as it is "plain by my proofs, not grounded upon things that may "err and deceive, as may traditions and doctrines of men, "whereupon the Papists chiefly ground themselves; but "upon the infallible word of God, taught in the Old and "New Testament, by the holy patriarchs, prophets, apo-"stles, and Christ," &c.

Sampson. His letter to the parish of Alhallows.

Sampson, late dean of Chichester, and rector of St. Alhallows, London, wrote this year also a very good letter to the true professors of Christ's Gospel in the parish of Alhallows in Bread-street; aiming thereby to strengthen and establish them against the several errors of Popery: which letter was printed at Strasburgh in August; but now being almost quite lost, and having very many good things in it, I

No. XVIII. have preserved in the Catalogue. He spake of the good proficiency he supposed they had made in the knowledge of true religion, "considering how truly and with what diligence they "had been formerly taught: and therefore that he needed "not to make a long and large treatise to arm them against "all the assaults of false prophets that were at that present "come among them, but only to name and confute some of "the greatest evils which were then poured forth out of the "pulpits; and therewith he put them in mind of the truth. "And this he was moved to do, having been some time "their pastor, and to testify that some piece of his pastoral "cure did yet rest in his heart towards them; the violence "of the time not suffering him to come as he would do "unto them, and, by talk and brotherly conferring, to put "them in mind of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which he once "preached among them." Then he proceeded to shew them the error of transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the

mass, justification by works, works of supererogation, intercession of saints, praying for the dead, auricular confession, innovations, traditions; and concluded with this counsel: "Abide in the truth; keep yourselves undefiled; offer "yourselves humbly to suffer all violence of bloody laws "for truth's sake; keep safe your consciences, though the "sword taketh your lives from you; suffer and bear with "all humbleness and quiet obedience; humble yourselves "in unfeigned repentance before the Lord in the horrible "plague of Popery, that of his mercy he may be moved to "end these days of delusion; and let your prayers always "ascend up before the Lord, begging of him such things "as ye need." CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1554.

Another dean in exile, namely, Dr. William Turner, late dean of Wells, a doctor of physic, but a divine also, now wrote a new book of *Spiritual Physic*, as he entitled it, *for divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentry of England.* And this he dedicated to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Arundel, Darby, Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Cumberland, Pembroke, Warwick: imprinted at Rome, by the Vatican Church, against Marcus Antonius Constantius, otherwise called Thraso, or *Gloriosus Papæ Miles.* He was an humoursome man; and to that this manner of writing must be imputed. Near the beginning of his book he hath these words, whereby may be known in part what he was: "When of late years I practised bodily "physic in England in my Lord of Somerset's house, "divers sick beggers came unto me, and not knowing that "I was a physician, asked of me mine almose: to whom "I offered to heal their diseases for God's sake. But they "went by and by away from me, and would none of that: "for they had much liever be sick stil with ease and idleness, than to be whole, and with great pains and labour "to earn honestly their living." In this book the doctor glanceth at a certain man raised in this reign, whom though he nameth not, the words he useth do easily discover; where, speaking of the clergy advanced under Queen Mary, he saith, "Others are come, as I hear say, to be counsel- Turner. His book of Spiritual Physic. 149

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A character of a certain churchman.

"lors, even in temporal matters, in great number: and one "is now clom up so high, that besides that he is a knight "of the Garter" [bishops of Winchester are prelates of the Garter] "and a great lord, is also the High Chancellor of "England, and President of the Council, and is above all "the lords both temporal and spiritual of the whole Coun- "cil; and so lordly behaveth himself, that, without the "knowledge of the rest of the Council, he sendeth forth "commissions, as he did of late to Wells by Dr. Edge- "worth, and offereth pardon alone, as he did to Mr. Laty- "mer, as though he were either King of England, or else "had the Queen and all the Council's heads under his "girdle." A character true enough of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

Knox.

Knox, who was retired first to Geneva, within a short space departed to Frankford, upon the receipt of a letter sent from the English congregation there, Sept. 24, 1554, declaring, that they had chosen him for their pastor. And

His Faithful Admonition.

here he wrote his *Faithful Admonition to England.* Therein he spake of himself, and what he was at first; and made some reflections upon the days of the gospel under King Edward; undertook to shew why God took the gospel away; and prayed against these Marian days, that they might be short, and foretold deliverance. "To be plain," said he, "my own conscience beareth record to myself, how "small soever my learning, and how weak soever of judg- "ment, when Jesus Christ called me to be his steward, and "how mightily, day by day, and time by time, he multi- "plied his graces with me, if I should conceal, I were most "wicked and unthankful.——There were some complaints "in those days, [of King Edward,] that the preachers were "undiscreet persons; yea, and some called them railers, and "worse, because they spake against the manifest iniquity "of men, and especially of those that then were placed in "authority, as well in the court as in other offices univer- "sally throughout the realm, both in cities, towns, and "villages: and, among others, peradventure my rude plain- "ness displeased some, who did complain that rashly I did

" speak of men's faults, so that all might know and perceive CHAP. XVIII.
" of whom I meant. But, alas! this day my conscience
" accuseth me, that I spake not so plainly as my duty was Anno 1554.
" to have done: for I ought to have said to the wicked
" man expressly by his name, *Thou shalt die the death.*—
" The blind love that I did bear to this my wicked carcass,
" was the chief cause that I was not fervent and faithful
" enough in that behalf: for I had no will to provoke the
" hatred of all men against me; and therefore so touched
" I the vices of men in the presence of the greatest, that
" they might see themselves to be offenders. I dare not
" say that I was the greatest flatterer, but yet nevertheless
" I would not be seen to proclaim manifest war against the
" manifest wicked: whereof, unfeignedly, I ask my God
" pardon." As to his sense why God deprived the nation of the gospel, thus he spake: " This I do let you to un-
" derstand, that the taking away of the heavenly bread,
" and this great tempest that now bloweth against the poor
" disciples of Christ within the realm of England, as touch-
" ing our part, cometh from the great mercy of our hea-
" venly Father, to provoke us to unfeigned repentance, for
" that neither preacher nor professor did rightly consider
" the time of our merciful visitation, but altogether so we
" spent the time, as though God's word had been preached,
" rather to satisfy our fantasies than to reform our evil
" manners: which thing if we earnestly repent, then shall
" Jesus Christ appear to our comfort, be the storm never
" so great. Haste, O Lord, for thy name's sake."

And concerning the duration of the present hard and persecuting times in England, thus did this man pray and fortell: " And herein standeth my singular comfort this
" day, when I hear that these bloody tyrants within the
" realm of England do still kill, murder, destroy, and de-
" vour men and women, as ravenous lions now loosed from
" bonds, I lift up therefore the eyes of my heart, as my
" iniquity and present dolour will suffer; and to my hea-
" venly Father will I say, Oh! those cruel tyrants are
" loosed by thy hand, to punish our former ingratitude,

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" whom we trust thou wilt not suffer to prevail for ever:
" but when thou hast corrected us a little, and hast declared
" unto the world the tyranny that lurketh in their boldened
" breasts, then wilt thou break their jaw-bones, and wilt shut
" them up in their caves again; that the generation and
" posterity following may praise thine holy name before thy
" congregation. *Amen.* When I feel any taste or motion
" of these promises, then think I myself most happy, and
" that I received a just compensation, albeit I, and all that
" to me in earth belongeth, should suffer the present death;
" knowing that God shall yet shew mercy to his afflicted
" Church within England, and that he shall repress the
" pride of these present tyrants, like as he hath done of
" those before our days.—He is full of pity and compassion,
" and doth consider all our travail, anguish, and labours:
" wherefore it is not to be doubted but that he will sud-
" denly appear to our great comfort. The tyrants of this
" world cannot keep back his coming, more than might the
" blustering winds and raging seas let Christ to come to his
" disciples, when they looked for nothing but for present
" death." And again, " God brought not his people into
" Egypt, and from thence through the Red Sea, to the
" intent they should therein perish, but that he of them
" should shew a most glorious deliverance. Neither sent
" Christ his Apostles in the midst of the sea, and suffered
" the boisterous storms to assault them and their boat, to
" the intent they should there perish; but because he would
151 " the more have his great goodness towards them felt and
" perceived, in so mightily delivering them out of the fear
" of perishing; giving us thereby an example, that he
" would do the like to us, if we abide constant in our pro-
" fession and faith, withdrawing ourselves from superstition
" and idolatry.—Trouble is come: O dear brethren, look
" for the comfort; and, after the example of the Apostles,
" abide in resisting this vehement storm a little space. The
" third watch is not yet ended. Remember that Christ
" Jesus came not to his disciples till it was the fourth
" watch, and they were then in no less danger than you be

" now: but their faith fainted not; their bodies were in " danger, but Christ Jesus came when they looked not for " him: and so shall he do to you, if ye will continue in the " profession that you have made. This dare I be bold to " promise in the name of him, whose eternal verity and glo- " rious gospel ye have heard and received." CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1554.

There came forth likewise about this time a little pious book, entitled, *An Exhortation to the Cross.* It was writ by way of epistle, for the use of those that were professors of the gospel, and either suffered persecution, or were in daily danger of it. The author's name is not set to it; but it appears that he was a preacher under King Edward, and then an exile; (I believe him to be Coverdale;) for thus he writes: " How many now go with you lustily, as I and " all your brethren in bands and exile for the gospel? Pray " for us; for, God willing, we will not leave you: we will " go before you. You shall see in us that we preached no " lies, nor tales of tubs, but even the true word of God; " for which we, by God's grace, and help of your prayers, " will willingly and joyfully give our blood to be shed for " the confirmation of the same, as already we have given " liberally our goods, livings, friends, and natural coun- " try." Coverdale. An Exhortation to the Cross.

The book is very well penned, and with much life quickening and comforting the professors to steadiness in their holy course, notwithstanding persecution. " Therefore," as he writ, " like God's children, let us go on forward apace; " the wind is on our back. Hoise up the sails; lift up " your hearts and hands unto God in prayer; and keep " your anchor of faith to cast in time on the rock of God's " word, and on his mercy in Christ, and I warrant you." The book consisted of these chapters, (after a Preface to the Christian Reader:) I. What we be, and where we be. II. Persecution must not be strange unto us. III. Trouble cannot hurt God's children. IV. The cross is commodious and profitable. V. How Papists hold their four special articles, which they so grievously persecute for. VI. How God's word teacheth of the supper, with confutation of

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transubstantiation. VII. How God's word teacheth of Christ's sacrifice, with the Romish blasphemy therein reproved. VIII. Of praying for the dead, the true doctrine. IX. Of praying to saints. X. The Romish doctrine of the sacrament confuted more largely. XI. The Popish doctrine of the sacrifice in massing confuted. XII. The confutation of the Papists sacrificing and praying for the dead. XIII. The refutation of the heresy of praying to saints departed out of this world. XIV. The knitting of the matter, and conclusion or peroration; with a prayer for the help of God in this time of danger and divers temptations.

The Hope of the Faithful.

To this was joined another little book of the same volume, entitled, *The Hope of the Faithful*, and, as it seems, of the same author. The contents of this book were according as they are set down in the first chapter, thus beginning: "Considering that by the Evangelists and by all the "Apostles there is nothing written more diligently than "touching the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, my "purpose is somewhat more largely to talk of the same, "and of the glorious ascension of his body into heaven. "*Item*, Of the resurrection and ascension of our own bo- "dies; of the damnation of unbelievers; and of the hope "and eternal life of the blessed." Which subjects are indeed, in this book, discoursed of closely and well, first by apt places in scripture, and then by arguments, without any reflection on the Popish religion. And I verily think the work to be Coverdale's.

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He had been a prisoner in the beginning of this Queen, and very hardly escaped. The means whereby he procured his liberty was thus: he was brother-in-law to one Dr. John Macchabæus, chaplain to Christiern, King of Denmark, they marrying two sisters. Macchabæus prevailed with his King to send two or three letters to Queen Mary for the deliverance of Coverdale out of prison, and to send him over thither. One of these letters bore date 25 Apr. 1554. In this letter it seems to appear, that Coverdale was imprisoned upon suspicion of being concerned in the late insurrection: but in the answer of the Queen's to this letter,

she laid not that to his charge, but a pretence that he was in debt to her concerning his bishopric: but the first-fruits were forgiven him by King Edward: it must be therefore for his tenths. And in the King of Denmark's second letter, it appeared that Coverdale made this plea for himself as to that, that he had not enjoyed the bishopric long enough to be able, out of the profits thereof, to pay the Queen. The King's second letter was dated Sept. 24, 1554; and the Queen's grant of his request was not before Feb. 18, 1555: which is, reckoning the year to begin Jan. 1, near a twelvemonth after the King's first solicitation for this reverend man; so loath was she to let him go out of her hands. As soon as he had his liberty, he repaired to the said King.

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Many other good and pious men penned suitable discourses and treatises, and printed them, at this time, and had such as conveyed them into England; which did much good service to the religion: insomuch that the State soon took notice of it, and by acts and proclamations forbad those books severely.

Many good tracts composed.

Some of these exiles had been caught before they could pass over the seas and escape; and having not courage and strength enough, were fain to recant. The chief of these were Jewel, Barlow, and Scory; the two last being bishops. The said Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, was, by Gardiner and other Papists, forced not only barely to recant, but to compose a book of recantation; which he did for fear of his life: and afterwards, when he fled, Gardiner, or some other, published his book t beo read by all. Dr. Turner took occasion hence to rub Gardiner up for his book, *De Vera Obedientia:* which he would not set forth in English, as Turner said he wished; and gave the reason, because he looked upon it as a matter he owned not. His words are these: "If that Mr. Gardiner allow his doctrine "still of King Henry's marriage, let him set forth the same "doctrine in English at large, because the common people "may learn some wholesome doctrine of it; even as he, or "at least some of his, have handled Mr. Barlow, which

Some Protestants recant.

Bishop Barlow recants.

Spirit.

Physic.

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" wrote a naughty and a false lying book, compelled for fear " to do so. But if he will not set out his book in English, " both because he knoweth in his conscience that it is a " false book and an heretical book; because he was com- " pelled by fear to write against the open truth, he, or at " the least one of his Popish 'prentices, is very uncharita- " ble and unjust unto Mr. Barlow, which handleth him " otherwise than he would or will be handled himself; that " is, to publish his book which he wrote for fear."

His recantation. Cott. Librar. Cleop. E. 5.

The recantation of this man was as followeth, as I transcribed it out of the original, prescribed, as it seems, for him. " Praise be to God, who out of his infinite goodness, and " mercy inestimable, hath brought me out of darkness into " light, and from deadly ignorance unto the quick know- " ledge of troth: from the which, through the fend's insti- " gation, and false persuasion, I have greatly swerved, " wrapping myself in manifold errors and detestable here- " sies, against the doctrine of Christ and determination of

His books.

" holy Church: insomuch, that I have made certain books, " and have suffered them to be imprinted: as, *The Trea-* " *tise of the Burial of the Mass; A Dialogue between the* " *Gentleman and the Husbandman; The climbing up of* " *Friars and religious Persons, pourtrayed with Figures;* " *A Description of God's Word compared to the Light;* " also a common dialogue, without any title, inveighing " especially against St. Thomas of Canterbury: which as " yet was never printed nor published openly. In these " treatises, I perceive and acknowledge my self grievously " to have erred, namely, against the blessed sacrament of " the altar, disallowing the mass, and denying purgatory; " with slanderous infamy of the Pope and my Lord Cardi- " nal, and outragious raving against the clergy, which I " have forsaken and utterly renounced.

" Wherefore I being lately informed of your Highness " endued with so excellent learning and singular judgment " of the troth, which endeavoured not only to chase away " and extirpe al heresies, but also to se a reformation of " slanderous living, for the restraint of vice in al estates, to

" the furtherance and avauncement of God's word: also, " considering the piteous favour void of rigor, and mercy " abhorring cruelty, which your Highness hath used to- Anno 1554. " wards others of your subjects fallen into such like here- " sies, and have submitted themselves humbly unto your " Grace, I have made suite, by al means possible, freely, " without motion of any man, to come and present my self " before your Highness, for to submit my self unto your " merciful plesure, beseeching your gracious pardon: also, " as far forth as I have knowledge, in all things to ascer- " tain your Grace unfeignedly, whatsoever your Highness " shall vouchsafe to demaund of me your unworthy subject " and orator,

" William Barlo."

This seems to have been Barlo's first address to the Queen, offering and praying to be received to a recantation, rather than the recantation itself: whereby we may gather how dear it cost him, as well as others, to get his liberty and life; namely, that he was not only to make a recantation, and a profession of being reconciled to the Papal Church, but to confess all the books that he ever made against that Church, and to renounce and revoke them; and also to be had under examination, and be a betrayer of all other faithful professors of religion, and to discover any other thing to the disservice of it. There was a book printed in octavo, an. 1553, in London, of this Bishop's writing, entitled, *The true Original of the Lutheran Fac-* 154
tion: which seems to be the book before spoken of.

Sufficient account hath been given elsewhere of the exiles for the gospel, and of their several congregations; which, together with what hath been now writ of them, shall suffice, taking in only this that follows: *viz.* that there was another sort of exiles, that yet would not appear to be so; joining themselves to no religious assembly of English in any place, but passed through the towns where the English had settled themselves, as travellers; that they might not be reported in England as associating with these professors, for their better safety, if they should return into

Some will not join with the congregations abroad;

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England: choosing thus to conceal themselves. Therefore they would not so much as take notice of their countrymen in exile, though they came into the towns where they were, but made short tarriance, and rid through them. And others chose to go into Popish cities in France or Italy, that they might be the less suspected to have gone out of England for religion. To these a writer in those times, and an exile, gave this reprimand: "Some dwelling in papistical "places, among the enemies of God, in the midst of im- "piety in France, as in Paris, Orleans, and Roan, and some "in Italy, as in Venice and Padua; which persons, in flee- "ing from their Queen, run to the Pope; fearing the "danger of their body, seek where they may poison their "souls: thinking by this means to be less suspected of Je- "zebel; shewing themselves afraid and ashamed of the "gospel, which in time past they have stoutly professed; "and lest they should be thought favourers of Christ, have "purposely ridden by the churches and congregations of "his servants their brethren, neither minded to comfort "others there, nor to be comforted themselves: wherein "they have shewed this coldness of their zeal towards re- "ligion, and given no small occasion of slander to the word "of God, which they seemed to profess. For being re- "turned again to their country, they either became idola- "ters with the Papists, to please the Queen, and keep their "possessions, or else dissemblers, with the rest of counter- "feit Christians."

Reproved. Chr. Good-man.

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A third Parliament. Things done there; and in convocation. Cardinal Pole comes in quality of the Pope's legate. Bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor, preaches at Paul's Cross. King Philip appointed governor of the royal issue. Friars in Ireland petition the Cardinal.

Labour used to get fit parliament-men.

HITHERTO the affairs relating to the settlement of the Popish religion were not fully despatched, much more re-

maining still to be done. And the Queen wanting fit parliament-men for her purpose, sent her private letters to all the sheriffs to deal with the people for electing such representatives as might do her work. And that the commons might be the better drawn to it, they were to assure the people, that it was not the Queen's intention to take away any man's possessions, many of which came to them by the dissolution of monasteries, or from the Church; and to labour to free the people from believing other rumours then spread abroad. The Queen's letter ran thus:

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By the Quene.

The Queen to the sheriffs, to choose such as were of the Catholic sort. MSS. Ecclesiast.

" Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you wel: and where, " among other matters, for the commodity and prosperity " of our realm, we intend principally the restitution of " God's honour and glory, whom we acknowledge our chief " author and helper, as well in bringing us to the right of " our estate, as also in this most noble mariage which we " have now atchieved and perfected, much to our satisfaction and contentation; and, as we trust, of the rest of " the good Catholic people within our realms: these shall " be to wil and command you, that, for withstanding such " malice as the devil worketh by his ministers, for the " maintenance of heresies and seditions, ye now, on our " behalf, admonish such our good loving subjects, as by " order of our writs should, within that county, choose " knights, citizens, and burgesses, to repair from thence to " this our Parlament, to be of their inhabitants, as the old " laws require, and of the wise, grave, and Catholic sort, " such as indeed mean the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the commonwealth. The advauncement wherof, " we, and our dear husband the King, do chiefly profess and " intend, without alteration of any particular man's possessions, as among other false rumours is spread abroad to " hinder our godly purpose; but such as would have their " heresies returne, and the realm, by the just wrath of God, " be brought to confusion. From which we have seen the " same mervaillously delivered, and mind, by God's help,

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" and the advice of our counsillors and estates of this our " Parlament, to uphold and continue: requiring you, with " the rest of the Justices of that county, to whom you shal " also shew and declare these our letters, that spreaders of " rumours and tales may be, by their diligence, speedily " apprehended, and according to the law of our realm " sharply punished, according to the trust we have in them, " and as they wil answer for the due punishment of their " slackness and remiss dealing in this behalf. Yeven," &c.

The effect of this letter.

Hist. Reform. part ii. p. 251.

The effect of this letter we may understand by what the Bishop of Sarum, in his History, relates from Beal, clerk of Queen Elizabeth's Council, *viz.* " That men in many " places were chosen by force and threats: and in other " places were others employed by the court in the elections, " who did violently hinder the other from coming to choice; " and that some that were chosen, and came into the house, " were forcibly thrust out: and in many places false re- " turns were made." Upon which reasons he concluded it no Parliament.

The Queen leaves out of her writs her title of Supreme Head.

To which I add, that it was observed, that the Queen (contrary to what she had done before) called this Parliament by her writs, without the addition and style of *Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England*, &c. which made many scruple whether it were a lawful Parliament or no. Because there had been a special statute, and of the greatest importance, made on purpose under King Henry her father, to declare, that the Bishop of Rome had no authority in this realm; and chiefly upon
156 this cause, as was alleged in a Parliament under Queen Elizabeth, an. 13 Reginæ, for that King Henry, seeing his daughter Mary's stubbornness and malice to his doings, and her fond devotion to the Pope, meant, that if she should at any time come to that place, she should not, if she would, undo that he had done.

Cardinal Pole comes legate *de latere* into England.

Cardinal Pole, that had been attainted of treason under King Henry, and a long time an exile for the Pope, was now coming hither in quality of the Pope's legate; being

shortly to be very busy in putting the things of the Church into their old superstitious posture again. The brief import of the letters given the Cardinal by Pope Julius III. constituting him his legate *de latere*, to the King and Queen, and the whole kingdom of England, was, to reconcile the kingdom (which then a great while had been separated from the unity of the Catholic Church) to God and the Church of Christ, and to his vicar upon earth; and to procure, by all possible pains that he could take, all that belonged to the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, after by God's goodness, and their Majesties' piety, and by the authority of the most holy father the Pope, a reconciliation was made: and that the unity of the Church, upon which depended the salvation of so many souls, redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, might by him be corroborated, and remain in safety. Anno 1554.

Provision made for the Cardinal's household.

But against his coming, care had been taken to provide him an honourable maintenance for his household, suitable to his eminent quality. In order to which his steward, or some other of his officers, laid before the Queen a particular of every thing that should be requisite for his necessary expences, both for his travel and first entrance, and for his family provisions, wages of servants, clothes, &c. It was certified for this purpose, that with all his revenue and Papal provision, he could not expend monthly less than a 1000 crowns; that he entertained 130 in family, besides 30 more abroad; that the said 1000 crowns would but suffice for food for his said servants. Besides, that there would be the charge of the equipage of 40 horses and mules for his eminence's ordinary attendance; the ordinary wages of his old family, which came monthly to 75 crowns: to which would be added 25 crowns more for the wages and livery of his new. His own apparel would cost yearly 500 crowns, and as much more for the livery and clothes of his chamberlains, chaplains, and officers. And that there would be immediate need of 2000 crowns for the renewing of his plate, and for the supply of his chapel, his table, and his larder; and for utensils of brass, iron, pewter, &c. 300

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crowns: for linen and napery, for the tables and chambers, 600 crowns more, and a great deal besides. This extraordinary charge the enjoyment of the Cardinal's presence would cost the Queen: and well it might be borne, seeing he was to bring such mighty blessings along with him. For the scheme of all these expences, ordinary and extraordinary, as they were drawn up for the Queen's information, it may be seen at length in the Catalogue.

N°. XIX.

Conducted home by the Lord Paget and others.

So on the 6th of November, the Lord Paget and Sir Edw. Hastings, accompanied by Sir William Cecyl, late secretary of state, and other gentlemen, were despatched by the Queen to the Emperor's court, where the Cardinal had for some time been, to conduct him into England. They came to Bruxelles on the 11th day; and returned home with the Cardinal unto Westminster the 24th.

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A congratulatory oration printed.

And to make the Cardinal's return look the greater, a certain oration was now printed by Cawode, the Queen's printer, *Pro instauratione Reip. Anglorum, proque reditu reverendiss. ac illustriss. domini Reginaldi Poli; autore Jodoco Harchio Montensi:* beginning, *Etsi, P. C. mea in dicendo infantia*, &c. An account of this oration is set down at large in the Catalogue.

N°. XX.

Royal licence granted to Cardinal Pole to use his legatine power.

The new King and Queen, alike minded for the reinstating of the Pope and his religion in this land, patronized the Cardinal and his errand. Therefore, before he arrived, they prepared for him, and on the 10th of November, in the 1st and 2d of their reigns, issued out letters patents for the complete exercising of his legatine jurisdiction, and for the subjects application to him for his faculties, as they might have done in the 20th of Henry VIII. And thus the said letters ran:

The letters patents. Regist. Car. Poli.

"Philip and Mary, &c. Wheras it hath pleased our "most holy father the Pope Julius III. to send unto us, and "this our realm, and the dominions of the same, the most "reverend Father in God, and our most trusty and dearest "cousin Reynold Cardinal Pole, his legate *de latere*, "with certain authorities of jurisdiction, graces, faculties,

" and dispensations, to be ministred, exercised, and graunted " by authority of our said holy Father; We calling to our " remembrance, and understanding the good purpose and " intent of our said cousin his most honourable legation, " and that the same is most beneficial, and for the spiritual " solace and consolation of us and our said subjects, whose " good order, and right walking in the law of God, and our " holy mother Church, we much desire; and therefore are " most glad of the access and repair of our said most dear " cousin unto us, and this our realm, with the said au- " thority of jurisdiction from our said holy Father: and " for the better declaration therof, We do, by these our " letters patents, signify unto all our loving subjects, as " well spiritual as temporal, that we are pleased and con- " tented, that they shal make suits and requests to our said " dearest cousin and his officers and ministers, to obtain " such graces, faculties, and dispensations, as they shall have " need of: and the same so obtained, to use and put in " execution, according to the nature and quality therof, " and according as they might have don, the twentieth year " of our most dear father of famous memory Henry VIII.

" Wherfore, We wil and command al and singular our " loving subjects, to receive, honour, and obey the said au- " thority, in such cases of spiritual jurisdiction for refourm- " ance of their souls, as in the time of the said twentieth " year of the reign of our said father K. Henry VIII. was, " or with his consent might have been, used and executed in " this realm, &c. Dated 10 Novemb. in the first and " second years of our reign."

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The effect of the Cardinal's mission.

I choose to give the account of the Cardinal's mission and entrance into England, and his business, and the effect of it, in the words, and with the descant of one who lived in those times, in a Paul's Cross sermon. " About the " beginning of Queen Mary's reign, anno 1554, there was a " message sent, not from heaven, but from Rome; not from " God, but from the Pope; not by an Apostle, but by a " certain Cardinal, who was called Cardinal Pool *legat a*

John Fox's sermon at Paul's Cross on Good Friday, anno 1578.

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" *latere*, *legatus natus*, sent from the Pope's own white " side hither into England. This Cardinal Legate first " coming to Dover, was honourably received, and brought " to Greenwich: where he again being more honourably " received by lords of high estate, and of the Privy Council, " was conducted from thence to the privy stairs of the " Queen's court at Westminster, no less person than King " Philip himself waiting upon him and receiving him: and " so was brought to the Queen's great chamber, she then " being, or pretending not to be well at ease. Steven Gar- " diner, the bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of " England, receiving this noble Legate in the King and " Queen's behalf, to recommend and set forth the autho- " rity of this Legate, the greatness of his message, and the " supreme majesty of the sender, before the public audi- " ence of the whole Parliament at that time assembled, " there openly protested with great solemnity of words, " what a mighty message, and of what great importance, " was then brought into the realm: even the greatest mes- " sage, said he, that ever came into England; and there- " fore desired them to give attentive and inclinable ears to " such a famous legation, sent from so high authority. " Well, and what message was this? Forsooth, that the " realm of England should be reconciled again unto their " father, the Pope. That is to say, the Queen, with all her " nobility and sage Council, with so many learned prelates, " discrete lawyers, worthy commons, and the whole body " of the realm of England, should captive themselves, and " become underlings to an Italian stranger and friarly " priest sitting at Rome; which never knew England, never " was here; never did, nor never shall do England good. " And this, forsooth, said Gardiner, was the greatest am- " bassage, the weightiest legacy, that ever came to England: " forgetting, belike, either the message sent here by the " Apostles to us, or else, because he saw it made not so " much to his purpose as did the other, he made the less " account thereof. Well then, and well we see, what a " weighty message this was which Gardiner so exquisitely

" commended. First, the sender is gone, the messenger is " gone, the Queen is gone, and the message gone: and yet " England standeth not a rush the better. Of which mes- " sage I thus say, answering again to Gardiner, *per inver-* " *sionem rhetoricam*, that as he saith it was the greatest, " so I say again it was the lightest legacy, the most ridicu- " lous trifle, and most miserable message of all other that " ever came or ever shall come into England, none ex- " cepted; for us to be reconciled to an outlandish priest, to " submit our necks under a foreign yoke: what have we " to do more with him than with the great Calipha at Da- " mascus? If reconciliation ought to follow, what offences " have risen? The Pope hath offended us more than his " coffers are able to make us amends: we never offended " him. But let the Pope with his reconciliation and legates " go, as they are already gone, God be thanked." And this was the real sense of a great many (if not the most) in those times, when these things were transacting, though they dared not then so plainly express it. But proceed we.

The Parliament sits.

Now then came another Parliament together in Nov. 10, or, according to Rastal, the 11th, or Stow, the 12th: at which a great deal of weighty work was to be done. The Cardinal was to be received by the realm in much state and reverence, and he to reconcile it to the Pope. In this Parliament was a remarkable act made, repealing all King Henry's statutes, articles, and provisions made against the see apostolic of Rome, since the 20th year of his reign. This affront offered by the Queen to her father, was interpreted by some in those times, as having a further reach, namely, to have him reputed as an heretic, and so to take what followed, that is, burning. For thus did a reverend and eminent bishop in those days write: " The proceedings of that Parliament, " wherein all her father's doings in religion were condemned, " seemed to confirm what Martin [in his book against priests' " marriage] said, that all the heresies in King Edward's " days proceeded from the Queen's father. And if so, he " was to be condemned with the rest of the Protestants. " Wherefore, it was to be thought, seeing Almighty God

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An act of repeal of K. Henry's statutes, relating to the Pope.

Ponet against Martin.

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" had suffered some of them to suffer martyrdom by fire, " by bloody persecution, and the tyranny of the Pope's " laws, and torments for professing the truth of God's word, " that now the body of that noble Prince the Queen's father, " because he was the beginner of all this, and the continuer " of it twenty-five years, as the proceeding of that Parlia- " ment seemed to pronounce, should be taken up at Wind- " sor, and burnt as Wickliff's was." This writing of this author, no question, proceeded from some strong hints he had heard of such a design among the Papists.

Church lands alienated, confirmed to the present possessors.

Another branch of this act was, for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments, that had been conveyed to the laity. From the fears in the people's minds, that if these church-lands should be required to revert again to the religious houses, to the bishops, to the chantries, &c. might happen a great confusion, and imminent danger might accrue to the new settled Popish religion. Therefore it was enacted, that the said lands should be confirmed to the present possessors: a formal address having been made from the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, assembled in convocation, unto King Philip and Queen Mary, that they would make intercession to Pole the Pope's legate, to dispense in this matter: which he, by his plenary power legatine, graciously did. The address of the said convocation, (wherein, by the way, it may be observed, that they in whose hands these church-lands came, are not called possessors, but *detainers*,) and the dispensation of the said Legate, may be found exemplified in the Catalogue, taken out of the act itself.

N°. XXI, XXII.

The convocation address about church revenues alienated;

But because this matter was performed with so much formality, and this dispensation of the Legate was one of his chief negotiations, and the address of the convocation contained some other things besides that which concerned ecclesiastical goods, I shall at large set down this affair.

In the synod this session of Parliament, among other things that were done, this was one, (and done out of good policy to keep the people quiet, and to make them the more patient to receive Popery again,) namely, to address to the

King and Queen, that they would intercede with the Legate, that according to the faculties to him granted by Pope Julius III. the *detainers*, as they styled the possessors of church goods, might have the favour to have the same granted and released to them: though they of the clergy, who moved for this, were the defenders and overseers of the church's goods, jurisdiction, and rights, lost in the late pernicious schism of the kingdom, which they ought therefore, with all their care and power, to recover and restore by the remedies of law. But they had maturely considered and debated thereupon, and did think, that the recovery thereof was difficult, and, in effect, impossible; and that, by reason of the manifold and inextricable contracts and dispositions made of them, if it should be attempted, the quiet and tranquillity of the kingdom, and the unity of the Catholic Church now newly restored, would be endangered. And therefore they preferred the public good before their private, peace and tranquillity before discords and disturbances, and the salvation of souls before earthly goods.

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They did also, in the same address, supplicate their Majesties, that the matters pertaining to their jurisdiction and ecclesiastical liberty, without which they could not exercise their pastoral office and cure of souls, taken away from them by the injury of the late times, might be restored to them, and that all the laws that deprived them of their said jurisdiction and liberty might be abrogated; assuredly hoping, their Majesties would never be wanting to the necessities and commodities of the Church, especially of those that had the cure of souls, but as occasion served would consult and provide for them.

And for the restitution of the Church's jurisdiction.

As the convocation had thus addressed, so the Parliament petitioned the King and Queen, shewing, how by the late pernicious schism some bishoprics had been divided, and out of these some inferior churches were erected into cathedrals, and schools and hospitals founded, and many dispensations and provisions of benefices made; and how that many persons, who were persuaded that the law canonical had no longer place in this realm, had contracted

The Parliament petition to the same import.

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marriage within the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, prohibited by law; and that many judiciary acts and processes were had and kept upon spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, before judges that proceeded by a lay authority, and sentences given upon them; and that ecclesiastical goods were occupied and taken by divers persons; which, although by the appointment of the holy canons it might be declared null and void, yet if these goods should be put into another state than that in which they were, the public peace and quiet might be disturbed, and a great confusion arise, especially if the possessors of the said goods were molested: therefore, they humbly prayed their Majesties to intercede with the Legate to provide by the apostolical benignity, for the confirmation and establishment of the foresaid matters, and so, together with that, for the quiet and tranquillity of the kingdom.

The King and Queen intercede with the Legate.

At the motion of the said address and petition, their Majesties did accordingly intercede with the Legate; exhibiting to him a bill of intercession, with other supplications.

The Legate's dispensation.

Whereupon the Legate (by whose device, I suppose, this affair was contrived in this method) granted and indulged all these favours following: I. Absolving all, to whom the underwritten should come, from sentence of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, or any other ecclesiastical censures, that had been, upon any occasion or cause, inflicted. II. Dispensing, that all and singular erections of cathedral churches, founding of hospitals and schools in the time of schism, however the said erections and foundations were null before, should remain ever firm in the same state as before; adding to them the strength of apostolical firmness, on condition the said works should be esteemed, not to be done by the former authority, but by this which the Lord Legate now had granted them. III. Dispensing
161 with all and singular persons that had contracted matrimony, knowingly or ignorantly, in any degree of consanguinity and affinity, or in other impediments, wherein the Pope had accustomed to dispense: that notwithstanding any of these impediments, they might remain lawfully in the same matri-

mony so contracted, or contract anew; and decreeing the issue to be lawful. Yet so, that whosoever had knowingly and maliciously contracted, should obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication, or from the guilt of incest, by his ordinary, or the curate, to whom a faculty was granted for that purpose. IV. And all ecclesiastical persons, secular or regular, who had obtained any grants, dispensations, concessions, indulgences, as well orders as ecclesiastical benefices, or other spiritual things, by the pretensed authority of the supremacy, (such being come to a sound mind, and restored to the unity of the Church,) receiving and dispensing with them in their orders and benefices, as many had already received. V. Confirming all processes in any instances before any Judges, as well ordinary as delegate, though laics, had and framed upon spiritual matters, and the sentences given upon them, though null, arising only by defect of jurisdiction. VI. Remitting and relaxing to all persons, to those whose hands ecclesiastical goods have come, all the fruits and profits from the same taken, however unduly. Willing and decreeing, that the possessors of the said goods, moveable and immoveable, might not, either now or hereafter, be molested and disturbed for the same, either by virtue of the disposition of general councils or provincial, or by decretal epistles of Popes, or by any other ecclesiastical censure; nor that any censures or punishments be inflicted on them for the detaining or not restoring thereof.

Yet since the division of bishoprics and the erection of cathedral churches were of the greater causes, which were reserved for the Pope himself, the Legate admonished those it concerned, to have recourse to his Holiness, and humbly to petition him to confirm these, and to do all anew. He also admonished those that he had relaxed, for the goods of the Church which they possessed, that they should have before their eyes the severity of God's judgment against Belshazzar; who turned the sacred vessels which his father, not he, had taken from God's temple, to profane uses; and to restore them to their proper churches: exhorting

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them moreover, that, not being unmindful of their salvation, they would at least take care of this, that a maintenance out of ecclesiastic goods might be provided for ministers, and other cathedral and inferior churches, exercising the cure of souls; that pastors, parsons, and vicars might be conveniently and honestly sustained, according to their states and qualities, and laudably exercise their cures, and support the burdens incumbent on them. This dispensation was dated from Lambeth, the 24th of December.

Fox, p. 1345.

The truth is, the bottom of all this indulgence was, that by this grant of the Pope, the Parliament might give him an equivalent; that is, to restore him his supremacy and authority again in this Church and realm. For in the very beginning of December, the Parliament sent a post to Rome, acquainting the Pope plainly, that neither the Lords nor Commons would grant any thing in his behalf, until he would confirm to them their purchases, and settle their sales
162 of abbey lands and chantries. And this was the bargain that was driven between them.

Sir William Petre's lands confirmed by a Pope's bull.

Sir William Petre, secretary of state, did not, it seems, think the aforesaid act of Parliament strong enough to secure his lands that he had purchased and procured, formerly belonging to certain monasteries: but cautiously got them confirmed by Pope Paul IV. the next year, *viz.* 1555: whose bull he obtained. An exemplification whereof is in the third volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, at the very end: wherein are mentioned all the several manors and lands bought by the said Petre; and the divers monasteries or bishoprics to which they had appertained. As, Ging ad Petram, or Ging Abbatistæ, or Ingatston in Essex; being a member or parcel formerly of the monastery of the nuns of Barking; the yearly rent amounting to 46*l.* which he bought of the King for 849*l.* Hawly farm, or Hawly barns; the manor of Crowdon, parcel of the church and bishopric of London, together with the park there. The rest is too long to set down. All these lands, which, as the bull expressed, Petre was ready to assign and demise to spiritual uses, the Pope, *pro potiori cautela specialiter et ex-*

presse approbat et confirmat, as the words were. This matter will be taken notice of under the next year. CHAP. XIX.

The public acts of this Parliament may be seen in our statute books; the private acts were, Anno 1554. Private acts.

An act for the restitution of Cardinal Pole.

An act for repealing all attaints had against Richard Pate and Peto.

An act for the confirmation of the attainder of the late Duke of Suffolk.

This Pate had lived abroad many years, and had long been attainted under King Henry VIII. for taking the bishopric of Worcester from the Pope. He had holden a secret correspondence with the Pope, and was excepted out of the last general pardon under King Edward VI. But now his attaint was taken off, and he restored to his see of Worcester, long since bestowed on him by the Pope, but never enjoyed till now. Pate bishop of Wigorn.

Peto, whose Christian name is sometime called Peter, but more truly William, was a monk, and great stickler for Queen Katharine, Queen Mary's mother, and so in King Henry's reign was glad to flee. The Pope nominated him for the bishopric of Salisbury, upon the death of Capon, but he refused it because of age. Peto.

Cardinal Pole had been also long attainted under King Henry for his treason to his King and country; but now coming with such a mighty character from the Pope, to reconcile the nation, he was first to be restored; though surely he was as great and as ingrateful a traitor as any that King had, for undertaking an embassy from the Pope to excite the French King and Emperor to turn their army from the Turk against King Henry, his own natural sovereign, and his own country. He wrote an oration to that purpose; which was afterwards printed by him in Latin; and about the year 1547, or 1548, it was put into English by Fabian Withers. The book was entitled, *Defensio Unitatis Ecclesiasticæ*. How this Cardinal came to be thought to be a favourer of Protestant doctrine, (as he sometimes was,) we may learn from the said translator's epistle Cardinal Pole. His treason.

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before that book, wherein we are told, "that Renold Pole, an "English cardinal, but not then of England, in the year 1536, "being sent ambassador by that Pope to the French King "to entreat a peace, was thought in that his ambassade to "go about nothing else than to stir up and sow dissension, "malice, and discord.—At what time he was in Germany "at Augusta, and there was lodged in the [Lutheran] pas- "tor's house, he said, that he did very well allow and agree "unto all their doctrine; and that he would declare no less, "if there were any convocations, or common councils holden. "Now behold," as that writer proceeded, "the great and "double dissimulation of this holy hypocrite; who, albeit "that before in his ambassade, under the pretence of entreaty "for peace, had gone about nothing else than to move and "stir up discord and wars, even now again at his return "unto Rome, feared not to dissemble and cloak even with "God himself. For as before you have heard, he seemed "not to be ignorant of the truth; yet, when he was come "to Rome, whether he were suspected of Lutheranism, and "to avoid the suspicion thereof, or no, or else that he did "it to gratify the Pope, he wrote a book against King "Henry VIII. King of England, entitled, *The Defence of* "*the Unity of the Church.* In the which book, converting "his style unto the Emperor, he included this most de- "testable, pestiferous, yea, and seditious oration against "the King of England; unto whom he was not only most "nearly adjoined in affinity and kindred; but also, as him- "self confesseth, most greatly bounden for his education "and literature." This is enough to shew, how justly this man was attainted: who now, nevertheless, had his attaint taken off by Parliament, and received into the kingdom as a person of very high merit, and that had deserved passing well of his country. Yet this act passed not without considerable opposition, as appears by an expostulatory oration offered to the Parliament, by one Harchius of Mons in Flanders, mentioned before, who seems to have been one of his retinue.

After his great work of reconciling the kingdom was

done most ceremoniously in the Parliament, in December did another prelate, Bishop Gardiner, the great lord chancellor of England, ascend the pulpit at St. Paul's, and there made a sermon of the happy reconciliation of the kingdom, with many reflections on the years that were past, wherein King Henry and King Edward had shaken off the Pope's heavy yoke; which he made a very grievous crime. Take some account of this sermon from a book occasioned by the rebellion in the year 1569, under Queen Elizabeth, entitled, *A Warning against the dangerous Practices of Papists.* "Remember, I pray you," saith the author, "Gardi-
"ner's sermon at Paul's Cross, in Queen Mary's time, upon
"this text, *Hora est jam nos e somno surgere: It is now*
"*time for us to rise out of sleep.* There he shewed, how
"God dispensed each thing, and each success, in conve-
"nience of times. He declared, what ways had been at-
"tempted for restitution of the Pope's primacy in England.
"Wherein he divers ways falsely defamed King Henry with
"intents of submission, [as though he had intended to sub-
"mit himself and his realm to the Pope again,] such was
"the Bishop's impudence. He named the rebellions in the
"north in King Henry's time, and in the west in King
"Edward's; which he clothed with cleanly names, as,
"enterprises and assemblies, as our late rebels do in both
"their first and second proclamations. But, saith he, the
"hour was not yet come. But, by the way of objection,
"wondered how the people could, without rebelling, bear
"such injuries, oppressions, and robberies, which they sus- 164
"tained, as he said, in the fall of money, and otherwise, in
"King Edward's reign. He answered himself, that the
"hour was not yet come. But now, saith he, the time is
"come: now is the time for us to wake from sleep. As
"who should say, Long have we slept, or long have we
"winked: long have we been holden in awe, glad to dis-
"semble our treasons, and to semble good subjects; long
"have we borne our sovereign Lord a fair face. As we ac-
"knowledged his due authority, and detested the enemy to
"him and to all kings, the Pope: long have we cloaked and

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Bishop Gardiner preaches at Paul's.

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" hidden our zeal, waiting for a good hour. Now the " dreadful King Henry is dead, the hopeful King Edward " is taken away, the Christian nobility entangled in snares " of law, especially if it be partially and violently used: the " prince and time favoureth our side: a mighty foreign " match is made for the vantage of our part: now the sun " of our victory, and the day of our triumph, shineth upon " us; now it is time for us to wake from sleep. Though " the times once were, specially in the Lord Crumwel's days, " when we in shew abhorred the name of Papist, and would " commonly say, We had as lieve be called traitors as Pa- " pists, and bring actions of the cause for our purgation; " yet now is the time that we glory in these titles, either " of Papist in respect of *these* times, or of traitor in respect " of *those* times. Let us not now leese our occasion, as we " shall never have the like again; especially, for that so " much of the nobility, snared with treason, are yielded to " our devotion:" as the author of that book very sharply and sarcastically unfolds the Bishop's meaning, by his text which he took, and his descants on it.

The Parliament's address to King Philip.

This was the first Parliament under King Philip: and, to compliment him, they made him an humble suit, with the Queen's assent, that in case she should die and leave issue, for the good and politic government, order, and administration of the realm in the young years of the said issue, he would take upon him the rule, order, education, and go-

His answer.

vernment of the said issue. Whereupon King Philip declared, that he verily trusted that Almighty God, who had hitherto preserved the Queen, to give this realm so good a hope of certain succession in the blood royal of this realm, would assist her Highness with his grace and benediction to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern: whereof neither all the realm, nor all the world beside, should or could receive more comfort than he should or would. If yet such chance should happen, his Majesty, at their humble desires, was pleased and contented, not alonely to accept to take upon him the care and charge of the education, rule, and government of such issue, but during

the time of such government, would, by all ways and means, study and employ himself to advance the weal public and private of this realm, according to the trust in his Majesty reposed, with no less good-will and affection, than if his Highness had been naturally born among them. Whereupon the Parliament made an act to confirm the said government unto him; and made it treason for any hereafter, by any writing, as well as deed, to attempt so much as to deprive the King from the said rule and government. And thus sure and certain did the Spanish and Popish party hope to make all.

A petition of the Irish friars for their monasteries.

The friars Minors of the Observance in Ireland, not long after Cardinal Pole's coming into England, made their complaint to the Queen and him, by the Warden of Kilchullin their messenger, of certain monasteries of their order in that kingdom, which were deprived of their revenues, and which were then devolved into the Queen's possession; namely, these four, the monastery of Kilchullin, held by one Ustas; Inistorty, possessed by Butler without any title; Truim, founded by King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine, bought by the Bishop of Meath, and by him granted to certain officers of the said town for certain considerations; and Mounts Fernand, bought by Cusack. From all which houses suppressed (as it was set forth) the poor friars in the time of the late schism being forced to depart, lived in mountains and woods, and endured hunger and cold: insomuch, that they were hindered from preaching God's word, and exercising the divine office. Therefore they did, by the abovesaid Warden their messenger, pray the Queen and Cardinal, that by their letters to their officers, and especially to the Deputy and Chancellor of Ireland, they might be commanded to restore wholly the said places, with all the goods pertaining to them, without any contradiction whatsoever. And whereas there were some monasteries already possessed and erected by the friars, the English captains and soldiers, especially such as came lately thither to save their own purses, had made use of them for stabling for their horses; and specially the monastery of Cragfarissy:

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therefore they sued that some remedy might be had in that matter. What effect this message had, I cannot tell: but the supplicatory letter may be read in the Catalogue.

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Many absent wholly from the Parliament. Bonfires commanded. The King and Queen ride through the city. Dr. Martin's book against Priests' marriage. Standish, Procter, Bush, and Christopherson, bishops, set forth books.

Parliament-men refuse to sit.

HOWEVER the members of this Parliament were handled by the Court, to root up many good statutes, and to lay upon the nation the old Roman yoke again, and to receive the Pope's authority into the realm; yet it went against the grain with a great many of them; who, seeing how things went, did at last, from the 12th of January, wholly absent from the house, and came no more there, to the number of thirty-nine persons; whereof the great lawyer Plowden was one. Their names were these that follow, (which, for the memorableness of the matter, are set down and preserved to posterity by the Lord Coke.)

Institut. part iv. p. 17.

166 Their names.

Tho. Denton of the county of Oxon.
Henry Cary.
Richard Ward.
Edm. Plowden de Tibmersh in com. Berks, Arm.
Henry Chiverton.
Rob. Brown.
John Coucke.
John Pethebrige.
John Melhews.
—— Courtney.
Ralph Mitchel.
Tho. Matthew.
Rich. Brasey.
Tho. Massye.
Peter Fretchwel.
Henry Vernon de Sydbery, in com. Derby.
Will. Moor de vill. Derby.
Will. Bainbrigge.
John Eveleigh.
Nich. Adamps de Dartmouth.
Clifton Harneys, in com. Devon.
Rich. Phelips.

Anth. Dylvington.
Andr. Hoord.
Chr. Hoel, in com. Dorset.
John Mannock.
Tho. Phelipps.
Will. Randol.
John Moyne.
Hugh Smith.
Roger Gerard.
Ralph Scroope.
Tho. Moor de Hambleton, in com. Bucks.
Will. Read.
Henry Mannock.
John Maynard de St. Alban.
Nic. Debden.
Philip Tirwhit.

This, no question, was inwardly well enough liked by the Queen and her Popish cabal; yet, outwardly, there was a shew of great displeasure against these men that presumed thus to do. And they were indicted for it at the King's Bench, by the Queen's attorney, Edward Griffith, in Easter term ensuing: information being then preferred against them for departing without licence, contrary to the King and Queen's inhibition in the beginning of the Parliament. Six of these, being timorous burgesses, submitted themselves to their fines. But whether they paid any, or but very small, it appears not. And Edmund Plowden, the learned lawyer, pleaded, that he remained continually from the beginning to the end of the Parliament, and took a traverse full of pregnancy, as the Lord Coke speaks.

Indicted for it.

The writ of information against these Parliament-men ran; "*Quod inhibitum fuit* [*a Rege et Regina in eodem Parla-*
"*mento*] *quod nullus ad idem Parlamentum summonitus, et*
"*ibidem interessens, ab eodem Parlamento absque speciali li-*
"*centia dictorum Dominorum Regis et Reginæ, et cur' Par-*
"*lament. prædict' recederet, seu seipsum aliquo modo absen-*
"*taret.* And that these men appeared at this Parliament,
"and there were present. Notwithstanding, lightly esteeming
"the inhibition of the King and Queen, and having no re-
"gard of the commonweal of this realm of England, after-
"ward, namely 12 Jan. the first and second of the King
"and Queen, and during the Parliament beforesaid, they de-
"parted without licence, in manifest contempt of the said
"King and Queen's command and injunction, and to the

The indictment.

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great detriment of the commonweal of this kingdom, and to the pernicious example of all other.

Anno 1554. Not of force.

But this complaint against them was not to be brought before any court, but the court of Parliament itself. For the high court of Parliament subsisteth by its own laws and customs. And it is a law and custom of Parliament, that all weighty matters in any Parliament moved concerning the Peers of the realm, or Commons in Parliament assembled, ought to be determined, adjudged, and discussed by the course of the Parliament, and not by the civil law, nor yet by the common law of the realm, used in more inferior
167 courts. And by another law or custom of Parliament, the King cannot take notice of any thing said or done in the House of Commons, but by the report of the House of Commons; and every member of the House of Commons hath a judicial place, and can be no witness. And this is the reason that judges ought not to give any opinion of a matter of Parliament, because it is not to be decided by the common laws, but according to the laws and customs of Parliament; according as the great lawyer Coke explained this matter.

Institut. p. iv. p. 21.

In the rest of Queen Mary's Parliaments many absented also. The names of whom the Lord Coke set down as he met with them in records; and then makes this note, that the poor common members of the Parliament *in diebus illis* had no great accord to continue in Parliament, but departed.

At the conclusion of this Parliament, the Queen writ another letter to the sheriffs, containing her order for solemn masses and *Te Deum* in churches, and bonfires in all the counties, for reconciliation with the Pope. For it seems the people had not conceived any such great store of joy at the doings of this Parliament, in taking up the Pope's yoke again, as to make any outward signification of it: which therefore they were now forced to do by letters mandatory from the court. The letter was thus:

By the King and Queen.

" Mary the Quene,

" Trusty and welbeloved, wee grete you wel: And whereas Anno 1554.
" by the especial favour of Almighty God, many and sun- The Queen's letter for bonfires and Te Deum, for reconciling the nation. D. G. Hickes, esq. MSS.
" dry great matters touching our Christian faith, and a
" godly concord with the rest of Christendom, have, in our
" late Parlament, with one consent of the Lords spiritual
" and temporal, and other our loving subjects, been agreed
" upon and established: wherby this our whole realm, and
" al our loving subjects of the same, being delivered, by
" authority of the Pope's Holiness, from al sentences of in-
" terdiction, and other censures of the Church, be now re-
" stored again into God's favour, and the unity of the
" mother holy Church, as by the buls of our dearest cousin,
" the most reverend father in God, Lord Cardinal Pole,
" legate *de latere* from the Pope's said holiness, fully ap-
" peareth: like as we, considering how much we both for
" these and other innumerable benefits of Almighty God
" abundantly powred upon us, do humbly acknowledge
" ourselves most bounden to thank, and praise, and serve
" him al the days of our life; so thinking good that al our
" subjects, of every degree, should in al places, with repent-
" ance of their former lives, both give thanks for these his
" great mercies, and to exercise themselves in prayer,
" fasting, and works of charity, as they may shew them-
" selves true children of the holy Church, whereunto they
" be now thus reconciled; and that they take the same so
" thankfully as they have just cause to do: we have, by
" other our letters to the bishops of our realm, required
" them to cause solemn mass with *Te Deum* openly in al
" their cathedral churches to be sung, and the like to be
" sung and said openly in al other churches within their
" several diocesses: and to the intent the common people
" may likewise by some token declare joy and gladness,
" which they ought justly to conceive for this reconciliation 168
" and uniting of the realm to the rest of Christendom, we
" have thought good to require you to give order throughout
" al your sheriffwick, for making of bonfires in al places,

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" for some demonstration of rejoycing for the good success " of the premisses accordingly. Wherefore we require you " not to fail. Yeven under our signet, at our palace of " Westminster, the day of January, the first and second " year of our reigne."

The King and Queen ride through the city, with the Cardinal and Chancellor.

It was but a little after this, King Philip and Queen Mary rode through the city, attended with the Cardinal Legate, and Bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor. The Bishop rode on the one side before the King, with the great seal before him: on the other side rode the Cardinal before the Queen, with the cross carried afore him, he being all in scarlet, and blessing the people as he went: for which he was greatly laughed to scorn. For few of the people had now any good conceit of the Pope, or his creatures' blessings. Nor did they put off their caps, and make courtesy to the cross; neither was there scarce any expression of joy at the sight of the King and Queen; none saying, *God save them.* The Bishop of Winchester was sore offended at this; and, as he passed along, would say to his servants, " Mark that house;" and anon, " Take that knave, and " have him to the Counter. Such a sort of heretics who " ever saw, that will neither reverence the cross of Christ, " nor yet once so much as, *God save the King and Queen!* " I will teach them to do both, if I live." This Mountain (of whom mention hath been made before) heard him say, standing at Soper-lane end in Cheapside to see the sight, having been newly delivered out of prison.

A book comes forth of the Emperor's wars against the Protestants.

Now, partly that the honour of the Emperor might resound through England, his son being newly married to England's Queen, partly to recommend the Pope's religion by the worldly successes of it, a translated book came forth of the Emperor's wars in Germany, and of his victories against the Protestants, entitled, *The Commentary of Don Lewis D'Avela & Suniga: treating of the great wars in Germany made by Charles V. Emperor of Rome, and King of Spain, against John Frederick Duke of Saxony, and Philip Landgrave of Hesse, with other great princes*

and cities of the Lutherans: written originally in the year 1546. The setting forth this book now was, to certify the minds of such as were desirous to know, what had followed the doctrine of Martin Luther, as the epistles dedicatory, addressed to Edward Earl of Darby, expressed it. Anno 1554.

Martin sets forth a book against the marriage of priests.

Another book came abroad this year, with much shew and vapour, made by Dr. Martin, of the *Unlawfulness of Priests' Marriage*; a vicious man himself, and notoriously guilty of uncleanness; and so the more unfit to handle that subject. Nor was he able to write such a book himself, being altogether ignorant in divinity, as his opponent, that answered his treatise, asserted; adding, that he was not the author, but rather the penner of that blasphemous book. If you will have some further character of him, take it from Bale, (who lived in, and had good intelligence of, these times, and the men of them,) making some allowance for his homely way of writing: "The subtile summoner of "Barkshire, the clerk protector of the Pope's sodomites "under Winchester, a wise and a politic gentleman, and "one that can weigh with all winds: when the gospel "reigned, he was a great gospeller, and wrote thereabouts "many epistles to my Lord of Canterbury, thinking then 169
"to profit that way. The epistles are yet to be seen, as wit- Bale's Declar. p. 37.
"nesses of the same.——And moreover, oft desired of his "familiar friends, to report to the said Lord of Canterbury, "how painful a man he was in matters of that religion, to "set the matter somewhat forward.——He played once "the fool of Christmas in the New college of Oxford. But, "I promise you, he is a shrewd knavish fool. Take good "heed of him, my masters; for when you have well fatted "him, if the world change again, he is clearly gone from "you. We are not ignorant whence his newly peppered "divinity cometh, with his guileful glorying of his old "doctors, Martin, that valiant champion, being Winches- "ter's own voice." There was a testimony in Latin given of this Dr. Martin by Franciscus Baldwinus, LL. D. and public reader at Bourges in France, concerning the bad life

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of this man, when he sojourned at that University, where he took his degree: which testimony Bale hath taken care to preserve.

Anno 1554. In his Declar. of Bonner's Articles. Martin in his book censures Hoper, chap. 10.

But from the man, let us proceed to take some view of his book. In one place thereof he tells us of a dispute held between Bishop Hoper (whom he styles Sir John Hooper) and others in the Fleet; and that he was not long ago, before thirty persons, charged with a passage in a book of his, that the husband being divorced from the wife, might marry with another in the former wife's lifetime; and that he was pressed to answer to that doctrine of his; and particularly they urged to him two places of Scripture out of St. Paul; *viz.* 1 Cor. vii. and Rom. vii. And Martin represents him, as though he found no other shift, but to say that Paul could not mean as he was taken: for that in his time the civil law was used; and the civil law made adultery death, as it is plain, said he, in the title *Ad Legem Juliam de Adulteriis.* But it was replied to him on the contrary, that one Claudius being condemned of adultery, yet afterwards married; which was not the usage of dead men: and that Ulpian made mention of some that were banished in his time for the said offence: (which punishment in Tiberius's time was proclaimed, and by Trajan and other princes continued.) And that in the civil law the pain of death was not read of before Constantine's days, or at least before the constitutions of Alexander Severus and Diocletian, which were made above two hundred years after St. Paul's epistle was writ to the Romans. Then Hoper answered, he spake not of the civil law written, but of the civil law unwritten. Thus representing Hoper as run down, and put to miserable shifts. And yet Dr. Martin, by what he adds after, seems to vindicate Hoper's assertion. For he acknowledgeth, there was the *lex Julia*, made by Augustus, that made adultery death; and that Juvenal cried out, with relation thereto, of the adultery of the times, *Ubi nunc lex Julia? Dormis?* So that by these words it seems, the law was not taken away, but only slept for want of good execution. And, he saith, the law was mitigated by Tibe-

rius, and discontinued by other emperors, and banishment used instead of death. CHAP. XX.

The said Martin, in another place of his book, censures Coverdale's translation of the Bible, where the high priest said to David, *If thy servants be clean*, maxime a mulieribus, *especially from women;* saying, that Coverdale read it, *filthy women:* to the intent, saith Martin, that no argument should be gathered thereof against the marriage of priests: whereas, as he adds, all the Hebrews understand by the same place, as St. Hierom writ, the proper wives of David's train and company that came with him. But it is a sign Martin took up things upon hearsay, and made not use of his own eyes: for I have consulted Coverdale's Bible, and Tindale's too, in two several editions, and none of them read as Martin pretends; but thus, *If the young men had abstained only from women;* without addition of *filthy*, either in text or margin. Anno 1554. And Coverdale, chap. 11. 170

In another place of his book, the more to vilify the priests in King Edward's reign for their marriage, he chargeth them, that for haste some of them took common strumpets, some of them widows, and some of them other men's wives; throwing his dirt, without regard whence he had his reports, or whether they were true or false. And vilifies married priests.

But Ponet, late bishop of Winton, now in exile, excellently answered this scurrilous book, with great learning and clearness, in two parts. One part whereof came forth in the year 1556, as we shall see when we come to that year. Answered by Ponet.

Another Doctor, of the same strain with Dr. Martin, set forth also this year another book, to serve the same turn. It was entitled, *A Discourse, wherein is debated, whether it be expedient that the Scripture should be in English, for all men to read that will. Printed at London, by Robert Ealie.* This book consisted of a great mass of proofs, thirty and upwards, why the Scripture was not to be allowed in the English tongue. And some of his proofs were such as these: "That the reading of the Scripture in English tended "to the people's spiritual destruction. That by this *damn-* Dr. Standish's book against the Scriptures in English.

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"*able liberty*, as he styled it, all holy mysteries had been "despised, and the people had utterly condemned every "thing that was not expressed in the letter of their English "Bibles. That it was the occasion of many heresies; and "that it ministered occasion to the common sort to fall into "error, since the rude ignorant sort were ever prone per- "versely to wrest the Scripture. That the universal Church "of Christ did never allow nor approve the Scripture to be "in the vulgar language, weighing the manifold inconveni- "ences that issued thereof; but ever, from time to time, "among other errors, did tread that down, and suppress it. "That like as God appointed the old law to be written in
Jer. xxxi. "stone, tables, or books, so did he appoint (as Jeremie wit- "nessed) the new to be written only in the heart of man. "Why should the writing in books then be so highly re- "garded? But this carnal, this fleshly regarding, by no "means, as he added, can be so well extenuate, or rather "quite taken away, as by taking the Scripture forth of the "vulgar tongue, and forth of the handling of the lewd "ignorant." Here also we read, "that as the people had "the Scripture in their own handlings these dozen years "past, so it was to their utter spiritual destruction." He produced also that of our Saviour, *That which ye have heard in secret places, shall be preached on the tops of the houses:* which he made this use of: "He said not, it shall "be written in your churches, (as it was Jewishly used of "late here in England,) nor written in Bibles, to be read "of every one in his mother tongue, and set up for that "purpose in every church. He could not but marvel, that "men, to their own confusion, were so desirous to have the "Scripture in their mother tongue. Therefore, away, said "he, with the English *damnable translation*, and let them "learn the mysteries of God reverently by heart, and learn "to give as much credit to that which is not expressed in
171 "Scripture; knowing, that in three points the authority of "the Church is above the authority of the Scripture: one "is, in fortifying verities, *not written*, to be necessary to sal- "vation," &c. And, finally, as he concluded, "seeing that

" by no means, so soon as by the Scriptures in English, " heresies did both spring daily, and were also maintained, " wherein should good men be more diligent, than in the " extirpation thereof?" This was the doctrine that in Queen Mary's reign was published and allowed for *Catholic.*

Another book now comes forth, *viz.* The Way home to Christ.

Another of these wellwillers to the Pope's religion, named John Procter, translated *Vincentius Lirinensis* to this purpose, and in October printed his translation; which he called, *The Way home to Christ and Truth, leading from Antichrist and Error: made and set forth in the Latin tongue by that famous Clark Vincent, Frenchman, born above* xi. *hundred years past, for the comfort of all Christian men, against the most pernicious and detestable craft of heretics; which in his time, by al subtil ways, devised to obscure and deface the doctrin and religion of the universal Church. And now the same work is Englished, and by the Queen's Highnes authorized to be set furthe for the relief of divers English menne, which yet stand in doubt, whether they may go to heaven in the peace and unity of Christ's universal Church, or to hel in the dissension and confusion of heretics.* All this carried the title-page. The translator dedicated his book to the Queen, thus bespeaking her in the beginning: " We have, with our great harms, long tried, " nothing to be more perilous than wicked folly armed with " princely authority. Blessed be the heavenly God, most " gracious MARY, we now savour what inestimable good " thing is godly wisdom coupled with power imperial," &c. His prologue he writes to his *dear brethren, and natural countrymen of England:* wherein he thus tells them, in his entrance, "that in this new and miraculous reign of merciful " MARY, their new and most lawful Queen and governess, " wherein they saw so many good old orders newly restored, " and so many new erroneous novelties antiquated and " made old, he had a vehement desire to exhibit unto them " some new gift and token, whereby to witness the great " gladness newly engendered in his heart on so many new " occasions. And among all other gifts that might com- " mend the giver, and advantage the receiver, found none

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" either fitter for him to give, or better for them to receive, " or more agreeable to this present time, than if he should " renew some old treasure, and present them with some " ancient jewel; the use whereof might both increase know- " ledge in them to discern the value of old and ancient " jewels of late days not regarded, and expel also from " them blind and gross ignorance, to the utter defacing of " such new pelfric and counterfeit trash, as lately had been " esteemed."

In the same prologue to his countrymen, thus he addresseth himself to them: " Oh! dear brethren and friends, " it much pitieth me, and I trust it now repenteth you also, " to consider how ill you have been of late taught; how " unnaturally you have been entreated, since ye left this " good and loving mother; how many diseases and infirmi- " ties have grown upon you, since your departing from this " comfortable leche; how owgle and carrion-lean ye are to " se, since you chaunged this necessary nourse: with how " great tempestuous storms ye have ben beaten, since you " first let loose from this faithful haven. Wo worth that " false harlot that hath deceived you! I mean, that malig-
172 " nant and cursed church. It is she that by her flattering " means and deceitful allurements, hath inticed you to come " from so sweet and amiable mother's lap into her whorish " arms. From church to church, I grant; but not from " like to like: from an heavenly church, to a malignant " church: from a loving mother, to a flattering harlot: " from the condition of grace, to the state of perdition: " from the unity of Christians, to the diversion of here- " ticks: from the light of pure knowledge, to the darkness " of foul ignorance: from the truth of antiquity, to the " falshood of novelties: from faithful believing, to carnal " reasoning," &c.

Then he fell foul upon the late preachers, calling them ministers of the devil, and preachers of Antichrist, nay Antichrist; and adding, " that those Antichrists had born a " great stroke here a long time in England: in whom was " no constancy, no stay, no stedfastness of religion and doc-

" trine: howbeit they al agreed wel in some things. They CHAP. XX.
" would be as proud, as heady, as false and subtil as the
" devil their father, wherehence they came. They al would Anno 1554.
" have wives, long berdes; [whereas the Popish priests were
" to be close shaven;] and, finally, no old truth or fashions,
" but all new knacks and fancies, &c. In their stout coun-
" tenances they seemed warriors; in their light apparel,
" courtiers; in their familiar talk, rybawds; in their ges-
" ture, wantons; in their living, ryotous," &c.

Then he falls as fiercely upon the laity, their disciples: " And how much have yee, their disciples and scholars, " profited under them, and by their example in godlines of " life, in honesty of behaviour, in charity towards your " neighbours, since ye first went from your mother the " Church, and left the antient orders and customs of reli- " gion, and became gay gospellers, after the guise of your " new teachers?——I am perfect, and none of you can " say nay, and say truth; ye have grown in all wickedness, " as ye have grown in this new religion: insomuch, that " there was never such unthriftines in servants, such un- " naturalnes in children, such unrulines in subjects, such " fiercenes in enemies, such unfaithfulnes in friends; again, " such beastlines of minds, such disdainfulnes in hearts; " finally, such falsehood in promises, such deceitfulnes in " bargains, such greedy extortion, such insatiable covetous- " ness, such intolerable pride, as therefore ye are become a " fable amongst al nations. How say you? Is not this true?" &c. But enough of this zealous Catholic and his book.

Paul Bush, bishop of Bristol, one of the compliers with both religions, set forth this year an exhortation to one Margaret, wife of John Burges, clothier, of Kingswood in the county of Wilts, printed by John Cawood. The sum of this seems to have been to persuade her to comply with the Popish religion, the better to shew the sincerity of his own coming about. Printed in 8vo. Bp. Bush sets forth a book;

And John Christopherson, ere long to be preferred to the deanery of Norwich, published also an exhortation upon occasion of the late insurrection, directed to all men to take And so doth Christopherson.

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heed of rebellion: wherein were set down the causes that commonly move men to rebel; and shewing, that there was no cause that ought to move a man thereunto. Printed in 8vo, by Cawood.

Lord Pembroke and Lord Haward the Queen's lieutenants.

173 The Queen now made choice of two great men, to intrust two great offices with them. For on March 12, a commission was made, appointing William Earl of Pembroke her lieutenant general, in the parts beyond the seas. And by another commission William Lord Haward was made lieutenant general for the seas.

CHAP. XXI.

The misfortunes and lamentable ends of some eminent professors of the Gospel; Sir James Hales, William Ford, Richard Wever, William Thomas, esq.

WE will now spend a few lines in relating the miseries and disasters that this year befell several men of eminency; who were noted in the last reign to have patronized or earnestly professed the Reformation.

Judge Hales.

Act. and Mon. p. 1392.

Sir James Hales of Kent, knight, a pious and good man, and a just and able judge under King Henry and King Edward, (whose history is related at large by Fox,) was made a prisoner in the King's Bench last year by the Bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor; and thence was removed to the Counter in Bread-street; and from thence to the Fleet. Here one Foster, a gentleman of Hampshire, laboured to persuade him to embrace the Popish doctrine by this argument, that the error was without danger, but the truth full of peril. When it was known that Hales was inclinable to relent, Day, bishop of Chichester, and Portman, a judge, came to him, (it being then the month of April,) and did so earnestly deal with him, that they overcame him at last, after his having lain three weeks in that prison of the Fleet. But the trouble that arose in his conscience for what he had done filled him with great terror,

Recants.

and overwhelmed him with sorrow: so that he attempted, in the absence of his servant, to kill himself with his pen-knife: for being ill, and lying sobbing and sighing, he sent down his servant upon an errand, and in the mean time wounded himself in divers places of his body: but his servant came in on the sudden, and at that time prevented his death. CHAP. XXI. Anno 1554. Wounds himself.

Winchester took occasion upon this, the day after, in the Star-chamber, to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, calling it, *the doctrine of desperation*, and the professors of it, *desperate men*. Whereas, indeed, the blame of Judge Hales's doing was not to be laid upon the true religion, but upon the forsaking of it: for he did this act after he had, in effect, renounced the religion. For the vindication therefore of religion, it was thought convenient, that a treatise should be composed concerning this matter: wherein the blame of this action was retorted upon the Papists themselves. This treatise, as I met with it among the Foxian MSS. I have cast into the Catalogue. It was written by Bishop Hoper, as may appear by one of his letters preserved in the volume of the Martyrs' Letters, to this tenor: Winchester's censure hereupon. Religion vindicated. N°. XXIV.

" To my beloved in the Lord W. P. The grace of God 174
" be with you. I have sent you letters for my wife, who
" is at Frankford, in High Almain; I pray you, convey
" them trustily and speedily, and seal them close after the
" merchants' fashion, that they be not opened. William
" Dounton, my servant, hath the first copy of that I wrote
" concerning Master Hales' hurt. I would Master Brad-
" ford did see it; and then the copy to be well kept, lest
" any man of malice should add any thing more and worse
" than I have made it. I pass not of that may come of it,
" I thank God; and my conscience bears me record, that
" I did it of zeal to the word of God, which that Bishop of
" Winchester called, *the doctrine of desperation*. Not only
" my heart, but also my mouth, my pen, and all my powers,
" shall be against him, even till death, (by God's help,) in
" this cause. Let God do with the matter as it pleaseth Hoper's letter relating thereto.

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Anno 1554.

"his high Majesty. To whom I commend you, 29 April, "1554.

"Your's, John Hoper."

Whence we learn the author of this vindication, and the care and zeal this pious Bishop had for preserving the credit and reputation of the reformed religion.

Hales drowns himself.

But to return to this unhappy gentleman, Mr. Hales; sadder yet was his conclusion. For after his recantation, being dismissed home unto his own country and habitation, conquered with grief and despair, he drowned himself in a shallow pond near his own house, which is shewn to this day.

Others under great trouble of mind for hearing mass.

Besides this sad instance, others I meet with, who being formerly serious professors of the gospel, and through fear, or some other cause, having gone to mass, fell into great despairs, and into such a disconsolate state, as made them attempt or execute their own deaths. Two other passages I shall relate, that happened in these sad Marian days.

Will. Ford. Fox. MSS.

The one is of Mr. William Ford, sometime scholar, and after usher of Wickham college beside Winchester; who being at length, by the labour and pains of John Loud, of the same college, brought from the Popish doctrine, became at last a great enemy to Papism in Oxford, being there fellow and civilian, (as Mr. John Philpot was about that time in Wickham college,) and afterward being usher under Mr. John White, schoolmaster, in that college. There were many golden images there in that church; the door whereof was directly over against the usher's chamber. One day Mr. Ford tied a long cord to the images, linking them all in one cord, and being in his chamber after midnight, he plucked the cord's end, and at one pull all the golden gods came down. It wakened all men with the rush: they were amazed at the terrible noise, and also dismayed at the grievous sight. The cord being plucked hard, and cut with a twitch, lay at the church-door. At last they fell to searching; but Mr. Ford, most suspected, was found in his bed. This happened about the year 1535, or 1536. Mr. Ford

afterwards had a dog's life among them, (I use the words of my MS.) Mr. White the schoolmaster, the fellows of the house, and the scholars, crying out and railing at him, by supportation of their master. Lewd men lay in wait for him many times; and one night going into the town, he must needs come home to the college by the town walls, the gates of Trinity college being shut. This was espied; he 175
was watched, and when he came to a blind dark corner, by King's-gate, there they laid on him with staves. He clapped his gown-collar, furred with foxfur, round about his head and neck. They laid on him some strokes, but, by God's providence, the most part, in that great darkness, did light upon the ground. So they ran away, and left Mr. Ford for dead. But he tumbled and rolled himself to the gates, (for they made him past going,) and then cried for help, and people came in, who took him up and bare him to his lodging.

But to come down to Queen Mary's dismal days: when this Ford lived with Mr. Richard Whalley, at Welbeck, whom one day he accompanied, by command, to Sir George Perpoint's, knight, dwelling at Wedhouse, a mile off, there he heard chanting, singing; and there he saw torch-bearing in daylight at mass. But upon this he fell into a misliking of himself. The Devil tempted him continually, especially in the night, as many knew. At last George Petit, the son of Mr. John Petit, that great patriot of the city of London, told John Loud, how his old friend and scholar was tempted of Satan to kill himself, upon a small occasion, as some thought. Whereupon he did, from Adenborow in Nottinghamshire, write a comfortable letter by the said Petit to Mr. Ford. At the reading of which letter he greatly rejoiced, and took spiritual comfort, ofttimes kissing the letter, giving thanks to God and his servant for it. And so at last, being well comforted, he was made parson of Newbury, by the means of Mr. Fortescue, sometime his scholar in humanity, rather than follower in religion. And with continual pains teaching the grammar school there, and

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preaching, he changed this life for a better, in great feebleness of body, more than of soul and mind.

Anno 1554. Rich. Wever.

But sadder was the end of one Richard Wever, of Bristol, who fell into like temptation for hearing mass. A certain preacher undertook great and tedious travail with him, to administer comfort to him in his disconsolate condition: whereby at length, for a great space, he conceived much comfort: yet, at last, being to go home, he ran to the infamous mills of Bristol, and catching up a child of seven years of age in his arms, leaped into the water, and both were drowned. It is not to be concealed, that this poor miserable man, tempted mightily and almost choaked of the fiend, for none other cause than is rehearsed, found a long time unspeakable comfort from the saying of St. Paul, *Christ came into the world to save sinners, of the which I am the greatest.* He pretended a great reverence and love to the preacher that took pains with him, and ever would be reciting the said sentence. But being brought to the Popish service in the fourth year of the Queen, he was clean altered, and that love turned into a servile fear and terror of the preacher, seeking occasion to steal from behind him; but being of him espied, he would be marvellously abashed, and, as it were, tremble for fear: though of the preacher he had all the fairest and pleasantest words he could devise.

William Thomas.

In May was arraigned and condemned, and executed for treason, William Thomas, a very wise man, clerk of the Council to King Edward, and by him much valued and used, having writ several treatises of state policy for the use and exercise of the young King. The crime laid to his charge was, that he designed the murder of the Queen, or, as Bale writeth, of Stephen Gardiner, the lord chancellor. Fowlis supposeth, that he was warped toward Christopher Goodman's judgment, against the rule of women; (which the said Fowlis had from Parsons, in his *Three Conversions*, who writes so;) and that he was of more misguided zeal, than true religion. Others, who have read di-

Romish treasons.

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vers of his writings, have a greater opinion of his wisdom and religion, and are apt to suspect Thomas had foul play, and that it was a trick of state, to get a man so dangerous to their designs out of the way. He was arraigned and condemned one day, and hastily executed the next. He made a right godly end; and in his imprisonment wrote many pious letters, exhortations, and sonnets. He wrote a little book of the *Vanity of the World*, printed, I think, 1545. He made an Italian dictionary and grammar at Padua, printed afterwards, 1567, by the appointment of Sir Walter Mildmay; and a short and methodical history of Italy, printed 1549; reprinted 1561. And translated some books out of Italian.

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His books and writings.

Besides which in print, there be several treatises of his preserved in a MS. volume of the Cotton library; which were chiefly drawn up for the use and study of his master, King Edward; *viz.* common places of state: whereof these were some of them; *Whether it be convenient to vary with the time; What Prince's amity is best; Whether it be better for a commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility or in the commonalty.* A discourse touching the *reformation of the coin.* His private opinion touching his Majesty's outward affairs, and for this realm here within itself. *Pelerin Inglise*, that is, *The English Pilgrim.* It was writ in Italian, but translated into English. For this book Thomas is most famous. It is an account of a discourse that happened between him and some Italians, in his travels in Italy, concerning King Henry VIII. and his affairs: wiping off the aspersions that were cast thereon in those countries, and giving a truer relation of the transactions in England. Yet the reader must have a care how he believes all he writes: as in his granting Queen Anne Bolen to have been guilty of incest with her brother, the Lord of Rochford, and too familiar with the other four executed with her. He hath these words of her; "whose liberal life "were too shameful to rehearse." He dedicated this book to Peter Aretine, the poet, because the King, in whose defence, he said, he made it, had remembered the said Are-

Others remaining in MS. Vespas. D. 18.

Vid. Memorials of K. Edward.

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tine with an honourable legacy by his testament. The which, however, his enemies pretend was done out of the fear the King had, lest he should defame him after his death. This book was put into print 1552; but the MS. thereof is more known than the print.

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His supposed treason.

But as to Thomas's treason, I find these particulars of it; which is all that I can see alleged against him. Sir Nicholas Arnold, in trouble upon Wyat's plot, did say, that Sir Nicholas Throgmorton did shew him, that Thomas did devise that one John Fitzwilliams should kill the Queen.

In Throgmorton's trial.

But when this was charged upon Throgmorton, he utterly denied that he said any such thing, but that Arnold rather spake it to save himself, being charged with that matter, to transfer that device upon the said Thomas. And to justify what he said, Throgmorton urged, that Fitzwilliams, who was hard by, might be called, to depose his knowledge of the matter. And Fitzwilliams appeared. But (as though it were likely to turn to the vindication of Throgmorton or Thomas) the Attorney General prayed the court, that Fitz-
177 williams might not be sworn, nor suffered to speak. And he was forthwith commanded by Stamford, the judge, to depart the court. Yet not to conceal one thing more: when, at Sir Thomas Wyat's trial, Sir Edward Hastings had asked him, whether he was privy to a device to murder the Queen, in a certain place where she should walk; he answered, that it was William Thomas's invention, whom he ever after abhorred for that cause. But it must be observed, that Wyat said this when he was earnestly suing for the Queen's pardon, and had spoken several other things rather acceptable to the court, than true; as declaring himself then much satisfied with the Spanish match, against which he had taken up arms; and falsely accusing the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtney, to have been privy to his doings: which he revoked at his execution. It is certain Thomas was a man of great experience in matters of state, of a shrewd head, and much used in the court of King Edward: for which cause the present court might have the greater jealousies of him, and might be the more willing to

be rid of him. And probably he had contracted enemies in the former reign, which were now in place.

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Concerning this gentleman, I cannot but make this observation, that on the top of his epistle dedicatory before his book of the *Pilgrim*, at least that copy of it that is in the Cotton library, he wrote this verse out of the Psalms; *Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit. W. T.* Hinting thereby at the great troubles that had befallen him, which, it seems, were the occasion of his travelling abroad. For so he began; "Constrained by misfortune to abandon "the place of my nativity, and to walk at the liberty of the "wide world, in the month of February, and after the "Church of England, 1546, happened me to arrive in the "city of Bononie," &c. On the head of the page that began his book, he wrote another sentence, as though he foresaw his own destiny, however he had escaped before: and it was this;

He that dyeth with honour liveth for ever,
And the defamed dead recovereth never.

His fault.

The greatest blur I find sticking upon this gentleman was, that in King Edward's time he was guilty of endeavouring to get a spiritual benefice to himself, and thereby to defraud the clergy of the livings appropriated to them; a fault too common and epidemical in those days: for he made means to obtain to himself a very good prebend of St. Paul's, called Cantrels, of 34*l.* and better in the King's books. He set the Council upon Bishop Ridley, not long after his coming to that bishopric, to join with one Layton, the present prebendary, to make an alienation of it to Thomas and his heirs: but Ridley would not yield. Yet the Council were so importunate with him, that they made him promise, that when it next fell void, he should acquaint the King therewith, before he disposed of it; on purpose, I suppose, that they might then presently beg it of the King for Thomas. In the year 1551, Layton the prebendary died, and Thomas knowing Ridley's mind, that he would not bestow the prebend upon him, (which indeed he intended for his chaplain Grindal,) procured letters from

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some of the Council, that Ridley should not collate to it, because the King would make use of it for his stables: that so, as it seems, Thomas getting some office in the stables, might thereby twist in himself to the enjoyment of the prebend. Of this the good Bishop made a complaint, in a letter to Cheke, and desired him to stop it. This letter, notably written, may be found in the Catalogue: wherein, for this attempt of Thomas, he called him by the name of an *ungodly man*.

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CHAP. XXII.

The condemnation of Bishop Hoper, Rogers, Taylor, Saunders, eminent divines and preachers.

Bishop Hoper burned.

IN the month of February, John Hooper, or Hoper, (as he writ himself,) bishop of the diocese of Worcester and Gloucester, united under King Edward, was for his constant faith burnt to death at Gloucester, and sealed his holy doctrine with his blood. In his younger years he had been a monk of Clive, of the Cistercian order, saith one. About the year 1535, or 1536, I meet with one John Howper, a Black friar of Gloucester, whether our John Hoper, or no, I cannot affirm; who, with six monks more of the same house, desired licence from Crumwel, then lord privy seal, and the King's vicar spiritual, to change their habit. In whose behalf one Richard Deverex, a visitor in those parts, under Crumwel, writ his letter to the said vicar general. The holy martyr was a man of a truly apostolical spirit, and one that for learning, and courage, and zeal in promoting God's truth, and for painfulness in his vocation, and other abilities, may justly be placed in the first rank of the Protestant reformers. His history is at large set down by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments; who speaks of twenty-four books and treatises, which he wrote in prison, but names them not. I will mention a few of them. He wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of the counties of Glou-

His books.

cester and Worcester, whose diocesan he had once been; another to Cardinal Pole; another to Day, bishop of Chichester; another to the Parliament, *contra Neotericos*. To which I add another, wrote to the bishops, deans, archdeacons, and others of the clergy, of the synod met at London, 1554. He wrote also a book in Latin, for the doctrine of the Lord's supper; and another against the mass; and a third against the *corporeal* presence; and, lastly, another, being a discourse shewing the right way for the finding out false doctrine and avoiding it. It is entitled in my MS. thus: *Joannis Hoperi Angli, nuper Episcopi Wigorniensis et Glocestrensis, de vera ratione inveniendæ et fugiendæ falsæ doctrinæ, breve syntagma.* This was designed by the author for the press, and was in the hands of John Fox, when he was at Basil, for that purpose: but whether printed or no, I cannot tell.

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The discourse is grounded upon this principle, that all true doctrine must be fetched from the holy Scripture, and from no human authority, whether of the Popes or the Church: and that all doctrines must be tried by the word of God, and nothing else; much less that the certainty of our faith is to be fetched from the *ignorant collier*. He meant the colliers' faith, *to believe as the Church believes*. It is dedicated, *To all the brethren that adhere to the true religion*. And in his epistle to them, he gave his reasons why he wrote in Latin; namely, "that because no printer "in those days dared to print in English; and that the "presses in England were employed in printing either 179
"fables or nothing; and that, had the tract come forth in "English, it might the more have exasperated the perse-"cutors against the true professors: and being in Latin, "all the godly brethren throughout the world might un-"derstand and know his faith, which he and they in Eng-"land did profess, and in which they resolved to persevere "undauntedly unto the death, in spite of the gates of hell. "That what he writ, he writ to the godly only. That, for "his own part, he cared not for the carping of envy; nor "did he any more value the swords and flames of the Pa-

His treatise for finding out false doctrine.

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"pists, than a lion doth for the barking of a young whelp. "For they could not kill the body, but the soul immediately "entered into everlasting joy with Christ." Such was the man, and such his spirit. This was writ in prison, and dated Dec. 1, 1554. The epistle dedicatory to this treatise, whence these passages before are taken, I have placed in the

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Catalogue, to preserve, as much as may be, all the monuments of such eminent martyrs of Christ.

Another tract of his writ in prison.

Another of these twenty-four pieces wrote by this reverend man, while a prisoner, was that tract he wrote in vindication of the religion against the calumny of Bishop Gardiner, *viz.* That it drove to desperation; occasioned by Judge Hales's laying violent hands upon himself, spoken of before. This was writ in English, as those before mentioned were in Latin.

Another.

Yet, another in English, by way of a letter to a congregation of professors that were taken on new-year's-day, in Bow churchyard, while they were assembled together, and at their prayers, and imprisoned and used very hardly. Which though I find it among the Martyrs' Letters, yet meeting with a better copy of it among the Foxian MSS. I

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have laid it in the Catalogue.

His letters.

Several other letters of his writ in prison are preserved in Fox's Acts and Monuments, and in the volume of the Martyrs' Letters.

Other books of his printed.

He wrote also divers other things before his restraint, under King Henry and King Edward. Several whereof were printed, some in his lifetime, and some after he was dead, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. What these books were, may be seen partly in Bale's Centuries, and partly in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, under John Hoper's name.

His rigorous imprisonment.

This good Bishop was extremely hated by Bishop Gardiner, not only because he was a very earnest reformer of religion from Papal superstitions, but having been one of the witnesses against him in his troubles under King Edward. So now, in his prosperity and power, he was resolved to revenge himself. And poor Hoper was used very hardly in prison by Babington, the warden of the Fleet, who was

one of Bishop Gardiner's creatures. Hoper was first committed to the Fleet from Richmond, where the Council then was, with order, that liberty should be allowed him; yet, six days after, he paid 5*l.* for the liberty of the prison to the Warden. Who presently went and made some complaint of him to Winchester, and so this liberty was restrained again, notwithstanding his money and the Council's order. And, by the order of Winchester, he remained in close confinement, and was extremely used for a quarter of a year. Afterwards, by intercession and money, he had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, but not so much as to speak then with any of his friends; and dinner and supper ended, he was to go up to his chamber again. And 180
yet he paid after the quality of a baron, as well in fees, as for his board, that is, twenty shillings a week, besides his man's table. And when he was deprived of his bishopric, he paid after the rate of the best gentleman in his house. Yet, notwithstanding, the Warden dealt with him worse than the veriest slave that came to the hall commons. For he put Hoper into the wards, where he continued a long time; and had nothing for his bed but a pad of straw, a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein: the chamber where he lodged, vile and stinking; on one side of which was the sink and filth of all the house, and on the other side the town ditch. So that, by this usage, he contracted divers diseases. And while he was sick, all his doors were barred, and none suffered to come in to administer any succour to him: and when he was ready to die, and called out for somebody to come to him, yet the Warden commanded his chamber to remain locked, and that none should be admitted, though the poor men of the wards, hearing his cries, had, out of mere pity, moved the Warden to go or send to him: when he would say, "Let him alone, it were a good "riddance of him." All this I have extracted out of one of Hoper's own letters: wherein he calls Gardiner, "God's "enemy and mine."

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Having in my hands the judiciary acts of the proceedings against him, I shall from hence briefly recite the man- Bp. Gardiner sits judicially in

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ner thereof the two last days only, especially having been omitted by Mr. Fox. Jan. 28, being Monday, the Bishop of Winton, by his ordinary authority, sat judicially in St. Mary Overy's church, assisted on his right hand with Edmund bishop of London, Nicolas bishop of Worcester, Thomas of Ely, Gilbert of Bath and Wells, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol: on his left hand sat Cuthbert bishop of Durham, Robert of Carlile, John of Lincoln, Henry of St. David's, William of Norwich, Ralph of Coventry and Litchfield; Anthony Husey, Robert Johnson, and William Say, public notaries, being appointed actuaries in this affair. Besides, there were present also the Duke of Norfolk, Anthony Lord Mountague, Thomas Lord Wharton, Richard Southwel, Francis Englefield, Christopher [perhaps mistaken for Robert] Rochester, Thomas Wharton, John Hurleston, John Tregonwel, Philip Draycot, and John Gernyngham, knights; William Coke, Thomas Martyn, Richard Dobbes, knights; besides a very great multitude more present.

Anno 1554. Hoper's trial. Foxii MSS.

His speech to him.

In this solemn audience, the said Bishop of Winchester began, Hoper being called in, to tell him, how he had been the day before called before him and certain others of the King's and Queen's privy council, especially appointed thereto, and then exhorted to acknowledge the errors and heresies of his past life and perverse doctrine, and to return with the rest to the unity of the Church; and that if he were willing to do so, the pardon of his past errors and wickedness was offered him. But Hoper then, undauntedly, (*indurato animo*, say the Acts,) refused to return. Therefore now he was called into the public court of justice, to answer before him certain articles concerning heretical pravity; offering him yet, if he would be reconciled, that he should be willingly received into the bosom of the holy mother Church: which Hoper then did not only refuse, but broke out into some blasphemies, say the Acts, (that is, no more than that he spake against some of their doctrines.)

181 Then, among many other articles, specially the Bishop objected to him these that follow:

Articles objected to him: with his answers.

First, That being a priest, and of a religious order, expressly professing a rule approved by law, he took a certain woman to be his wife, *de facto*, whereas *de jure* he ought not, and cohabited with her in wicked and unlawful marriage; and preached, taught, and by books set forth, published, and defended such pretended marriages to be lawful and valid by God's law; and so asserted and believed still. All which Hoper confessed, and was ready, he said, to defend.

Secondly, That he asserted, preached, taught, published, and defended, in books set forth, and still so believed and held, that by reason of the sin of fornication or adultery committed, persons lawfully married may, by the word of God, and by his authority, and the ministry of the magistrates, be separated from the bond of matrimony, and divorced from one another: and that so it may be lawful for the man to take another wife, and the woman another husband; on this account, because the woman is no longer the wife of the former man; nor the former man any more the husband of the former wife. To this he answered affirmatively; and that he was ready to defend it to be true, both by divine and human right, against all adversaries.

Thirdly, That he asserted, held, published, and in books set forth, taught, and defended, and so believed, asserted, and held still, that in the Eucharist, or sacrament of the altar, is not truly the true and natural body of Christ, and his true and natural blood, under the species of bread and wine; and that there is there material bread and material wine only, without the truth and presence of the body and blood of Christ. To which article he answered in these words, that the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; saying also, that *the mass is the iniquity of the devil;* and that *the mass is an idol.* This was the work on Monday.

On the next day, being Jan. 29, the Bishop of Winchester, assisted with the bishops above named, together with George bishop of Chichester, persuaded and exhorted Hoper with many reasons to reconcile himself. But he, ac-

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cording to the language of the Acts, persisted in his obstinacy and malice, and brake out into blasphemies, saying, that *matrimony is none of the seven sacraments*. And, that *if it be a sacrament, he can prove seven score sacraments*. So, at this session, Winchester pronounced and read the definitive sentence against him, condemning him for an heretic and excommunicated: and consequently delivered him to the secular court, and into the hands of David Woodroff and William Chester, sheriffs of London; who carried him away with them. Then the Bishop bade the notaries to make an instrument of what was done, and prayed those that were present to be witnesses: who were those noblemen, and knights, and others before mentioned, and these moreover; Clement Higham, Richard Dobbes, knights; Tho. Hungate, esq. John Seton, Tho. Watson, professors of divinity; Nicolas Harpesfield, David Pole, Hugh Coren, doctors of the laws; Henry Jollif, Philip Morgan, bachelors of divinity; Francis Allen, William Smyth and John Vaughan, esqrs. and many more. If any be minded to see the form of the sentence pronounced by the mouth of the Bishop against this holy martyr, let him have recourse to the Catalogue.

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Rogers's tenet and condemnation. Foxii MSS.

With Hoper I must join John Rogers, alias Matthew, a learned prebendary of St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, condemned the same day with him, and of the same courage and constancy. Who, when Bishop Gardiner exhorted him, as he had done Hoper the same day, to reconcile himself, and return to the unity of the Church; he replied, "My Lord, where you say, ye wyllyd me to "ryse ageyn with you, and so to come to the vnity of "Christ's Church, I take you, by those your words, that "you wyllyd me to fall. For I do understand the Church "otherwise than you do. For I do understand the Church "of Christ, and you do understand the Romish Church of "Antichrist. And, I say, that the Pope's Church, which "you believe, is the Church of Antichrist." Also he said, as touching his belief in the sacrament of the altar, that he believed that Christ was in heaven, and believed not that

his very body and blood is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar. Also, he said, that in that he being a priest did marry, he offended no law. And also, that the bishops maintain herein one false faith, one false doctrine, and one false word. This was done on Monday. On Tuesday being brought forth again before the Bishop, he again, with sundry arguments, endeavoured to persuade him, and excited him to reconciliation; but to no purpose: the Bishop therefore looking upon him as an obstinate heretic, pronounced the definitive sentence upon him, as he had done that same morning upon Hoper; giving the same order to the notaries, and requiring the same witnesses.

The proceedings with Dr. Taylor. Foxii MSS.

Two other learned and eminent divines, of the reformed persuasion, were tried and condemned this sessions of the Bishop's commissioners; whom I will mention also. The one was Rowland Taylor, doctor of laws, one that had been chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, and one of the commissioners appointed by Parliament in King Edward's reign, for purging the canon law, and drawing up a body of wholesome ecclesiastical laws for the use of this church and kingdom. This reverend man, on Jan. 29, was called before the said commissioners. Then Bishop Gardiner, as he had done the others, exhorted him to be reconciled: but he stiffly persisted in his former judgment. Then did the Bishop object two articles to him, as just matter, no doubt, to make him an heretic. The one was, that he asserted, believed, preached, and published, that it was lawful for any religious man, though he were expressly professed, and for any priest, after he had taken on him the profession of priesthood, and before he had taken it upon him, to marry, and with the person so married to cohabit, as with his lawful wife. The other was, that he asserted, believed, preached, and defended, that in the Eucharist is not truly the true and natural body and blood of Christ, under the species of bread and wine; and that material bread and material wine are there only. These articles Taylor freely confessed, saying, that so he still believed, and was ready to defend; saying, moreover, judicially, that *transubstantiation is a*

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conjuring word; concomitantia *another juggling word.* And that *the Bishop of Rome is against God.* And that *he made, by a juggling word, the body and blood of Christ of bread and wine.* And that *to worship it with honour due to God, is idolatry.* Then the Bishop assigned him to appear there again between three and four in the afternoon. What was done then, appears not. But Jan. 30. he appeared again before the Bishop of Winchester, and the
183 Bishops of Durham, Wigorn, Ely, London, Bath and Wells, Lincoln, Norwich, Litchfield and Carlisle, co-assessors. Then Winchester, beginning after his usual way, offered to receive him into favour, and the unity of the Church, if with a penitent mind he would return. But he more stiffly persisting in his perverse opinions, (I use the words of the Acts,) brake out into very many blasphemies; saying, that *there be but two sacraments, baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.* And that *after consecration, the bread and wine remains.* He denied transubstantiation; and said, that *the natural body of Christ is not here, but in heaven;* and that *Christ's body could not be in two places at once.* After long disputations, the Bishop asked him again, whether he would return to the unity of the Catholic Church? He answered, That *he would not come to Antichrist's Church.* Then the Bishop read the sentence definitive against him, condemning him for an heretic, and excommunicate. And so delivered him to the Sheriff of London. Present, and witnesses at this time, were Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Wharton, the Lord Lumley; Leonard Chamberlayn and Robert Drury, knights; Tho. Husey, John Vaughan, Tho. Martyn, esqrs. R. [it may be, Edward] Wotton and John Warner, doctors in physic; Hugh Coren, David Poole, Nicolas Harpesfield, doctors of law; Tho. Watson, John Seton, doctors of divinity; Philip Morgan, John Boxal, Seth Holland, bachelors in divinity; Richard Chandler, archdeacon of Sarum, and very many others. And thus they made a riddance of Dr. Taylor.

Let me here add this note of this reverend man at part-

ing, which Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, his countryman, and spiritual father in Christ, wrote of him to Mr. Fox. "*Doctor Taylerus, qui Hadlœi exustus est*, &c. Doctor "Tayler, who was burnt at Hadley, was born in Northum- "berland, in the town of Rothbury, not far from Riddis- "dale. With this man I lived for many years in great fa- "miliarity, [in the University, as it seems,] and often and "earnestly admonished him to embrace the evangelical "doctrine; and that he might the easier be brought to "think as we did, I privately got him the book called *Unio* "*Dissidentium;* by which, and the sermons of Latymer, "he was taken, and easily came over to our doctrine."

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Taylor's country and conversion. Fox. MSS.

The other was Lawrence Saunders, a learned also and holy divine; whom archbishop Cranmer had placed rector of Alhallows, Breadstreet, in London, not long before. Him the aforesaid Bishop had counselled by many reasons to reconcile himself, and return to the unity of the Catholic Church: but because he obeyed not this advice, the Bishop proceeded, according to his method, to object against him, that he had in his diocese, and in many other places, asserted, preached, and published, that in the Eucharist there is not indeed the true and natural body and blood of Christ, and that there is material bread and material wine there only. To which objection the said Lawrence answered affirmatively, and that he had subscribed such an article before the Bishop of London: and did also publicly affirm, that he would defend and maintain whatsoever he had hitherto preached in that behalf. Moreover, the Bishop of Winton objected to him, that yesterday, and that present day, between his coming thither and going back, he used a seditious exhortation to the people, saying to them, that *if an angel of heaven come amongst you, and preach and teach you otherwise than I have done of the sacrament, believe him not.* Which Saunders did not deny, but said, *I did but speak my conscience.* After much dispute, and many 184 exhortations given him by the Bishop, the definitive sentence was read also against him, and he was condemned for an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power.

Proceedings with Mr. Saunders. Fox. MSS.

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A further relation of Mountain's troubles.

Anno 1554. Mountain sent to Cambridge.

TO these four before mentioned, I add a fifth persecuted London preacher, namely, Mountain; of whom something has been said under the last year. Then we left him in the Marshalsea. But being reported to have been with the Duke of Northumberland in Cambridge, when he went to oppose Queen Mary, it was thought convenient by Chancellor Gardiner to send him to be tried at the assizes there. Of whose journey thither, and what befell him, and his deliverance after much trouble, I had rather the reader should take from Mountain's own narration, which was as follows:

Takes his leave of the prisoners.

"There [in the Marshalsea] I remained, until such tyme "as my Lord Chancellor sent a writ to remove me from "thence to Cambridge castel. And over night I had warn- "ing to prepare my self against the next day in the morn- "ing. Short warning I had, but there was no remedy. In "the morning, I made me ready betimes, and reckoned "with my keeper; went down and took my leave of all my "fellow-prisoners, with the rest of my friends, moving them "and exhorting them, as the time did serve, to be constant "to the truth, to serve God and fear him, and to be obedi- "ent unto the death, and not to resist the higher powers; "having always with you the testimony of a good con- "science; believing that Jesus of Nazareth was crucified "for your sins, letting all other trash and trumpery go: "yea, and though an angel should come from heaven, and "preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we "have preached already in the days of King Edward, be- "lieve him not, but hold him accursed. For there is a "way which some men think to be right, but the end "thereof leadeth unto death. Christ is therefore your only "way and mean unto God the Father. He is truth and life. "He is alone our mediator and advocate, sitting at the "right hand of his Father. It is he, as St. Paule saith, that

" is our only redemption, salvation, justification, and re- " conciliation. Take you heed, therefore, my dear bre- " thren, lest you be abused and led away from the truth by Anno 1554. " false prophets. Let them not make you to shoot at a " wrong mark. For they only labour to make shipwrack " of your faith, and to bring you to perdition. You see " what a sort of grievous wolves are already entred in among " Christ's flock to devour them.

" Stay there, Sir, I pray you, and make an end, said the His prayer at his de- " under-marshal; you have talked long enough, I trow, if parting. " that be good. To whom I said, Sir, I thank you most " heartily for your gentleness, in that you have so patiently " suffered me freely thus to speak, and to take my leave of " this house. I trust I have not spoken any thing here in " your presence, that hath offended other God, or any good " man. Wel, said he, dispatch, I pray you, for the writ is " come, and they tary for you at the door. With that I fell " prostrate to the ground, and said, O heavenly Father, if " it be thy blessed will and pleasure, deliver me out of this " trouble, and suffer me not to be tempted above my " strength, I beseech thee; but in the midst of the temp- " tation, make such a way for my deliverance, as shall be " most to thy glory, my comfort, and the edifying of my " brethren. Nevertheless, thy wil be don, and not mine. " Give me patience, O Father, for Christ's sake. To this " they al said, *Amen*. So I kissed the earth, and rose up, " bidding them al farewell, desiring them to pray for me, " and not to forget what I had said unto them, as they " would answer afore God.

" Then went I out of the doors, finding there, between the A charge given him " gates, six tal men in blew coats, with swords and bucklers from the " and javelins in their hands. And one of them brought under-mar- " unto me a gelding, desiring me to light on him quickly. shal. " For the day is far spent, said he. Content I am so to do; " and being on horseback, one, of good wil, brought me a " cup of wine to comfort me with. So I took it, and drank " to all the people that were present there, and thanked " them al heartily for their gentlenes. The under-marshal

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" then took me fast by the hand, and rounded me in the " ear, saying thus, Sir, I am commanded by my Lord " Chancellor to charge you, in the King and Queen's name, " that you do keep your tongue as you do ride thorow the " city, and quietly to pas the same, as you will answer to " the contrary before the Council. And thus much more " I say unto you, I fear I shal hear of this day's work for " your sake. Nevertheles, God strengthen you in that same " truth whereunto he hath called you: for I perceive, and " also believe, that you are in the right way. Fare you " wel, for I dare stand no longer with you. Pray for me, " and I wil pray for you. And thus we parted at ix. of the " clock in the forenoon.

Baits at Ware.

" Then three of them rid afore me, and the other three " behind me, til I came to Ware: and then we alighted at " the sign of the Crown; and I was brought into a fair " parlar, a great fire made afore me, and a table covered. " They asked me, if that I were not weary and a hungred? " Not greatly, said I. Wel, said they, cal for what you " wil, and you shal have it, if it be to be gotten for gold; " for so are we commaunded; and be of good cheer, for " God's sake: I trust you shal have none other cause. So " down I sat at the board, said grace, and made, as I " thought, a good meal; and, so far as I remember, the " reckoning came to an eight or nine shillings, beside our " horsemeat. So grace being said, and the table taken up, " the chiefest of these six serving-men said unto me, Sir, " how are you minded now? any otherwise than you were

His good discourse to those that guarded him.

" when you came out of London? No truly, said I: I " thank God I am even the same man now that I was then; " and I trust in God so to remain unto the end, or els I " would be sory, and also ashamed. And I tel you true, " that *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Jesus Christ; for* " *it is the power of God unto salvation to as many as do* " *believe.* And to tel you further, *if this gospel be hid, it* " *is hid from those that shal perish;* for unto the good it is " the savour of life unto life, and unto the wicked and un- " godly it is the savour of death unto death. Take you al

" heed therefore, dearly beloved, beware in time, lest both
" you and your teachers have their portion in the fiery lake
" among the hypocrits, *where there is weeping, wayling,*
" *and gnashing of teeth;* wheras the worm of conscience 186
" shall never dy, but you to dwel in pain so long as God
" raigneth in glory. O! what should it profit a man to
" have this whole world at wil, and to leese his own soul?
" and when it is lost, wherewithal wil you redeem it again?
" I tel you, this is no massing matter; neither yet wil any
" pardons, purgatory, or pilgrimages serve your turn. No,
" and my Lord Chancellor, or the Pope himself should
" say mas for one of you, and sing trentals for you, it
" would not go for payment before God: for, as the pro-
" phet David saith in the psalm, *there is no man that can*
" *make agreement to God for his brother: he must let that*
" *alone; for it cost more than so.* And, *if one man sin*
" *against another, days-men may be judges; but if a man*
" *sin against the Lord, who will be his days-man? You*
" *are dearly bought*, saith St. Peter, *not with corruptible*
" *gold and silver, pearl or precious stone, but by the most*
" *precious and innocent bloud-shedding of Jesus Christ,*
" *the only begotten Son of God.*

Proceeds in his journey from Ware.

" Then said they one to another, Never let us talk any
" longer with him. It is but lost labour. You se that he
" is at a point. There is no good to be don of him. I per-
" ceive that he will dy in his opinions. Yea, said I, I trust
" in God so: for it is written, *Happy and blessed are al*
" *they that dy in the Lord;* for they shal be certain and
" sure of a joyful resurrection. Arise therefore, I pray you,
" and let us be going. So to horseback we went; a great
" number of people being in the yard and in the streets, to
" se and behold me the poor prisoner, that came from Lon-
" don. Every man spake their fancy; and some brought
" me wine to comfort me with: for the which I gave them
" most hearty thanks, desiring them al to pray for me, and
" I would pray for them. And thus, with tears of all
" hands, we parted from Ware; and so came to Royston

Comes to Royston.

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" to our bed. Wheras they made me great cheer, and " spared for no cost.

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Tempted to relent.

" Then they once again did assault me, desiring me to " write my mind to my Lord Chancellor, or to some other " of the Council, whom I would, and they would deliver it " with speed: and if that you wil so do, we wil send one of " our company to cary the same, and we wil tary here stil, " while that he bring word again what the Council's plea-

His constancy.

" sure is. To whom I answered, I thank you for your " good wil. I intend never to write unto any of the Coun- " cil, while I live, for this matter. And therefore, I pray " you, content yourselves, and cease your suite so often " attempted, for you do but strive against the stream: for " I se that you are not with Christ, but against Christ. " You savour of earthly things, and not of heavenly. You " go about to hinder my health and salvation laid up in " Christ, and to pluck down what God hath builded. You " know not what you do: and therefore once again I pray " you heartily, leave off, and take in good part what I have " said already, and so judge al to the best. Wel, sayd " they one to another, it were good that my Lord Chancel- " lor did know al his sayings. One of us must tel him by " word as wel as we can. They were not yet agreed then who " should tel the tale. Then desired they me to go up to " my lodging; where there was a great fire made ready " against I came, and al other things very sweet and clean. " So, in the name of God, to bed I went: and al they six " watched me that night at the doors, being fast locked

187 " upon me, and they keeping the keys themselves. They " might go out, but no man could come in to them without " their leave.

Sir Oliver Leader, the high sheriff, takes him into custody.

" In the morning they called me very early, and willed " me with speed to make me ready to horseback: for, said " they, we must ride to the High Sheriff's to dinner. Who " is that, said I, and where doth he dwel? Eight miles " beyond Huntington, said they, and his name is Sir Oliver " Leader, a man of much worship, and one that keepeth a

" good house. The poor shal fair the better therby, said I. " So when we came to Huntington, they made me to drink; " and we came to the Sheriff's house even as the tables " were covered. Then they hearing the prisoner was come " from London, there was no smal ado. Word was caryed " to the church where Sir Oliver was at mass: and it was " no need to entreat him to come; for, with speed, both he " and my lady his wife departed out of the church, and the " parish followed them like a sort of sheep, staring and " wondering at me. The Sheriff gently took me by the " hand, and led me into a fair parlar, desiring me to stand " to the fire, and to warm me: for we were al thorow wet " with raine, snow, and hayle. Then to dinner we went, " and great cheer I had, with many welcomes, and often- " times drank to, both by the Sheriff himself, and the rest, " his friends.

His great civility to him.

" When dinner was done, into the parlar I was called; " and a great sort of gentlemen being there set on the one " side, and gentlewomen on the other side, with my lady " the Sheriff's wife, then Mr. Sheriff said unto the Knight " Marshal's men, Where is the writ that you have brought as " touching the receit of this prisoner? Here it is, Sir, said " one of them. So he received it: and when he had read " it, he took me by the hand again, and said, that I was " welcome. I thanked him for his gentle friendship. Then " called he for a pair of indentures. So they were brought " in and read. That don, one of them was given to the " Knight Marshal's man, and the other the Sheriff kept.

The Marshal's men take their leave of him.

" Then the Knight Marshal's man took me by the hand, " and said to the Sheriff, Sir, I do here, in the presence of " al these people, deliver this prisoner unto you, and your " mastership from henceforth to stand charged with him: " and my master, Sir Thomas Holdcroft, the knight mar- " shal, doth acquit himself of the said prisoner, called Tho- " mas Mountain. And with that he delivered him both me " and the indenture. Then the Sheriff said unto him, I do " here receive that same prisoner so called, and discharge your " master of him; and so took me by the hand, and deli-

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" vered unto him his indenture. All this was done with " great solemnity. Then was there a cup of wine called " for, and the Sheriff began unto me, and willed me to " drink to the Marshal's men; and so I did. Then they " took their leave of the Sheriff, and so went their ways; " bidding me farewel; saying unto me, There is remedy " enough yet, Mr. Mountain, if that you will take heed in " time. God be with you al, said I, and I thank you: have " me commended, I pray you, unto your master, and to " the rest of al my friends. And so we parted.

Sent by the High Sheriff to Cambridge castle.

" Then the Sheriff caused four or five horse to be made " ready. In the mean time he caused one of his men to " make ready the warrant to the keeper of Cambridge " castel. Nevertheles, my lady his wife laboured very " earnestly to her husband for me, that I might not go to " Cambridge castel, being so vile a prison, but that I might
188 " remain in their own house, as a prisoner. Madam, said " he, I pray you be contented. If I should so do, I know " not how it would be taken. You know not so much as I " do in this matter. But what friendship I can shew him, " he shal surely have it for your sake, and for his own too; " for I have known him long, and am very sory for his " trouble. So I thanked him for his gentlenes. By this " time al things were in a readiness. Then he himself, and " my lady, brought me to the utter gate: he willed me to " be set on his own gelding; gave me a cup of wine; took " me by the hand, and bad me farewel, desiring me to be " of good cheer.

Comes to Cambridge.

" So to Cambridge I came: and at the town's end there " met me one Kenrick, who a little before had been a pri- " soner in the Marshalsea, as I my self was. But our causes " not like: his was plain felony, and so proved; and mine " was treason and heresy, as they called it. O! Mr. " Mountain, sayd he, with a lowd voice, what makes you " here? I perceive now that it is true that I have heard " What is that? said I. Truly, said he, that you be come " hither to be burned. This is a sharp salutation, Mr. Ken- " rick, said I, and it is more than I do know of: and if it

"be so, God strengthen me in his truth, and his wil be
"done upon me, for I trust that I am his. Then rid we
"into the town to an inn called the Griffin, because the
"keeper was not at home: where I alighted, and went up
"to a chamber, my head being than somewhat troubled
"with Kenrick's sodain salutation afore mentioned. I called
"Mr. Sheriff's men, and said unto them, Avoyd the peo-
"ple, I pray you, out of the chamber, and lock the doors,
"for I have somewhat to say unto you. When this was
"done, I sat down, and said unto them, Dear friends, a
"question I have here to move unto you, wherein I shal
"desire you to be plain with me, and not to dissemble,
"even as you wil answer afore God at the last day; afore
"whom both you and I shal stand, and there to render up
"our accounts. Tel me therfore, I pray you, what order
"hath Mr. Sheriff taken with you, as touching the day and
"time when I shall suffer, and what kind of death it
"is that I shal die: and in so doing, you shall much
"pleasure me, and cause me to be in a great readiness
"whensoever I shall be called. Then one of them, whose
"name was Calton, said unto me, Sir, you need not to
"fear; for if there were any such thing, you should
"have knowledg of it, as meet it were: but our master
"willed us, and also commaunded us, that we should
"gently use you, and also commaunded the keeper to do
"the same.

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Expects to be burned.

"Then called they for meat and wine; and when we
"had wel refreshed us, we went up to the castel, where
"they called for the keeper; but he was not within. Then
"delivered they the warrant unto the keeper's wife, saying
"thus, Goodwife Charlys, my master hath sent your hus-
"band a prisoner here, and his pleasure is, that you should
"entreat him wel, and se that he lack nothing, and also to
"have the liberty of the yard. And so took they their
"leave of me, and went their ways. Then the keeper's
"wife led me up through the sessions hal, and there she
"locked me up under four or five locks: and at night, very
"late, the keeper came home, and up he came unto me, I

Committed to the gaol.

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Discourse between him and the keeper.

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Rises and prays.

The next morning the

"being in bed, and said unto me, Sir, you are welcome
"hither: are you come to be nursed? To whom I said, I
"am sent hither unto this jayl by the Queen's Council;
"and what you are, I know not as yet: I think that you
"be the keeper. So I am indeed, said he, and that shal
"you know or it be long. Wel, I trust, Mr. Keeper, to
"find favour at your hand; and I beseech you be good
"unto me, for I have lain long in prison. What is your
"name? said he. My name is Thomas Mountain, said I.
"Nay, said he, you have another name. Not that I do
"know of, said I. Then he looked in my purse what mony
"I had, and took it with him; also my coat, my boots,
"and spurs; and so bad me good night. And I said, Good
"night, mine host. I am content, said he, to be your host
"to night, to morrow you shal have a new.

"Here I called to my remembrance the salutations given
"unto me at the town's end by the aforenamed Kenrick.
"So I rise up, cast my cloke about me, and kneeled down,
"crying out unto Almighty God, desiring him of his great
"infinite mercy and goodness, for Jesus Christ's sake, to
"comfort me with his holy Spirit in that agony, and not
"to forsake me in mine old age, being so sore assaulted of
"the subtil devil, flattering world, and the weak flesh, that
"I had wel nigh slipt, as David the holy prophet said.
"And when the dead time of the night came, nature re-
"quiring rest, and I feeling in my self in short time so
"great quietnes, through the mighty mercies of my Lord
"God, who had sent me so sweet a calm after so cruel and
"stormy a tempest, said thus, *Soli Deo honor et gloria:*
"the Lord's name be praised, from the rising up of the sun
"until the going down of the same; and into thy merciful
"hands do I commend my soul, trusting not to dy, but to
"live for ever in the land of the living. For thy Spirit, O
"Lord, hath so certified me, that whether I live or dy,
"stand or fal, that I am thine; and therfore thy blessed
"wil be don upon me. This don, I layd me down upon
"my bed, and slept until five a clock in the morning.

"And then the keeper came and opened the door, bad

"me good morrow, and asked me, And I were ready? "Wherunto? said I. To suffer death, said the keeper. "What kind of death, said I, and when shal it be? Your "time is neer at hand, said he; and that is to be drawn and "hanged as a traitor, and burnt as an heretic: and this "must be don even this foornoon. Look wel to your self "therfore, and say that you be friendly used. Your friend- "ship, Mr. Charlys, is but hard and scarce, in giving me "this Scarborow warning: but give me leave, I pray you, "friendly to talk with you, and be not offended with what "I shal say unto you. This tale that you have told me, is "it true indeed? Yea, said he, and that you are like for "to know: dispatch therfore, I pray you, with speed. "Contented I am with al my heart so to do. Where is the "writ of execution? let me se it, I pray you. I have none, "said he: this is more than needs; for I am to be trusted, "and it were for a greater matter than this. Sir, I pray "you, be contented, for in this thing I will not trust you, "because it is a matter of life and death it standeth me "upon. Is the High Sheriff, Sir Oliver Leader, come in "the town to se execution? No, said he. Is the Under- "Sheriff, his deputy, here to se it? No, said he. Is there any "private commandment come from the Queen's Council, "or els any letters sent of late for that purpose? No, said "he: but you do al this for no cause els than to prolong "the time. No, said I: as I am born to dy, contented I "am so to do, when God wil; but to be made away after "such slight, I would be very loth. And therefore, if that "you have nothing to show for your discharge, according "as I have required of you, I tel you true that I will not "dy. Take you good heed therfore to your self, and look "that I miscary not: for if that ought come unto me but "good, you and yours are like to know the price of it; be "you wel assured thereof. When did you se any man put "to death before he was condemned to dy? That is true, "said he; and are you not condemned? No, said I, that "am I not, neither yet ever arraigned at any sessions.

gaoler bids him prepare to suffer.

The gaoler would have executed him without any writ.

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" Then, said he, I have been greatly misenformed. I cry " you mercy; for I had thought that you had been both " arraigned and also condemned to dy, being sent hither " for to suffer in this place, because that you were here " against the Queen with the Duke of Northumberland. " Wel, said I, those matters have been already sufficiently " answered before your betters.

Winchester, the keeper's master.

" But I pray you, Sir, and a man might ask you, whose " man are you, or to whom do you belong? Mary, said " he, I am not ashamed of my master: I would thou " shouldst know it, as thou art. My Lord Chancellor of " England is my master, and I am his man. I thought " such a matter, said I. The old proverbe is true, I per- " ceive; for *Such a master, such a servant.* And is this " my Lord of Winchester's livery that you wear now? " Yea, said he. And is this the best service you can do " my Lord your master? Fy, for shame! Fy! Wil you " follow now the bloudy steps of that wicked man your " master; who is unworthy, before God I speak it, both of " the name and place that he hath, and is called unto? " What should move you for to handle me after this sharp " sort, as you have don; so spitefully, being here not yet " three days under your keeping? Wil you become a tor- " mentor of God's people and prophets? Wil you now

The keeper a butcher.

" cease from killing of bullocks, calves, and sheep, which is " your occupation, being a butcher, and give over your self " most cruelly to serve your master's turn in shedding of " innocent bloud? O man! with what a heavy heart may " you lay yourself to sleep at night, if that God of his " great mercy do suffer you to live so long, in this your " so wicked attempt and enterprize! I speak not this of " any hatred that I bear unto you, as God knoweth my " heart; but I speak it of good wil, that you might be " called unto a better remembrance and knowledge of your " duty, both towards God and your Christian brother.

Expostulates with his keeper.

" Let it therfore repent you, dear brother keeper, and " know how dangerous a thing it is for a man to fal into

" the hands of the living God, and how it is said, that " bloud requireth bloud. And if you wil not believe me, " set that terrible example of cursed Cain before your eyes, " who slew his own dear brother Abel most unnaturally, " like a beastly man; and afterward wandred up and down " like a vagabond on the face of the earth, seeking rest, " peace, and quietnes, and could never attain unto it: so " that at the last, in most desperate words, he burst forth " and said, O! wretch that I am! I said unto the Lord, " when he called me to account for my brother's death, and " answered, that I was not his keeper. But shortly after " I perceived that the shedding his bloud cryed to God " for vengeance to fal upon me for so doing: and now I " perceive that my sins be greater than the mercy of God " is able to forgive. If this wil not move your hard and " stony heart to repentance, then think of that traitor Ju- 191
" das, which, for lucre sake, betrayed his own master, as " he confessed himself, when the worm of conscience trou- " bled him, saying to the high priest, *I have betrayed the* " *innocent bloud, take, there is money, for I will none of it.* " And then it was too late: so to shorten his own days, he " most desperately went and hung himself; so that he " burst asunder in the midst, his bowels hanging about his " belly. O most terrible examples! left written in the holy " Scriptures, that we therby might take heed and beware " never to do the like, lest we speed in reward as they did. " From the which God defend us, for Jesus Christ's sake.

Converts his keeper.

" *Amen*, said the keeper, with weeping tears. And, Sir, " I beseech you once again, even for God's sake, to forgive " me; and I ask God heartily mercy for the great mischief " that I purposed in my heart against you. I perceive that " you, and such other as you, be other maner of men than " we and our betters take you to be. I perceive that the " blind doth eat many a fly. God, and it be his blessed " will, make me one of your sort; and look that what I can " do for you, you shall be assured of it. Come down with " me, I pray you, into the yard. So I went with him; and " when he came down, al the yard was ful of people. What

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People flock to see him die.

" meaneth this people? said I to the keeper. Al these are " come, said he, to se you suffer death. There be some " here that are come as far as Hengston; but I trust their " coming shal be in vain: be you of good cheer. Then go " your way, said I, and gently desire them for to depart, " and tel them, it is no reason any man should suffer death " before that he be condemned; and so you shall easily " avoyd them, and I wil go up again til you have done.

In favour with the gaoler.

" When they were al gon, the keeper called me down to " dine with him at his own table. And dinner being ended, " we fell in talk again; and so, from time to time, had " many conferences together; and I began to grow in great " credit with him; insomuch, that whensoever he rid forth " about any business, he committed al the charge of the " whole house unto me, prisoners and al; and laboured " unto the High Sheriff for me, that I might be delivered. " Notwithstanding, I remained there prisoner half a year " in much misery, having sometime meat, and sometime " none: yea, and many times glad, when I might get a " peny loaf and my glas ful of fair water up to my lodging, " being fast locked up every night. And at midnight al- " way, when they searched the prisoners' rooms, then one " should come and knock at my door, and ask me, if I were " within. To whom I answered always, Here I am, Mr. " Keeper. Good night then, said he: and so they would " go their ways.

The gracious providence of God towards him.

" Now on a certain day, being mery, he brought home " with him to se me divers honest men of the town; among " whom there was one that I never saw before, nor he me, " called Mr. Segar, a beer-brewer, dwelling at Magdalen- " bridg; whose heart God had opened above the rest to " shew mercy unto me: for he knew that the keeper would " do much at his request. So that, or ever he went away, " he promised him payment for my diet, desiring him to " shew me favour for his sake, and I wil be bound for him " he shal be true prisoner. Al this pleased Charlys the " keeper wel: and it was no grief at al to me, to hear this " bargain made between them: for otherwise, said I, it was

" not unlike, but that I should have perished here for lack " of comfort. And here is not to be forgotten of my part, " the mighty and fatherly providence of God, who never Anno 1554. " faileth any man that truly puts his trust in him. Who 192 " can kil him, Mr. Charlys, whom God wil keep alive? " may I say now: and who can deliver him whom God wil " destroy? His great power delivered me once out of the " lions' den, as he did his holy prophet Daniel: so I trust " that he wil deliver me here out of al my troubles, if he so " se it good; if not, his wil be don. And thus we parted " for that time; my keeper being glad of these good as- " surances; I taking patiently mine indurance and my " surety, hoping for my deliverance.

The Council's order concerning him.

" After this, within short time, the High Sheriff sent for " me home to his house beyond Huntington, to se whether " I would relent or no; telling me, that he had written up " to the Council for me, and that it was their pleasure that

The Sheriff offers him liberty, if he will comply.

" I should be delivered, if that I would be a conformable " man to the Queen's procedings, and forsake heresy, or " els to remain in prison until the next sessions of gaol de- " livery. For your good-will do I thank your mastership " most heartily; and wel contented I am so to remain as a " prisoner, rather than to give over my faith for this vain " life, which is but short. Wel, said he, I perceive that " you are no changeling: you shal therfore return to the " place from whence you came, and there abide your trial. " So we took our leave of him, and came our ways back " again to Huntington; and there we lay al that night, I " having upon one of mine armes a great braslet of iron, of " four fingers broad, fast locked on, and a fine chain of " three yards long joyned thereunto. And being bid to " supper of one Thomas Whype, merchant of London, with " others, my keeper was desired to ease me for the time, " and they would be bound for me, and he to be wel re- " compenced for so doing. This desire of my friends was " scarce wel liked of my keeper, because they were Lon- " doners; and graunt it he would not in no wise. So " when supper was don, to our chamber we went; and

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" anon comes in a smith, with a hammer and a great staple.
" Make you ready, said the keeper, I pray you, and go to
" bed. So I layd me down upon my bed. Then he called
" the smith unto him, and said, Make fast the staple and
" the chain together, and drive them fast in to some part of
" the bedsted: for I have heard, said he, *Fast bind, fast*
" *find.* Then he looked behind al the painted cloths, to se
" if there were any mo doors into the chamber than one.
" That don, he locked the door, and cast the key out of
" the window to the good man of the house, desiring him
" to keep it safe til the morning. Smal rest I took that
" night: I was so sore wrung about my wrist, that the
" blood was ready to spin out at my fingers ends. So,
" early in the morning we rise, and took our horse, and
" came to Cambridge castel to dinner: and then my braslet
" was taken off mine arme.

Answers at the sessions.

" In August following was the sessions. Unto the which
" came my Lord Chief Justice of England; one that before
" was Recorder of London, and called Mr. Brook. With
" him there sat Sir Thomas Dier, Sir Clement Higham,
" Sir Oliver Leader, high sheriff, Mr. Griffin, the Queen's
" solicitor, Mr. Burgain, and a number of gentlemen mo.
" Now when they were come to the sessions hal, and there
" set, the keeper was commaunded to bring in his prisoners.
" I being first called for by name, then on went my braslet
" again; and there a priest, called Thomas Willyard, vicar
" of Babram, was fast locked unto me. We twain went
193 " foremost, and stood at the bar. Then said my Lord
" Chief Justice unto me, Sir, what make you here? Are
" you not a Londoner? Yes, and it like your Lordship.
" How long have you been prisoner? Half a year, my
" Lord. Who sent you hither? Forsooth, my Lord, that
" did the Council. Then said the High Sheriff, My Lord,
" this is the man that I told your Lordship of. I beseech
" you be good Lord unto him, for he hath been as quiet a
" prisoner as ever came within this jayl, and hath used him-
" self as honestly towards his keeper. You speak wel for
" him, said my Lord. Stand aside a while, til you be called.

" In the mean time Mr. Griffin had a cast at me, saying " thus, Thou art both a traitor and an heretic. No, and it " like your Worship, I am neither of both. Is not thy " name Mountain? Yes, forsooth, I will never deny it. " And art not thou he that my Lord Chancellor sent hither " with a writ? I am the same man. Wel, said he, if thou " be not hanged I have marvel: thou wilt scape narrowly, " I believe. Sir, I perceive that thou are my heavy friend: " I beseech you be good master unto me: I have layn this " three [quarters of a] year in prison, in irons. Never was " there any man that laid any thing to my charge. Then " he called for the writ: to whom the High Sheriff said, " that he had forgotten to bring it with him. O! wel, said " Sir Oliver, you are a good man, I warrant you. This " man was not brought hither for building of churches, I " dare say, nor yet for saying of our Lady-psalter. Indeed, " Sir, these be things that I cannot wel like of.

Lord Chief Justice calls him to his trial.

" Then my Lord Chief Justice called me to the bar " again, and caused proclamation to be made, that who- " soever could lay ought to my charge, to come in, and he " should be heard, or els the prisoner to stand at his deli- " verance. This was don thrice, and no man came in to " give evidence against me. Then said my Lord Chief " Justice unto the whole bench, I se no cause why but that " this man may be delivered upon sureties, to be bound to " appear at the next sessions, here holden, of gaol delivery: " for you se that there is no man cometh in to lay any thing " to his charge. We cannot but by the law deliver him, " proclamation being once made, and no man coming in " against him. What say you, Mr. Mountain, can you put " in sureties here before the Queen's Justices to appear " before us here at the next sessions? And if that you can " so do, pay the charges of the house, and God be with " you. If not, then must you needs remain still, until the " next sessions. What say you? have you any sureties " ready? No, and it like your Lordship, I have none " ready: but if it please you to be so good Lord unto me " as to give me leave, I trust in God to find sureties. Wel,

None come in against him.

Ordered to find sureties.

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" said my Lord, go your ways; make as good speed as you " can, for we must away. Then he commanded the keeper " to strike off my irons. That don, I was turned out of " the gate to seek my venture, without any keeper at al, go " where I would. And when I came abroad, I was so sore " amazed, that I knew not where to become. At last I took " the way into the town, and there I met a man unknown " to me, who was not a little joyful when he saw me at " liberty, saying unto me, Are you clean discharged from " your bonds? No, said I, I lack two sureties. Truly, " said he, I will be one, God willing: and I wil se if that I " can get another to be bound with me. So we met with " another honest man, called Mr. Blunt.

194 " And having these twain, I gave thanks to God for

Strangers become his sureties.

" them, and with speed returned back again to the castle. " And as I went, there met me two Essex men, which " came to seek me themselves, to enter into bonds for me. " I gave them most hearty thanks for their gentle offer, " and told them that God had raised up a couple for me " already. We are glad of it, said they; yet we wil go " with you, lest you do lack. And as I entred into the " castel-yard, the Judges were arising; and they seing me " coming, sat down again. Then said my Lord Chief Jus- " tice, Have you brought in your sureties? Yea, and it " like your Lordship: here they be. Let me se them, " said he. Then they al four stood forth, and shewed them- " selves unto my Lord. He said unto them, Are you con- " tented to enter into bonds for this man? Yea, my Lord, " said they, if it please you to take us. Wel, said he, two " of you shal serve. There were standing by two brethren, " and they hearing my Lord say that two would serve, " went with speed to him that writ the bond, and caused " him to put in their names in iii*l.* iiii*d.* for each of them:

Bailed.

" saying thus the one to the other, Let us not only bayl " him out of bonds, but also relieve him with such part " as God hath lent us. And so they did; I praise God " for it.

Discharged: at which

" And when the people saw and understood that I was

" clearly discharged out of bonds, there was a great shout " made among them; such joy and gladnes was in their " hearts, as might right wel appear, for my deliverance. " Then came Mr. Segar, of whom I have spoken a little " before, and he payd al maner of charge that could be de- " sired of the keeper for the time of my being there: and, " that don, had me home to his own house, wheras I had " good entertainment. And after that I had remained there " a fortnight, I took my leave, and so came to London."

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CHAP. XXIV.

What befell Mountain after his deliverance from prison; of his great dangers, and of his escape beyond sea.

HAVING thus far told the stories of this good man's sufferings, and brought him unto his delivery out of them, and shewn the kindness of the common people towards him, who generally loved the Reformation, and the preachers of it, I cannot leave him till we have heard what further befell him, and have shewn the unsatiable malice of Bishop Gardiner against him; relating, withal, his great dangers, and his escape beyond sea, and what course he took there for a livelihood. And all this I shall pursue out of his own Commentaries, as I have done before.

A further prosecution of Mountain's story.

Mountain, being newly arrived in the city, had the satisfaction of seeing King Philip and Queen Mary, the Cardinal, and the Chancellor, ride in great state through the streets, (an account whereof was given before,) placing himself at Soper-lane end in Cheapside: where some of the said Bishop's servants espied him; which created him new troubles, as we shall see by and by. 195

" When al this sight was past," (for we now use his own words,) " I went my ways: for as yet I durst not go home " to mine own house. And at night, when the Bishop " came home, one of his spials told him that he saw me " stand in Cheapside, when the Queen rid through the city. " Here he fel into such a great rage, as was told me by one

Winchester orders the Knight Marshal to make search for him.

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" of his own men, as was unseeming for a bishop; and with " great speed sent for the Knight Marshal. And when he " came, he said unto him, Mr. Holcroft, how have you " handled your self in your office? Did not I send unto you " one Mountain, that was both a traitor and an heretic, to " this end, that he should have suffered death? And this " day the villain knave was not ashamed to stand openly in " the street, looking the Prince in the face. Mine own men " saw him. I would counsil you to look him up, and that " there be diligent search made for him this night in the " city, as you wil answer afore the Council. Al this shal be " don, and it like your Honour; and I trust there shal be " no fault found in me. Away then, said the Bishop, about " your business.

Of which Mountain hath notice; and flees.

" Then came there one that was secretary unto the " Knight Marshal, who willed me with speed to depart out " of the city. For this night, saith he, shal the city be " searched for you: and if you be taken, surely ye dy for " it. Thus fare you wel. God deliver you out of their " hands, if it be his wil. Then went I over into Southwark, " and there lay al night. In the morning I rose early, " took a boat, and went to Limehouse; and so from thence

Takes ship, but beat back.

" to Colchester; and there took shipping, thinking to have " gon into Zealand, and so up to the High Country: but we " were so weather-beaten, that of force we were glad to re- " turn back again. And this voyage was thrice attempted, " and always put back. And, at the last time, we were cast

St. Osith's.

" aland at St. Osith's: wheras I durst not long tary, be- " cause of my Lord Darcy, who lay there, having a strait

Flits from place to place.

" commission sent to him from Q. Mary to make diligent " search for one, called, *Trudge over the World*, and for " all such like as he was. So that I was fain to fly to a

Hemsted.

" little parish called Hemsted, thinking there for to have " had some rest; but the search was so strait, that at mid- " night, I having almost too short warning, was fain with

Dedham Heath.

" great speed to fly unto Dedham Heath, and to take my " coat in my neck, having an honest man with me, who had " a forest bil on his back; and with the same he cut down

" a great sort of brakes, and that was my bed for a time. " And whensoever I might get into an hayloft, I thought " my self happy, and wel to be lodged.

" At the last I was housed, I thank God, with an honest " man; but having a wicked servant, not loving the gospel, " the said servant went and complained of his master to the " bailif and constables; saying unto them, that there was " an heretic in his master's parlor. How know you that, " said they? Take heed of what thou sayst: thy master is " an honest man; and thou seest how troublesome a time it " is; and if we, upon thy report, should go search his " house, and not find it so, what art thou worthy to have " for slaundering thy master? Tush, saith he, I am sure it " is so; for the house is never without one or other; and " most chiefly when there is a fire in the parlor. And " therefore I know by the smoak, that there is one indeed. " So the officers willed him to go about his business. For, 196 " said they, we wil prove it at night. In the mean time, " they did his master to understand what his man had said " unto them, and friendly bad him take heed, for they would " search his house that night: and so they did indeed, but " the birds were flown. The next day the officers took his " man, and set him in the stocks, to teach him to speak " good of his master, and not to accuse him, and bring the " smoke for a witness against him.

Gets to an honest man's house in Colchester.

Flees thence.

" Now while I was seeking a corner to hide my head in, " Justice Brown, that dwelleth beside Burntwood, cometh " me down to Colchester, and there played the devil, by the " counsil of one Mr. Tyrrel and Mr. Colson, inholder of " the same town, and Gylbert the lawyer: who caused " divers honest men to be sent for before the said Justice, " and sworn upon a book, to bring in the names of al those " that were suspected of heresy, as he termed it: and also " gave unto the officers a great charge, that from time to " time diligent search should be made in every house for al " strangers, and to take them and bring them before a " justice. For this town, said he, is an harbourer of all " heretics, and ever was. So when he had bound them all

Justice Brown comes to Colchester to persecute.

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" in recognisances, he willed them to depart every man " home to his house.

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Whereupon he escapes to London.

" Then, upon their return, with speed was I conveyed " away to Londonward forthwith. And when I came " there, I went over into Southwark again; and there lay " two days and two nights. And the third night, when it

Enters into a ship for Antwerp.

" was somewhat dark, I entred into a ship of Antwerp, and " so we went down to Gravesend. There they cast anchor, " and went al a land, and left me aboard with a man and a " boy. I fearing the searchers, that they would have had " me to shore, and there being so wel known as I was, I " knew it was the next way to bring me afore a justice to be " examined, and so to be returned back again to London; " and then sure I am, that I had dyed for it: I looked in

The provision he makes against the searchers.

" my purse, and there were three pistolets. I took one of " them, and gave it unto the man that was aboard with me, " and desired him to go ashore to the master of the ship, " and he to be a mean unto the searchers for me, when they " came a shipboard to search. And truly it pleased God so " to work in their hearts, that I found great favor at their " hands. For when one of them had examined me, and " that very straitly, he asked of me, what my name was: " Thomas Mountain is my name, said I. I wil never deny " it, nor never did, I praise God for it. Nay, said he, that " is not your name; for I knew him wel enough. His fa- " ther and I were servants to K. Harry the VIII. and also " to K. Edward. And I am sure that Richard Mountain's " son was burnt since this Q. Mary came in. Sir, credit " me, I pray you, for I am the very same man, that now " talk with you. Indeed, God hath mightily dealt with me, " and most mercifully hath delivered me from the cruel " hands of bloudy men. And, now, behold! my life is in " your hands. I may not resist you, nor wil not; but " gently submitting my self unto you, desire your lawful " favour, that I may pass this port, and God, I trust, that " is the high searcher above, and knoweth the secrets of al " mens hearts, shal one day reward you openly, according " as he hath promised.

"Then began he to water his plants; saying unto me, "Sir, I thought once never to have seen you again: you are "grown out of my knowledg. And seing that it is the will "of God, that you should not dy by their cruelty, I trust, "that your bloud shall never be required at my hands. I "wil not molest you: but this I warn you of in anywise, "that you keep yourself as close as you can. For here is "one of the promoters, that goeth in the same ship that you "go in. Who is that? said I. It is one Mr. Beard, said "he, dwelling in Fleetstreet, a merchant tayler. I know "him well, said I, and he me. Wel, said he, God be with "you, for yonder he cometh, and al the passengers with "him, and so we parted, and I went into the master's "cabbin; and there I lay, til that we were entred the main "sea. Then came I forth to refresh my self: and Beard "seeing me, began to blush, saying unto me, Sir, what "make you here? Truly, said I, I am of the same mind "that you are of. You know not my mind, said he. What-"soever yours is, I mean to go to Antwerp, God willing, said "I. And so do you, I trow. What will you do there? said "he: you are no merchant-man, as I am, and the rest "that be here. Mr. Beard, what the rest are that be here, "I know not; but as for your merchandize and mine, in "some points I think they be much alike. But when that "you and I shall meet in the English burse together, you "shall see what cheer I can make you. In the mean time "let us as friends be mery together, I pray you. Nay, "said he, I would I had met you at Gravesend, that I "might have made you some good cheer there; but it was "not my fortune so to do; and I am very sory for it, "believe me and you will. Sir, I thank God, it is better as "it is: I know your cheer wel enough. And then away I "went.

The searcher his friend.

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Beard the promoter, in the ship with him.

Their discourse.

"With that he went down under the hatches, and told "al the passengers what a rank heretic I was. For it is "marvel, said he, that the ship doth not sink, having so "wicked a man in it as he is. And therfore, good gentle-"men, I pray you heartily, take heed, and beware of him.

The merchants in the ship bid him beware of Beard.

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" I had rather than my velvet coat, that he and I were to-
" gether at Gravesend again. Then came the merchants up
" to me, and called for meat and wine, having good store
" there of their own provision. And they made me great
" cheer, bidding me in any wise to take heed of Beard.
" These were merchants of Danske, and had to do here in
" London with most of the aldermen, unto whom they gave
" a good report.

Lands at Dunkirk, to avoid Beard.

" Now I, thinking to prevent Beard of further trouble,
" that by him, and his procurement, might hap unto me,
" upon my arrival at Antwerp, whispered the master in the
" ear, and desired him heartily to land us at Dunkirk. For
" I will ride the rest by waggon, God willing: and so shall
" I be rid of Mr. Beard's company. I am content, saith the
" master of the ship; I am weary already, saith he, of his
" company. *The whorson pape shall come no more in mine*
" *schepe.* So to Dunkirk we came, and Beard went first a
" land, and bad us al welcome. For, said he, I wil be
" your steward, and we wil fare wel, if there be any good
" cheer in the town. Then came we to our hoste's house;
" supt al-together. That being don, we went to our lodg-
" ing: and so it fel out, that Beard and I should ly to-
" gether; and so did. But before he went to bed, he
" kneeled him down at the bedside, and made upon his
" body, as I think, forty crosses, saying as many Ave-
198 " Maria's, but nother Creed nor Pater-noster. Then he
" shewed us what mony he had. The which was both gold
" and silver, and that plenty.

The ship departs, leaving all a shore.

" At midnight the master of the ship took his tyde, and
" went his way. Mr. Beard up in the morning betime,
" went down to the waterside to look for the ship, and when
" he saw it was gon, he came and told us, swearing and
" chafing like a madman, saying, that King Philip should
" know it, how he was used. Then sent he al about to
" know, if any went at the next tyde following. In the
" mean time I took my waggon, and went my ways; and
Beard's miserable end.
" that was the last time that ever I saw him. But after-
" wards I was informed, by credible persons, that he had

" spent all his mony, both his velvet coat, and also his " livery coat, that he had of Queen Mary: and so came " home poor and bare, being very sick and weak, and in Anno 1554. " Holbourn dyed most miserably full of lice. Behold his " end! God grant he dyed his servant, *Amen.*

" Now when as I came to Antwerp, being never there Arrives at Antwerp. " afore, I was amazed, and knew not where to become that " night. At last I found out the English house; and there " I was received for a time. After that, I took an house in " the Ox-mart of a merchant, called Adam Raner, who " shewed me much favour. And there I taught a school Teaches school. " for the space of a year and a half quietly: and then " comes over Mr. Hussy, being then governor of the Eng- " lish nation; and it was given out, that he would suddenly " ship, and send away into England, al such as were come " over for religion, he naming me himself for one. So with " as much speed as I could make, I took waggon and went " up to Germany, and there was, at a place called Duis- Retires to Duisburgh. " burgh, a free city, being under the Duke of Cleveland, " and there remained until the death of Queen Mary. And " then came back again to Antwerp. And there, when I " set all my doings in order, I returned home again with Returns to England. " joy into England, my native country. In the which God " grant his gospel to have free passage, and by the same " our lives to be amended, *Amen.*"

CHAP. XXV.

Various memorials of things happening in the months of September, October, November.

NOW to recollect some further memorials of these times: the most whereof I take from certain authentic MS. diaries, written in those times. September.

It was observed, that about the 11th or 12th of September, in Ipswich, a flourishing and populous city in Suffolk, containing then eleven parish churches, there were but two But two priests left in Ipswich.

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priests left to serve them, the rest being either fled or imprisoned. And throughout that whole county were very few priests now remaining, in comparison with the great numbers of towns and parishes.

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199 On the 14th of September three were set on the pillory for playing with false dice, and for deceiving honest men by that means.

Cheats at dice pilloried.

Vagabonds to avoid the city.

The 17th of the same came forth a proclamation, that all vagabonds and loiterers, as well English as all manner of strangers, having no masters, should avoid the city and the suburbs forthwith, upon great pains enjoined by law: and that none that kept public houses should give entertainment to any serving men, unless they brought testimonials under their master's hands.

Coiners executed.

On the 20th were two men drawn on hurdles unto Tyburn, to execution, for coining of naughty money, and deceiving the Queen's subjects therewith.

Sampson, bishop of Litchfield, dies.

On the same day Sampson, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, died at his house at Ecclesshall, a fine palace, situate about fifteen miles from Litchfield, but now in ruins, demolished in the late civil wars. This Bishop had been a student in Saint Clement's ostle in Cambridge: became Dean of Saint Stephen's chapel in Westminster: and being King Henry's chaplain, wrote a notable book against the Pope's supremacy: which that King sent over sea to the Pope himself, and to Pole and others, to vindicate himself and his doings, in taking the supremacy to himself. This Bishop had been president of Wales under King Henry, but removed from that place under King Edward: who yet employed him sometimes in state business; as in a commission to meet and treat with the Scots commissioners. In his time, two of the best manors belonging to the bishopric, *viz.* Beaudesert and Shutborough, were exchanged for two benefices, which were esteemed as much worth in value as the manors. But the royalty was lost. He made away also the royalty of the city of Litchfield. Beaudesert was conferred upon Sir William Paget, comptroller of the King's household; and being made a baron in the year

Record. Eccles. Litchfield.

1549, he had his title from thence, and called Lord Paget of Beaudesert. CHAP. XXV.

September the 23d, Doctor Rud preached at Paul's Cross, and recanted; repenting that he ever was married: and said openly, that he could not marry by God's law. Anno 1554. Dr. Rud recants.

September the 26th were two young men, apprentices, set on the pillory, and their ears nailed; for speaking seditious and malicious words against the commonwealth. Of such as underwent this kind of punishment now, were more than we meet with in any reign beside: for the government was so uneasy, that people could not forbear opening their mouths sometimes. And for the least words, they were presently adjudged to the shame of the pillory, and to the pain of the nailing or cutting off their ears: so the month after this, a woman for seditious words was set on the pillory, and a few days after another person for the like fault, standing there three times. Two pilloried.

September the 27th, among others hanged at Tyburn this day, one was a Spaniard, for some barbarous murder; no doubt, for a warning to the rest, who swarmed now in London, and insulted unmeasurably over the English. A Spaniard hanged.

The 28th, the King and Queen removed from Hampton Court unto Westminster, the Queen's place. 200 The King and Queen at Westminster.

The 30th, it pleased the Bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, to preach at Paul's Cross: which he did with much applause, before an audience as great as ever was known; and among the rest all the Council that were then at court. His text was out of the Gospel, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, &c. and thy neighbour as thyself.* Where at length, out of his love to his neighbour, he fell foul upon King Edward's preachers, slandering them without measure, as preachers of voluptuousness, and blasphemous lies, and that their doctrine was false doctrine, full of perverse zeal, earthly, tending to discord and dissension: then he instanced in some of their doctrines; as, that a man may put away his wife for adultery, and marry another: that if a man vowed to day, he might break his vow to-morrow; and much more to this Lord Chancellor preaches at Paul's Cross.

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purpose. Then descending to the apostasy of the nation, he willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren, *Peccavimus in fratrem:* "and so have I too," added he, like a meek, recanting penitent. And lastly, he fell in with the praises of the King and Queen, especially of the King, to reconcile the realm the more to this match of his own making: as, that Philip came not hither out of necessity or any need; that he had ten times as much as the English people then were in hope or possession of. All which was so evident, that it was superfluous for him to speak of. As for his accomplishments, they were admirable, being as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a Prince, as ever had been in England. And if he were not so, then they might take him for a false liar in so saying; exhorting therefore all to make much of him, [which he saw they had but little stomach to,] and to win him, while they had him. And hereby they might win all such as he had brought with him, [perhaps he meant his gold:] and so he ended.

October.

Many cart-loads of gold sent to the Tower.

October the 2d, twenty cars went from Westminster laden with wedges of gold and silver, to the Tower, to be coined. So it was commonly reported. But some that looked narrowly into matters, made a question, whether it were bullion, or something else to deceive the people.

The Duke of Norfolk's burial.

On the same day was the most noble and high-born Duke of Norfolk buried at Fremingham church: living so long as to be delivered out of a long imprisonment, and to be restored to his liberty with honour. There was at his funeral a goodly herse of wax, with a dozen of bannerols of his progeny, twelve dozen of pensils, twelve dozen of escutcheons, with standards, three coats of arms, and a banner of damask, and four banners of images: there were four heralds and many mourners attending. And after a dinner, a great dole distributed. For the furnishing of which dinner were killed forty great oxen, and an hundred sheep, and sixty calves, besides venison, swans and cranes, capons, rabbits, pigeons, pikes, and other provision, both flesh and fish. There was also great plenty of wine; and of beer and bread as great plenty as ever had been known, both for

rich and poor. For all the country came thither. And a great deal of money bestowed upon the poorer sort. CHAP. XXV.

Three days after, that is, on the 5th day of October, were the obsequies of the said Duke of Norfolk celebrated at Saint Mary Overy's: an herse being made with timber, and hanged with black with his arms, and four goodly candlesticks gilded, and as many great tapers standing about it, all the choir hung in black, and arms. And the dirge and mass on the morrow was used. At the dirge there went about forty in gowns and coats: after came the Lord Chancellor, chief mourner, next Mr. Comptroller, Mr. George Howard, my Lord Mountague, my Lord Admiral, Lord Bruges, and divers others. And there was great ringing of bells for two days. Anno 1554. 201 His dirige.

In the beginning of this month, on a Sunday, the King and Queen danced together, there being a brave maskery at court of cloth of gold and silver, apparelled in mariners' garments. The chief doer whereof was thought to be the Lord Admiral. And upon Thursday after, at Smithfield, was *Genoce di carme*, where the King and Queen were to be. Now came over from the Emperor to the King and Queen, Don Ferrando Gonsaga, Marquis de Bergos, Count de Horne, and Monsieur D'Arras, the Emperor's secretary. A mask at Court.

October the 6th was a Spaniard buried at Westminster, in the abbey, with singing performed both by English and Spaniards, and a handbell before ringing; every Spaniard holding green torches, and green tapers burning, to the number of an hundred. A Spaniard buried.

On the 11th day was the Spaniard's obsequies celebrated. There was an herse after the fashion of Spain, with black, and a goodly mass of *requiem*. The chapel wherein he was interred, hung with black, with a banner of arms, and coat of arms, all in gold: a target and an helmet, and many escutcheons, and a fair herse cloth of black, and a cross of crimson velvet down to the ground. His obsequies.

October the 12th, the Lord De La War in Sussex was buried with standards, banner of arms, &c. There were many mourners in black, and a goodly herse of wax, and Lord De La Ware's funeral.

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pensils. He was the best housekeeper in Sussex in his days. And the greater moan was made for him, because he died without issue.

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Bishop of Durham preaches.

The 14th, being Sunday, the old Bishop of Durham preached in the shrouds.

A murder committed by a Spaniard.

The 15th, a servant of Sir George Gifford was shamefully slain by a Spaniard without Temple Bar near the Strand, about four in the afternoon: and as execution was done upon one Spaniard about a month before at Tyburn, so on the 26th of this, was this murderer hanged, for more terror, at Charing-cross, in the very face of the court, though five hundred crowns had been offered by the strangers, his countrymen, to save his life: which if it had been granted, the court perhaps considered it might have caused an insurrection.

Day the printer brought to the Tower.

October the 16th, John Day, late printer to King Edward the VIth, was now brought out of Norfolk, and committed to the Tower, for printing books unsuitable to the present government, together with his servant, and a priest, and another printer.

King Philip goes to Paul's.

October the 18th, King Philip came down on horseback from Westminster unto Paul's with many lords, being received under a canopy, at the west end. And the Lord
202 Viscount Mountague bare the sword afore the King. There he heard mass, sung by Spaniards, a Spanish bishop celebrating: and after mass he went back to Westminster to dinner.

Earl of Warwick dies.

October the 21st, about midnight, died the Earl of Warwick, the eldest son of the late Duke of Northumberland, at Sir Henry Sydney's place in Penshurst, who was nearly related to that family.

Sir Thomas Audley dies.

The 29th, Sir Thomas Audely, a famous captain, was buried in Saint Mary Overy's. There attended his funerals the Lord Gray, Lord Fitzwater, and divers other captains, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of sixty, or thereabouts, besides others of less quality.

November.

A fray between Spa-

Sunday, November the 4th, began a great fray at Charing-cross, about eight of the clock at night, between Spaniards

and Englishmen. But by some discreet persons interposing, but a few were hurt. And the next day certain who were the beginners of it were taken up: whereof one was a blackamoor, who was brought before the head officers by the knight marshal's servants. Anno 1554. Moniards and English.

On this day certain priests did their penance at Paul's, and went before the procession, each of them in a white sheet, with a taper in one hand, and a white rod in the other: in the procession the Bishop came and discipled them, and then kissed them. Then they stood before the preacher at Paul's Cross till the prayers were made. Then did the preacher disciple them: and so they put off their white vesture, and stood all the rest of the sermon in their own clothes. Priests do penance at Paul's.

November the 6th, the Earl of Shrewsbury came riding to London with sixscore horse, and of gentlemen in velvet caps thirty, to his place in Coleherber in Thames-street. Earl of Shrewsbury comes to town.

November the 7th, two men were set on the pillory, citizens, as it seems, of much trade and business, and of quality; for they stood there in their furred gowns. One had a writing over his head, *For falsehood and wilful perjury:* the writing over the other was, *For subtile falsehood and crafty deceit.* Two pillorized.

November 9, the Earl of Pembroke came riding to London, against the sitting of the Parliament, with two hundred horsemen in velvet coats and chains; the coats with three laces of gold: and sixty residue in blue coats garded with velvet, and a badge of a green dragon. Earl of Pembroke comes up.

November 11, Pendleton preached at Paul's Cross again; and made a sermon for which he was applauded. Pendleton at Paul's Cross.

November 12, being the first day of the Parliament's sitting, the King and Queen rode unto Westminster church to hear the mass of the Holy Ghost. And after mass to the Parliament house, and with them all the bishops and the lords in their Parliament robes, with trumpets blowing, and all the heralds in their coat armour, together with the judges in their robes. The Earl of Pembroke bare the King's sword, and the Earl of Cumberland the Queen's. The King and Queen attended to the Parliament.

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The Earl of Shrewsbury bare the King's cap of maintenance, and the Earl of Arundel bare the Queen's. And afore them went the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer in their Parliament robes.

St. Nicolas's superstition revived.

November 13, it was commanded by the Bishop of London, to all clerks in his diocese, to have St. Nicolas, that is, a boy-bishop, in procession, and to go abroad, as many as were so minded, according to an old superstition.

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St. Erconwald's day.

November 14, St. Erconwald's day. Now it was commanded, that every priest in the diocese of London should go to Paul's in procession in copes.

Some do penance at St. Paul's.

The same day Harpsfield preached at Paul's Cross. There five did penance with sheets about them, and tapers and rods in their hands; and the preacher did strike them with a rod; and there they stood till the sermon was done. Then the sumner took away the sheets and the rods from them; and they went into Paul's again, and so up the side of the choir. One of these was named Sir Thomas Laws, otherwise called Sir Thomas Griffin, priest, sometime a canon at Elsing spittle. He and three more were religious men; and the fifth was a temporal man, that had two wives. Those were put to penance for having one.

Barlow and Cardmaker committed.

November , the late Bishop Barlow, and Mr. Cardmaker, parson of St. Bride's in Fleet-street, who were going over sea like merchants, were committed to the Fleet.

Bishop of Lincoln preaches.

November 18, the new bishop of Lincoln, Dr. White, late warden of Winchester, preached at Paul's Cross. And the same day were consecrated two new bishops, Holyman, bishop of Bristol, and Bayne, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

Two bishops consecrated.

A Spaniard buried.

November 19, a Spanish gentleman was buried at St. Martin's, at Charing-cross, with two crosses, fourscore torches and tapers in the hands of those that accompanied the funeral, who were both Spaniards and English, singing to the church; and the morrow mass, with singing.

Bishop of Ely meets the Cardinal.

On this day Dr. Thurlby, bishop of Ely, with others, went to meet Cardinal Pole in Kent.

November 23, a man and a woman set on the pillory for

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telling of false lies, that King Edward VI. was alive. And the next day they were set on the pillory again for that and other crimes.

Some report King Edward alive.

November 24, Cardinal Pole came from Gravesend by water, with the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Mountague, the Bishops of Durham and Ely, the Lord Paget, Sir Edward Hastings, the Lord Cobham, and divers knights and gentlemen, in barges; and did all shoot the bridge. The Lord Shrewsbury had his own barge, with the Talbot on it. All his men were in blue coats, red hose, scarlet caps and white feathers: and so repaired to the court. And the Lord Cardinal being landed at the court gates, there the King's Grace met him and embraced him, and so led him through the King's hall. He had borne before him a silver cross. He was arrayed in a scarlet gown, and a square scarlet cap. The Lord North then bore the sword before the King: and so they went up unto the Queen's chamber: there her Grace saluted him. After, he took his leave, and went into his barge to his place at Lambeth, lately Archbishop Cranmer's; and so to dinner.

Cardinal Pole comes to court.

Dr. Feck-nam at Paul's Cross.

The 25th, being Sunday and St. Katharine's day, Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, preached at Paul's Cross, and made a godly sermon.

The King and divers lords ride forth and exercise.

The same day in the afternoon, the King, and the Lord Fitzwater, and divers Spaniards, rode, arrayed in divers colours. The King in red, and some in yellow, some in green, some in white, some in blue, with target and canes in their hands, hurling rods at one another. The trumpets also in the same colours, and drums of kettles and banners. 204

Sir Hugh Rich's obsequies.

The 27th were the obsequies of Sir Hugh Rich, knight of the Bath, son and heir to the Lord Rich, solemnized in Essex, with a standard, a pennon of arms, a coat armour, helmet, sword, escutcheons, and torches.

The Parliament sit at Whitehall.

This day did the King and Queen, and the lords of Parliament, sit at the court at Whitehall, in the chamber of presence: where the Queen sat highest, richly appareled, and her belly laid out, that all men might see that she was with child. At this Parliament, it was said, labour was

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made to have the King crowned: and some thought that the Queen for that cause did lay out her belly the more. On the right hand of the Queen sat the King, and on the other hand of him the Cardinal, with his cap on his head; who made an oration to the Parliament, which is exemplified in Fox's Monuments. The sum of it was, that Pope Julius III. had sent them by him his benediction, upon their reconciliation again to the Church; willing them to kneel all down upon their knees, to receive the Pope's blessing and absolution, for their falling from the Pope and the unity of the Church. And in confidence that they would turn to the old use and custom again, the Pope by him offered his blessing. And the next day, by an instrument, they declared their sorrow for their apostasy, and prayed the King and Queen to intercede with the Cardinal to obtain his absolution; and they all kneeled down and received it. Yet one, *i. e.* Sir Ralph Bagnal, refused to consent to this submission, and said, "he was sworn to the "contrary to King Henry VIII. which was a worthy "Prince, and laboured twenty-five years before he could "abolish him: and to say I will agree to it, I will not." And many more were of the same mind, but none had the confidence to speak but he. Of this there was great notice taken: and the Lord Chancellor spake of it in the examination of Rogers, January 22, shewing him, that the Parliament had received the Cardinal's blessing, not one, as he said, resisting it, but one man that spake against it; and that there were eightscore in one house, save one, that had with one assent and consent received pardon of their offences for the schism. But the influence of the Queen, and some other great Papalins, swayed the house to this base compliance, and to take this foreign yoke again. After this work was done, it being now afternoon, the King and Queen with the Cardinal repaired to the chapel, and there *Te Deum* was sung for this day's joyful work.

The Cardinal's oration; P. 1341.

And absolution pronounced.

Procession for the Queen's great belly.

The same 28th day of November, the Council having sent a letter to the Bishop of London, signifying that the Queen was with child and quickened, and therefore that he

should take order that *Te Deum*, in token of thanksgiving, should be sung in Paul's, and in all churches throughout his diocese, several bishops, to the number of ten or eleven, the mayor of London, and the aldermen, came to Paul's in procession: and after that was *Te Deum* sung; and after, a sermon. And after this the bishops went to the chapter-house, to give God thanks for this supposed mercy. For this great belly, so boasted of, was a mistake or a deceit. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1554.

The 29th day, commandment was given forth from the Bishop of London through his diocese, that all priests should say the mass of the Holy Ghost, go in procession, and sing *Te Deum*, and ring the bells, and to give God thanks for the gracious Queen's quickening with child, and to pray, that that good thing God, by his omnipotent power, had begun, he would bring to good effect. 205

On the 30th day, Friday, being the festival of St. Andrew, the King and his lords ride to Westminster-abbey to hear mass, which was sung by Spaniards. There met him at the court gates an hundred Almains in hose and doublets of white and red, and yellow velvet coats, and linings with yellow sarcenet, and yellow velvet caps and feathers; drums and flutes of the same colour, with gilt halberds: and an hundred in yellow hose, doublets of velvet, and jerkins of leather, garded with crimson velvet and white, feathers yellow and red: and those were Spaniards. And an hundred in yellow gowns of velvet. And the same night the Lord Cardinal came to the court, and went to the chapel with the King, where *Te Deum* was sung. The King, splendidly attended, goes to mass.

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Further memorials in the months of December, January, February, and March.

TO continue our journal along the ensuing months.

December 2, Sunday, all priests and clerks, with their copes and crosses, came to Paul's, and all the crafts in their liveries, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, against the December. The King and the L. Cardinal at Paul's.

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Lord Cardinal Pole's coming The Lord Chancellor and all the bishops tarried for him at the Bishop of London's place. The Cardinal, landing at Barnard's Castle, came at nine of the clock: there the Lord Mayor received him, and brought him to Paul's. And so the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Cardinal, and all the bishops, went up into the choir with their mitres on. And at ten of the clock the King's Grace came to Paul's to hear mass, with four hundred of his guard; one hundred Englishmen, one hundred Almains, one hundred Spaniards, and one hundred Switzers, with many lords and knights. And so they heard mass; the Queen's chaplain officiating, and the King's and St. Paul's choir sung. At this great and noble assembly did the Lord Chancellor preach upon the text, *Now it is time for us to awake out of sleep*, &c. The contents of this sermon may be found in Fox.

P. 1344.

St. Nicolas.

On the 5th of December, the which was St. Nicolas' eve, at evensong time, came a commandment, that St. Nicolas should not go abroad nor about. But notwithstanding, it seems, so much were the citizens taken with the mock St. Nicolas, that is, a boy-bishop, that there went about these St. Nicolases in divers parishes, as in St. Andrew's Holborn, and St. Nicolas Olave's in Bread-street. The reason the procession of St. Nicolas was forbid was, because the Cardinal had this St. Nicolas' day sent for all the convocation, bishops and inferior clergy, to come to him to Lambeth, there to be absolved from all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies.

His day celebrated by a boy-bishop.

206 But because this way of celebrating St. Nicolas' day is so odd and strange, let me add here a word or two explanatory of it. The memory of this saint and bishop Nicolas was thus solemnized by a child, the better to remember the holy man, even when he was a child, and his childlike virtues, when he became a man. The Popish Festival tells us, that while he lay in his cradle he fasted Wednesdays and Fridays, sucking but once a day on those days. And his meekness and simplicity, the proper virtues of children, he maintained from his childhood as long as he lived; "and

"therefore," saith the Festival, "children done him worship "before all other saints." This boy-bishop, or St. Nicolas, was commonly one of the choristers, and therefore in the old offices was called, *episcopus choristarum*, *bishop of the choristers*, and chosen by the rest to this honour. But afterward there were many St. Nicolases; and every parish almost had his St. Nicolas. And from this St. Nicolas' day to Innocents' day at night, this boy bore the name of a bishop, and the state and habit too, wearing the mitre and the pastoral staff, and the rest of the pontifical attire; nay, and reading the holy offices. While he went his procession, he was much feasted and treated by the people, as, it seems, much valuing his blessing: which made the citizens so fond of keeping this holyday.

Procession of the Conception.

The 8th, being the day of the conception of our blessed Lady, was a goodly procession at the Savoy by the Spaniards, the priest carrying the sacrament between his hands; and one deacon carrying a censer censing, and another the holy water-stock, and a number of friars and priests singing; and every man and woman, knights also and gentlemen, bearing green tapers burning, and eight trumpets blowing; and when they ceased, then began the sackbuts to play; and when they had done, there was one who carried two drums on his back, and one came after, beating them. And so done, they went about the Savoy, now singing, and a while after playing again, and by and by came singing into the church: and then after that they went to mass.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.

On the 9th, Dr. Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, preached the Paul's Cross sermon, and prayed for the Pope of Rome, Julius III. and for all the souls in purgatory.

A bear-baiting.

The same day, being Sunday, (for it seems these sports and pastimes were commonly practised on these days,) was a bear-baiting on the Bankside; when a sad accident happened: for the great blind bear brake loose, and running away, he caught a serving-man by the calf of the leg, and bit off a great piece of it, and after by the huckle-bone: and within three days after, he died.

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St. Dunstan's church hallowed.

On the 14th, St. Dunstan's church in the East, which had been suspended on the day of our Lady's conception, by reason of a man of that parish, was now hallowed, together with the churchyard, by a suffragan; old Bird, I suppose, formerly bishop of Chester, now Bishop Boner's suffragan.

Bp. Cotes at Paul's Cross.

The 16th day, Dr. Cotes, bishop of West Chester, made the Paul's Cross sermon. His subject was concerning the blessed sacrament, and labouring to prove the corporal presence by many quotations out of the fathers and ecclesiastical authors.

A triumph at court.

The 18th was a great triumph at the court gate, by the King and divers lords, both English and Spanish; who were in goodly harness, and upon their arms goodly jerkins
207 of blue velvet, and hose embroidered with silver and blue sarcenet. And so they ran on foot, with spears and swords, at the tourney, drums and flutes in white velvet, drawn out with blue sarcenet. Some also were habited in other colours. There were ten against the King and his party, who were eighteen.

Order against departing from the Parliament in Christmas.

Whereas it was common for the Parliament to adjourn for the holydays in Christmas, or at least to take the liberty of absence, many of the lords and commons had their horses and servants come up for them; but such weighty and hasty work was now upon the anvil, that on 22 Decemb. strict order was issued out, that none of the Parliament-men should depart that Christmas, nor till the Parliament were ended: which proved much contrary to expectation. And it is likely many of them were desirous to be absent, because of the Popish and Spanish work that was in doing. For on new-year's-day passed the act for restoring the supremacy to the see apostolic, and repealing a great many of King Henry's laws that had been made to the prejudice of the see: and, soon after, the bill for investing the Spanish King with the care of the kingdom, during the young age of the prince to be born.

Prince of Piemont comes.

On the 26th (Fox writes the 28th) came the Prince of Piemont by water from Gravesend, with the Lord Privy

Seal and the Lord Mountague, and shot the bridge, and so to court. CHAP. XXVI.

Decemb. ult. a Spanish lord was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, with banner, coat, target, helmet, mantle, escutcheons, and many torchlights. Anno 1554. A Spanish lord buried.

On new-year's-day, in Bow churchyard, at night, was an assembly of men and women, to the number of thirty and above, who had the English service and prayers used, and a lecture among them, Thomas Rosse being their minister. They were taken by the sheriffs, and their minister, after he had been brought before the Chancellor, sent to the Tower, and the rest to the Counter and other places. January. A religious assembly taken.

The same night happened a great uproar, occasioned by some insolent and debauched Spaniards, who had gotten among them certain whores in the cloister of Westminster-abbey. The passage through which cloister, for their more secrecy, other Spaniards in their harness guarded, that none might disturb their fellows' sport. Notwithstanding, some of the Dean's men happened now to come into the cloister, at whom these Spaniards discharged their pistols, and wounded some of them: whereat began a fray. A Spanish friar gets presently into the church, and rings the bell for alarm. This called all the street together, and much blood had like to have been spilt. But the tumult at length ceased, and no more harm done than the great fright and disturbance which it occasioned. A disturbance by Spaniards.

Jan. 8, the Prince of Piemont went by water to the Tower with Lord Clinton, lord admiral, and divers others. There he was shewed every place of remark, and entertained with shooting off guns. Prince of Piemont visits the Tower.

On the 9th, certain Spaniards killed an Englishman basely: two held him while one thrust him through; and so he died. An Englishman killed by Spaniards.

The 14th, Dr. Chadsey, one of the disputants against Peter Martyr at Oxford in King Edward's reign, and ere long to dispute against Archbishop Cranmer there, now made parson of Alhallows in Bread-street, preached the Paul's Cross sermon. Dr. Chadsey at Paul's Cross.

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Many pardoned.

On the 18th, the Lord Chancellor went to the Tower, and divers other lords of the Council, and delivered a number of prisoners, *viz.* the three sons and the brothers of the late Duke of Northumberland, Sir James a Croft, Sir George Harper, Sir George Carow, Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, Sir Nicolas Arnold, Mr. Vaughan, Sir Edward Warner, Mr. Gybbs, the Archbishop of York, Sir John Rogers, and divers others, concerned in the Lady Jane's or Wyat's business, after a year's imprisonment or more. Then was great shooting off of guns.

Protestants arraigned.

On the 22d, arraigned at the Lord Chancellor's place, beside St. Mary Overy's, Sir John Hoper, late bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Dr. Crome, an ancient pious divine of London, the parson of Whittington college, Harold Tomson, Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and divers others, to the number of eleven persons, besides two more that were not then sent for. They were asked, whether they would receive the Cardinal's blessing, and be united again to the Catholic Church with the rest of the realm? One, who was a citizen, did submit: the other ten refused. But one of them, by the means of the Lord William Howard, having this favourable question put to him, whether he would be an honest man, as his father was before him? and answering, Yea, was discharged. There were now present, as the Queen's commissioners, beside the Lord Chancellor, the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Chichester, Carlile, the Lord William Howard, Lord Paget, Sir Richard Southwel, Secretary Bourn.

Tilting.

On the 24th was great running at the tilt at Westminster with spears, both English and Spaniards.

Procession on St. Paul's day.

On the 25th, being St. Paul's day, was a general procession of St. Paul by every parish, both priests and clerks, in copes, to the number of an hundred and sixty, singing *Salve festa dies*, with ninety crosses borne. The procession was through Cheap unto Leadenhall. And before went two schools; that is, first, all the children of the Gray friars, and then those of St. Paul's school. There were eight bishops, and the Bishop of London mitred, bearing

the sacrament, with many torches burning, and a canopy borne over. And so about the churchyard, and in at the west door, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the companies in their best liveries. And within a while after, the King came, and the Lord Cardinal, and the Prince of Piemont, and divers lords and knights. At the foot of the steps to the choir, as the King went up, kneeled the gentlemen lately pardoned, offering him their service. After mass, they returned to the court to dinner. And at night bonfires, and great ringing of bells in every church. And all this joy was for the conversion of the realm.

Westminster procession.

On the 27th day was a goodly procession from Westminster unto Temple-bar, with crosses, and an hundred children in surplices, and an hundred clerks and priests in copes singing. The which copes were very rich of tissue and cloth of gold. And after came Mr. Dean Weston, carrying the blessed sacrament, and a canopy borne over it, and about it twenty torches burning: and after it a two hundred men and women.

Hoper and others arraigned.

On the 28th, Hoper, Crome, Cardmaker, and others, were examined, at St. Mary Overy's, for their principles in religion: where Cardmaker was said to recant; or rather to submit himself: but it was done by him only out of a 209
design to prolong his life a little, for some good end he had, as he shewed a friend.

The 29th, at the same church, Hoper and Rogers were arraigned for heresy, and cast to be burnt: and thence carried back to Newgate.

The 30th, Bradford, Taylor, and Saunders, were arraigned in the same place, and cast to be burnt in divers places.

February.

The Duchess of Northumberland buried.

February 1. was buried the Duchess of Northumberland, at Chelsey, where she lived, with a goodly herse of wax and pensils, and escutcheons: two banners of arms, and four banners of images, two heralds of arms, with many mourners. There was a majesty and the vallans: and six dozen of torches, and two white branches; and all the

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church hung in black and arms: and a canopy borne over her to church.

Anno 1554.

Some divines degraded and burnt.

On the 4th day, the Bishop of London went into Newgate, and other doctors with him, to degrade Hoper and Rogers. The same day, between ten and eleven of the clock, Rogers was carried into Smithfield and burnt, for pretended erroneous opinions, with a great company of the guard attending.

On the 5th, between five and six in the morning, Hoper was carried towards Gloucester, and Saunders towards Coventry, to be burnt there.

And on the 6th, Dr. Taylor was sent as early into Suffolk, to suffer the same punishment at Hadley, where he had been rector.

Lord Strange marries.

On the 7th, the Lord Strange, eldest son of the Earl of Darby, married the Earl of Cumberland's daughter: which marriage was solemnized the same day with a great dinner, just and tourney on horseback with swords: then a supper with torchlights and cressetlights; an hundred of the former, and sixty of the latter; a mask and a banquet.

Heretics condemned.

The 9th day, six heretics (as the gospellers were now called) of Essex, and Suffolk, and London, were arraigned at St. Paul's, before the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, the Bishop of London, and divers doctors, and some of the Council, and condemned to be burnt in divers places. For now the Lord Chancellor having broken the ice of burning heretics, and taken off the heads and captains, as it were, of the Protestants, left the rest of this bloody work to Bishop Boner; and those six before mentioned he began with: who, having been convented before him but the day before, were condemned this very next day. Their names and callings were as follow; William Pigot, butcher; Stephen Knight, barber; Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, weaver; Thomas Hawks of Essex, gentleman; John Lawrence, priest; and William Hunter, an apprentice to a silk-weaver in Coleman-street.

February 10, being Sunday, Alphonsus, a Spanish Gray

friar, preached before the King: and in his sermon inveighed against the bishops for burning of men; saying, that they learned it not in Scripture, to put any to death for conscience, but on the contrary rather to let them live and be converted. But such discourses were seldom made at court, and this good counsel took little effect.

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A Spanish friar preaches against burning for religion.

February 14, Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent down towards his diocese, there to be condemned and burnt.

Bp. of St. David's sent into Wales.

The same day, the image of the old abrogated saint, Thomas Becket, martyr for the Pope, but traitor to the King, was set up in stone over the gate of St. Thomas of Acres, that is, Mercers chapel, by order of the Lord Chancellor and other bishops, in the habit of a bishop with his mitre and crosier: but within two days after, in the night-time, his two fingers, held up to bless, were broken off: and the next night his neck too, and the top of his crosier. But the shame done to St. Thomas was highly resented. And many, that were looked upon as no friends to the present proceedings, were suspected. And among the rest one Barnes, a mercer, who lived over against the chapel; who therefore, with some of his servants, was committed. But though nothing could be proved against him, yet he was fain to enter into a recognisance of a great sum of money both to watch it, and to make good the image, whensoever it should be defaced. The 2d day of March it was set up again at his charge. And again the 14th day, at night, the head was broken off, and one of the arms. So that on the 15th a proclamation went forth, that whosoever did know, and would shew to the Mayor, who had done this act, should not only have his pardon, but be rewarded with an hundred crowns of gold. But the act still remained undiscovered.

Thomas Becket's image set up.

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February the 18th, the Lord Viscount Mountague, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely, with divers others in their company, passed through London with sevenscore horse, being appointed ambassadors to the Pope; to thank his Holiness, as was

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pretended, for his great clemency to the realm, but, as was thought more truly, to treat about the restoration of abbeys.

Anno 1554.

For, when they returned home, they reported from the Pope, that as he was well pleased with other things here done, so he shewed himself not contented that the Church's lands and goods were not restored; which, he said, was a thing not to be suffered. And it was not long after, that the Pope set forth a bull excommunicating all persons, without exception, which kept any church or abbey lands, and also all others (were they princes, bishops, nobles, justices of the peace, or other officers) that did not put this bull in execution. But yet notwithstanding, it was not thought convenient yet to take any notice of it, or move it in this realm, any further than by the Queen's example, who in the next month restored what was in her hands to the Church.

March. Procession.

March 8, was a general procession from St. Paul's, through Cheap, down Bucklers Bury, and so through Walbrook, up Budge-row and Watling-street, and so to Paul's again. The processioners were all the children of Paul's school and of the hospital of Christ's Church, the Bishop, my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, all the crafts, with the clerks and priests singing.

One pillorized.

On the same day, a man was set on the pillory, for hurting one of the six men that were sworn; who was like to have been slain. Upon which occasion the church of St. Dunstan's in the East was suspended; the thing, it seems, having been done in that church. These six men were certain persons to that number, in every parish throughout Bishop Boner's diocese, and especially in London, that were sworn to make faithful presentment of all in their respective parishes that failed in any of the thirty-seven articles, set forth by that Bishop in his late visitation.

The six men.

Tomkins burnt.

The 16th day was the weaver, named Tomkins, dwelling in Shoreditch, burnt in Smithfield for heresy, by eight of the clock in the morning.

211 On the 18th were Mr. Bows, Mr. Cut, Mr. Hind, and

divers others, brought out of Cambridgeshire to the Tower, for a new conspiracy, which should have been done in Suffolk and other places.

A conspiracy.

The 19th, in the morning, the King run at the tilt against other Spaniards, and brake four staves by eight of the clock.

The King tilts.

The 20th, the Earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, dying at his house beside the Savoy, was carried to his burying into the country, to a place of his called Cheynes, with three hundred horse all in black. He was carried with three crosses, and many clerks and priests, till they came up the hill above St. James's; and then returned certain of them home again. And they had torches and arms, and money given them. And after, every man sat in array on horseback. First, one rid in black, bearing a cross of silver, and certain priests on horseback wearing their surplices: then came the standard: then all the gentlemen and head officers: then came heralds, one bearing his helmet, and the mantles, and the crest; another his banner of arms, another his target with his garter, another his coat armour, and another his sword; and then Mr. Garter in his rich coat armour: then came the chariot with six bannerols, and about the chariot four banners of images: and, after the chariot, a great horse trapped in cloth of gold, with his saddle of the same: then followed mourners; the chief whereof was the Lord Russel, his son, and after, my Lord Treasurer, and the Master of the Horse, and divers other noblemen, all in black. And every town they passed through, the clerks and priests met them with crosses. And to every of those parishes were given four nobles for the poor, and ten shillings to the respective priests and clerks, till he came to his place at Cheynes. And the morrow after he was buried, with a great dole of money, when the Dean of St. Paul's made a godly sermon. All was ended with a great dinner, and great plenty to all the country about, that would come thither.

Earl of Bedford is buried.

The five and twentieth day of March, being one of the chief days dedicated to the blessed Virgin, were as great

A great tilting at court.

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justs at the tilt at Westminster as had ever been seen there. The challengers were a Spaniard and Sir George Howard: and all their men and horses trimmed in white. Then came the King and a great many all in blue, and trimmed in yellow: and their helmets with great tufts of blue and yellow feathers: and all their whifflers, and their footmen, and their armourers. And a company like Turks rode in crimson satin gowns and caps, with fauchions and great targets. And some were habited in green: and many in divers colours. There were broken two hundred staves and upwards.

The Queen restores the church lands.

March the 28th, the Queen this day calling to her the Lord Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, Sir Robert Rochester, comptroller of her household, Sir William Petre, secretary of state, and Sir Francis Englefield, master of the wards, told them, that her conscience not serving her to detain the church lands and those of religious houses, having been taken away in the time of the schism, and by unlawful means, did freely surrender them all that were in her hands and possession: and that order might be taken in them as it seemed good to the holy father the Pope, or his legate, the Lord Cardinal. And she gave her commands to them accordingly, to repair with the Lord Chancellor to the said Cardinal to consult further about it.

212 April. The King and Queen remove to Hampton Court.

The 4th day of April, the King and Queen removed unto Hampton Court, to keep Easter there. And her Grace to keep her chamber there, in order to her supposed lying-in, which was to be about Easter. Now the Queen seemed to be in better humour, and as though she were willing to be in charity with all, especially with her relations, before the time of her travail, she sent for the Earl of Devonshire, and about Easter the Lady Elizabeth, from both their confinements, to her at Hampton Court. Afterwards the Earl travelled into Italy, and the Lady Elizabeth removed from her prison of Woodstock to her own house, but under guard, and compelled to have mass said in her family.

The 14th day, which was Easter-day, at St. Margaret's

church at Westminster, after the mass was done, one of the ministers, a priest of the abbey, named Sir John Cheltam, did help him that ministered to the people, who were receiving of the sacrament; when there came into the church a man that had been a monk of Ely, then married, and had his wife the same day there, who said to the minister, What dost thou give them? And as soon as he had spoken it, he drew his wood-knife, and hit the priest on the head, and cut him a great blow; and then ran after him and struck him on the hand, and cleft his hand a great way, and after gave him a great wound on the arm: which occasioned a very loud cry and shout. The church hereby became polluted, and the people went to another church to receive the sacrament. He was presently taken and carried to the prison of the Gate-house, and loaden with chains.

Anno 1554.

One wounds a priest at mass.

The 15th day, a letter was directed to Sir Michael Hare and Sir Thomas Cornwalys, from the Council, willing them to examine Mr. Flower, alias Branch, (for that was his name that had wounded the priest,) what he meant to wear about his neck, *Deum time*, *idolum fuge*, and whom he knew else to wear the like? Praying them also to speak to Boner, bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion according to the laws: and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him, for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute: so, as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the furthest by the latter end of this week: and that his right hand be, the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off, according to a law for striking in the church.

Order from the Council concerning him.

CHAP. XXVII.

Orders to the justices. Various matters in the Church and State, happening in the months of March, April, May, and June. The Popish Bishops' diligence. Deprivations. Pope Julius's bull.

Anno 1555. IN the very beginning of this year 1555, the justices in the several counties had their charges given them from the King and Queen: and special instructions were sent to them. The pretence was, for the preserving peace among the subjects, and for crushing uproars and mutinies that might arise: of which the State was not without fears and jealousies, at this time of the year especially. But the main design indeed was to drive on Papal religion; and in the mean while to secure the regretting people from rising, which the rigours and persecutions exercised upon them might provoke them to. What those instructions were, we understand from an original copy of them preserved in the Cotton library, which was sent to the justices of Norfolk, entitled, *An Order prescribed by the King and Queen unto the Justices, for the good government of their Majesties' loving subjects.* The like to which was sent, it seems, to every county in England, signed on the top both with Philip and Mary's hands. The main of this instrument tended to the suppression of religion. It being exemplified in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, I shall not here set it down: only in brief,

Instructions sent to the justices.

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The contents thereof.

"The justices were required to meet and consult together, "by what means good order and quietness might be best "continued. That particular limits and divisions in the "respective counties should be allotted to each justice to "have a more special inspection and care of. And whereas "preachers were, and should be sent down into the several "counties to preach Catholic doctrine to the people, the "justices to be aiding and assisting unto them; and to be "themselves present at their sermons. As for such as came "not to church, nor conformed themselves, to travail so-"berly with them; and with the wilful and obstinate to

" deal more roundly, that is, by rebuking them, binding " them to the good a-bearing, or sending them to prison. " For the preachers and teachers of heresy, and procurers " of secret meetings for that purpose, special wait must be " laid: that the justices themselves, with their families, must, " especially, shew good example herein. The spreaders of " false tales and seditious rumours to be searched for, and, " when found, to be apprehended and punished. Some one " or more men in every parish to be secretly instructed to " give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants; to " charge the constables, and four or more of the more ho- " nest and Catholic sort of every parish, with the order of " the said parish: to whom idle persons and vagabonds " should be bound to give an account how they live, and " where they are from time to time." [The better to clear the country of such well-disposed persons, that in these days went from place to place, to confirm the brethren, to hold religious meetings with them, or to disperse good books among them.] " Earnest regard to be had by the said jus- " tices to the execution of the statutes against rebellion, va- " gabonds, retainers, &c. and for keeping the statutes of " hue and cry: and watches to begin the 20th of April. " As soon as any offenders for murder, felony, or other of- " fences were taken, the matters forthwith to be examined " and ordered by the justices, according to a commission of " Oyer and Terminer sent to them. And the justices to " meet at least once a month."

Their Majesties' commission and letter to the justices.

So that these instructions, to make round work, were backed with a commission to the justices to hear and punish: as they were also with letters from the King and Queen, to provoke and excite them to diligence in these severe orders: which, because it is omitted in the History of the Reformation, I shall insert.

" *By the King and Quene.* 214

" Philip R. Mary the Quene.

" Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you wel. And where " of late time, partly for the want of the fear of God in

Titus, B. p. 115.

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" mens hearts, and partly also for lack of good order and " due execution of the laws, the common sort of people " within this our realm have grown into such liberty and " insolence, as they have not lett, at sundry times, to at- " tempt diverse stirs and rebellions, contrary to their duties " of allegiance, to the great trouble and disquiet of us and " our whole realm: we therfore, remembring that the time " of the year is now at hand, wherin these disorders are " wont to be most dangerous, and be therfore the rather " necessary to be foreseen and avoided in time: and consi- " dering therewithal, that a great part, or rather the whole " remedy of these inconveniencies, resteth in you, unto " whom, as to persons of most trust in those parts, the " order and government of that county is committed; " have thought good to put you in remembrance hereof, " to the intent yee may the rather have regard unto the " charge commited unto you: which we require you and " command you to do, in such diligent sort as may be an- " swerable to the trust reposed in you: bending your whole " study and industry to the conservation of the peace, and " doing of justice. And for that purpose, not only to se the " instructions herewith sent you diligently observed and exe- " cuted in every point, but also to devise such further order " for the good quiet of the country, as ye shal se convenient. " And to the intent that such as ye shal find to be mani- " fest offenders of the law, may not pass long unpunished, " we send unto you also herewith our commissions of Oyer " and Terminer: which, with the rest of the authority and " charge committed presently unto you, we require you to " use in such sort, as may be answerable to the good opi- " nion we have conceived of you, and serve to encourage " our faithful and loving subjects to go forward in their " weldoings, and fear the lewd and disordered sort from " attempting of the contrary. Yeven under our signet, at " our palace at Westminster, the xxviith of March, in " the first and second year of our reign."

To this order must be attributed in great measure the bloody year and years ensuing.

The 17th, being Wednesday in Easter-week, and the morrow after, was dirige and mass said, and ringing, for Pope Julius, the third of that name, deceased, and for all Christian souls. This was by commandment from the Bishop of London; who had received order, April 10, by letter from the Lord Chancellor, that it was the King and Queen's pleasure that obsequies should be celebrated throughout the realm, for the funerals of the said holy father. And there were Latin prayers composed, appointed to be said in the mass on this occasion; which the said Lord Chancellor sent the Bishop, to be communicated to all dioceses: which prayers may be found in Fox. P. 1417.

The obsequies of Pope Julius.

The 20th of the aforesaid month of April, was Flower arraigned at Paul's, afore the Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and many others. There was then made a good sermon. Afterwards he was cast, and condemned to have the hand that hurt the priest cut off, ere he should suffer death as an heretic: after was degraded; and after carried to Newgate. 215

Flower condemned.

On the 22d day, being St. George's day, at Hampton Court, the King, (about whom waited the heralds,) with other lords and knights of the Garter, went in their robes on procession, with three crosses, and with clerks and priests, and the Lord Chancellor, the chief minister, mitred: and all they in copes of cloth of gold and tissue, singing *Salve festa dies.* As they went about, the Queen looked out of a casement, that hundreds did see her, after she had taken her chamber.

Procession on St. George's day.

The same day, a letter was sent from the Council to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of Flower, commanding to see his hand stricken off before his burning.

Orders for the execution of Flower.

And on the 24th, he had his hand stricken off, at the post to which he was bound to be burnt. And after, he was burnt there against St. Margaret's church, without the churchyard, in the place called *the sanctuary.* This act of Flower's gave great offence to the professors of religion, who were mightily astonished at it; and one of them, named

Executed.

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Robert Smith, then a prisoner for religion in Newgate, came to him to confer with him about this deed. And Flower did then declare it to be naught, and wished he had not done it, and yet pretended some great impulse of the Spirit to have been then upon him, to do what he did: and to Bishop Boner he signified his desire that the law for cutting off his hand might be executed against him. It aggravated his crime in the minds of the people, that the chalice in the priest's hand, with some consecrated host therein, were sprinkled with his blood.

Some executed for robbing Spaniards.

The wealth of the Spaniards tempted the English: but they paid for it. For on the 26th of April three men were carried from the Marshalsea in a cart through London, unto the gallows in Charing-cross, and there hanged, for robbing of certain Spaniards of a treasure of gold, out of the abbey of Westminster.

One of them hangs four days.

Buried under the gallows.

On the 29th of the same month, one of the three that robbed the Spaniards of their gold, having hung four days, was now cut down, and buried under the gallows. He, whose name was Tooly, though but a poulterer's servant, was hanged in a gown of tawny frieze, and a doublet of tawny taffeta, and a pair of fine hose lined with sarcenet: which apparel perhaps was purchased with a part of the spoil. This man's ignominy was more than his fellows, because it seems upon the cart he declared his mind freely against Popery, which they called, *railing against the Pope and the mass.* Indeed he then used King Henry's Litany; "From the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormi-"ties," &c. But this was not all the punishment inflicted upon the dead body; for on the 7th of next month he was taken up out of his grave where he lay beside the gallows, and burnt there in the morning for an heretic. But first he underwent a solemn citation and trial, and excommunication, and sentence, and delivery over to the secular power and the Sheriff of Middlesex to see execution done. All which is related at large by Mr. Fox.

And afterwards burnt.

P. 1438.

Report of the Queen's delivery of a prince.

The 30th of the said month of April, tidings came to London, that the Queen was delivered of a prince. Where-

upon was great ringing of bells through the city, and in divers places *Te Deum laudamus* sung. I transcribe this from the journal of one that lived in those days, and a well-willer to the Queen's great belly. "And the morrow after" (as he goes on) "it was turned otherwise to the pleasure of "God. But it shall be when it shall please God. For I "trust, that he will remember his true servants [the Pa-"pists] that put their trust in him, when they call on him." But that such a current report should fly through London, so near the Court, and produce all those shews of public joy and gladness, and remain uncontrolled for a whole day, this seems to have risen designedly from the court upon some State policy: which however was thought fit to be revoked the next day, perhaps by the disallowance of the King. But the Queen's great belly went on still, and was not so to be laid aside, as we shall hear in the next month. And this may go only for a misreckoning.

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216 Vitellius, F. 5.

In the Lady Elizabeth's family were some who stuck to the true religion: which may give ground for a conjecture how that lady stood affected, though she had mass in her house, being so enjoined her; particularly one who she retained about her, named Robert Horneby, was of such earnest religion, that the report of it came to the Council, perhaps by refusing to be present at mass. Whereby he was brought before the said Council in the month of April, and both persuaded and threatened to submit himself to the present establishment of religion. But standing firmly to the truth, they committed him, April the 29th, to the Marshalsea.

A servant of the Lady Elizabeth's committed for religion to the Marshalsea.

May the 2d, three persons, for their abominable living, were carted through the city: *viz.* a gentleman named Mr. Manwaring, and a goldsmith's wife, and another tradesman's wife living in Cheapside. It was proclaimed why they were thus served; namely, for living in bawdry and whoredom, and having been divers times taken in it. They rid from Guildhall to Cheapside, and so through Newgate, and through Smithfield, and back again to the standard in

May. Three persons carted.

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Cheap, where the proclamation of their unclean living was made; and so along the city eastward out of Aldgate.

Anno 1555.

To apprehend some that carried about a martyr's bones.

One Pigot having been burnt, March the 28th last past, at Branktree in Essex, for adhering to the true religion, and disavowing transubstantiation, some persons had got his bones, and made it their practice to carry them about to shew them the people: not that they should serve for relics to be worshipped, but by the sight of them to excite the professors to constancy to the death, after Pigot's example. The tidings of this odd practice came to the court: which occasioned a letter from the Council, dated May the 3d, to two justices of the peace of Suffolk, *viz.* George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make search for two persons, named Barnard and Walsh, who used to do this at Sudbury; and, upon examination, to commit them to further ordering according to the laws.

One pretends to be King Edward VI.

May the 10th, a young man was brought unto the Council at Hampton Court, who said he was King Edward VI. He was here examined how he durst be so bold to assume so much to himself: and was afterwards delivered to the marshal, and conveyed to the Marshalsea, there to abide the Council's pleasure.

Procession.

May the 15th, was a general procession from Paul's unto Leadenhall-street, and down Gracechurch-street; and then turning down Eastcheap, and so to Paul's again. Before, 217 there went two hundred poor men, with beads in their hands, and three hundred poor women, two and two together; two men and two women out of a parish. After walked all the men children of the hospital, and after them the children of St. Anthony's school; then all the children of Paul's, and all their masters and ushers. Then all the priests and clerks, and the Bishop, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the crafts of London in their liveries. The same time, as they were going the procession, came a frantic man, as they passed along Cheapside, and hanged two puddings about a priest. For which deed the poor man was sufficiently tossed up and down, and punished: for he was

brought first before the Bishop, and after before the Mayor, and then at last sent to the Counter.

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Letters from the Queen to the justices, for prosecuting heretics;

The Earl of Winchester, lord treasurer, had lately signified to the Council at Hampton Court, that as, for the better suppressing of heresies throughout England, the King and Queen had newly sent their letters to all justices of the peace to take up all such suspected persons, and them to send to their respective diocesans, to bring them to the unity of the Church, or execution; so he held it advisable, that letters also might be sent to the bishops, to excite them in the discharge of their office in that behalf; wherein, it seems, they were perceived to be too slack, or at least not vigorous enough. This advice the Council approved of, and answered, May the 16th, that order should be taken according to his Lordship's request, and letters sent to the bishops. The letters wrote to the justices, containing instructions to them, were, among other things, "that for the good order "and quiet government of the country about them, they "should have a special regard to such disordered persons, "as, forgetting their duty towards the King and Queen, "did lean to any erroneous or heretical opinions, refusing "to shew themselves conformable to the Catholic religion of "Christ's Church. And that if they could not, by good "admonition and fair means, reform them, they should de-"liver them to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably tra-"vailed with, to remove them from their naughty opinions: "and if they continued obstinate, to be ordered according "to the laws provided in that behalf."

And to the Bishops, quickening them.

The letters to the bishops, written soon after, in the name of the King and Queen, were monitory; "That they had "understood, to their no small marvel, that divers of these "disordered persons that had been brought from the jus-"tices to them, the bishops, were either refused to be received "at their hands, or, if received, were neither so travailed with "as Christian charity required, nor yet proceeded withal "according to the order of justice, but suffered to continue "in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and "dangerous example of others. That like as they, the

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"King and Queen, found this matter very strange, so they "thought it convenient both to signify their knowledge "thereof, and therewith also to admonish them to have in "this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of good "bishops, as when any such offenders should be, by the "said officers or justices, brought unto them, to use their "good wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them "from their errors, or else to proceed against them accord-"ing to the order of the laws."

Cardinal Pole goes to Calais.

May the 18th, Cardinal Pole went over to Calais, accompanied, among others, with Sir William Cecyl, (whom he
218 seemed to delight in for his wisdom, policy, learning, and good society.) Then went over also the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget; the intent of whose journey was to treat with the commissioners of the Emperor and the French King, and to hold a conference with them, about composing a peace between the said Emperor and King. And on the 23d day, being Ascension-day, all the commissioners met at Mark, a convenient place lying between Calais, Arde, and Gravelyn: which commissioners were, the said Cardinal for the Pope; the three foresaid noblemen for the Queen of England; and the Duke of Medina Celi, Monsieur D'Arras, Conte de la Layne, and Monsieur Beningcourt, President Viglio, President de Malyns, Secretary Bab, for the Emperor; and the Cardinal of Lorain, the Duke of Montmorancie, the Bishop of Orleans, Morvillier, the Bishop of Vanes, Marilliac, Secretary L'Obespyn, for the French. But all their pains came to little effect.

Four condemned of heresy.

On the 18th, four men appeared at St. Paul's, in the consistory before the Bishop, being of the county of Essex, and of the parish of Coggeshal. They were charged with heresy: and were brought both in the forenoon and afternoon that day, and condemned to be burnt for heretics; and so carried to Newgate. Three of them were afterwards burnt in several places in Essex; *viz.* Osmond, Bamford, and Chamberlain.

An imposture of a

Another imposture about this time was discovered: as

that an infant living near Paul's spake, and bade men pray, and said, that *the kingdom of God was at hand.* There were two women especially that averred this, who, being discovered, were brought up at Paul's Cross, May the 19th, to do penance for it, when Harpsfield preached; standing there before him, and declaring that it was false that they had said before concerning the speaking of this child, and bade all men take heed, how any man or woman gave belief to any person which should tell them to the contrary. Anno 1555. child speaking.

On the same 19th day was a goodly procession, with all the children of the hospital, and of all the schools in London. Procession.

On the 22d of this month, another impostor was punished, who affirmed himself to be sent from King Edward VI. He was named William, sometime a lackey. He rode in a cart from the Marshalsea through London unto Westminster, and was brought into the hall; where he had his judgment to be whipped, because he said, he came as a messenger from King Edward VI. An impostor.

On the 25th were arraigned at St. Paul's for heresy, before the Bishop, Mr. Cardmaker, sometime vicar of St. Bride's in Fleet-street; and one John Warren, an upholster by trade, but of the company of Clothworkers, dwelling against St. John's in Walbrook; and one of Colchester, another of Great Wigborough in Essex, (Fox makes them both of Great Wigborough,) named Simpson and Ardeley: which were sentenced to be burnt: and so carried back to Newgate. The two former were burnt in Smithfield, May the 30th, Warren's wife being then in Newgate. Divers arraigned for heretics, and burnt.

On the 26th was a gay May-game at St. Martin's in the Fields, with giants and hobby horses, drums and guns, morris-dances and other minstrels. May-game.

On the 27th was the clerks' procession from Guildhall college, where was as goodly a mass as had been heard. Every clerk wore a cope and a garland. There were an hundred streamers borne, and the waits playing. They marched round about Cheapside, and so to Leadenhall, unto St. Elthelborough's church: and there they put off their gear, and repaired to a dinner provided for them at Barbers'- The clerks' procession.

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hall. In this procession the blessed sacrament was borne about with torchlight.

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A dispensation falsified.

On the 28th, Edward Cater of London, stationer, for falsifying and razing of a dispensation granted by the Cardinal, was adjudged to be set on the pillory.

Ambassadors appointed for foreign princes, when the Queen should be brought to bed.

The Queen's great belly still went on, or it was resolved it should go on; and another reckoning was made for the Queen's time of lying in. And that the good news of the birth of the prince, when it should happen, might be carried forthwith to foreign countries, ambassadors were appointed to be immediately ready to be despatched with the news: as, the Lord Admiral to the Emperor, Lord Fitzwater to the French King, and Sir Henry Sidney to the King of the Romans, and Richard Shelly to the King of Portugal; and Dr. Wotton, ambassador lieger in France, was sent to, to procure them free passage through that kingdom. And certain sums of money were assigned to each ambassador to defray the expences of their embassies. And, May the 28th, a letter was ordered to be sent to the Lord Treasurer, to make speedy preparation of the said sums, to be ready for the ambassadors who were to carry the joyful news of Queen Mary's good delivery to those princes.

Conjurers detected and examined.

In this month of May, certain persons, no good friends, as it seems, to Queen Mary, had meetings together, to calculate what should befall the Queen (perhaps) and her issue, and used the unlawful arts of conjuring and witchcraft. Their names were John Dye, Benger, Cary, and Field. This was at length discovered unto the Council; and Sir Francis Englefield, by a letter from Hampton Court, dated May the 28th, had order to make search for Dye in London, and to apprehend him, and send him to the Council; and to search also for such papers and books as might touch the same Dye, and also Benger. These were taken, and brought under examination. And hereupon certain men, June the 5th, were commissionated to proceed to further examination of these conjurers, upon such points as they should gather out of their former confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices. These commissioners were the

Lord North, Mr. Secretary Bourn, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Read, a judge, Dr. Hughes, a civilian: to whom was added Sir John Tregonwel, another civilian. I do not find any more of this matter, only that, August the 29th, Cary and Dye, or Dee, were set at liberty upon bonds for their good abearing until Christmas after.

June. Procession.

In the beginning of the month of June were several anniversary processions; as, on the third day, that of the fishmongers, from St. Peter's church in Cornhill unto Paul's, with an hundred copes: where the Lord Mayor himself was present. The procession of St. Clement's parish without Temple-bar, set forth with a great many streamers and banners, and the waits of London, with crosses: and in the midst of the crosses was borne the Spaniards cross of the Savoy, being round, like to that hung over the sacrament, of crimson velvet in embroidery rich. The clerks and priests, in rich copes, to the number of an hundred, singing *Salve festa dies.* There followed all the inns of court, and after, all the parish, with white staves in their hands. This was June the 4th; and the same day was the Islington procession, as gay almost as the former.

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Seven more to be burnt.

On the 10th day were delivered out of Newgate seven men, to be carried into Essex and Suffolk, to suffer as heretics the cruel death of burning.

The Queen of Spain's obsequies.

On the 11th day, an hearse at St. Paul's, for the Queen of Spain, the King's grandmother, began to be set up; the which was the goodliest that ever was seen in England: the bare frame whereof, the work of the carpenter, cost 15*l.*

The hearse.

On the 17th it was finished, being placed above the choir, with nine principals garnished, and all the principals covered with black velvet, and the majesty of taffeta, and the fringe gold. And all the choir, and above the choir, and the sides, and under foot, and the body of the church, hung with black and arms; together with thirty-six dozen of pensils of silk, wrought with gold and silver, and sixteen bannerols of arms, and four banners of white images, wrought with fine gold. Over night was the dirge, and the next day the

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morrow's mass, when many mourners attended. The first whereof was a stranger, then the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Richard Southwell, and many more, as well English as Spaniards; and sevenscore of poor men, having new black gowns, all holding torches in their hands. And after mass, a great dinner at the Bishop of London's place, with great plenty.

The Lord Treasurer to the Bishop of London about it.

About the preparation for this solemnity, the Lord Treasurer wrote thus unto the Bishop of London, June 7: "After my right harty commendations to your good Lordship, I shal not forget the livery of black against this time; no more shal Master Dean, to whom I wrote to make the sermon, who must now assuredly do it, for my Lord of Chichester [*viz.* Day, who was then the great preacher among the bishops] cannot attend it, to whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now sent. And your Lordship must command your sextons of the church to be in a readiness of ringing in the time of service. And if ye be not furnished with black apparel for the altar, and for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, I must have knowledg therof, that it be taken of the Queen's stuff: wherof I pray you let me be advertised."

Disturbance in Sussex.

In this month likewise a certain mutiny was attempted near Wadherst in Sussex, but speedily perceived, and stopped.

The ambassadors to Rome coming home.

The King and Queen's ambassadors that went to Rome, namely, the Bishop of Ely and Lord Mountague, having obtained at length their despatch, took their journey homeward the 20th of this month of June.

A league between England and Scotland.

This summer was a treaty and league between the King and Queen, and the master of Maxwel, on the Scots side. Whereupon a proclamation was issued out under the great seal, that all matters touching the Greams [who had made great inroads, and done much spoil in Scotland] should be heard and determined, according to justice, by the Earl of Shrewsbury, president of the Council in the north, and about this time made lord lieutenant of the north. This house of the Greams had lately humbly submitted themselves to the

The Greams.

Lord Dacres, one of the wardens of those marches; which he signified by letters to the Council: and they commanded him, in his determinations with Scotland, to use them well and gently henceforth, in case their behaviour should deserve the same; whereby they might the better continue them in their duty of obedience, and by those means keep those marches the rather in quiet and good order. The Lord Dacres took surety of those Greams, to be answerable to justice: but the master of Maxwel earnestly called upon the said Lord for redress of the attemptates committed by the Greams. The Earl of Shrewsbury was now gone down about this business; and the Lord Dacres was ordered in the mean time to procure by fair means and gentle persuasions, to move the said Greams to agree to some reasonable redress of the wrongs they had done to the Scots. 221

A feud betwixt Lord Dacres and Lord Wharton.

The middle marches were, about the month of June, committed to the Lord Wharton, a worthy and discreet gentleman; between whom and the Lord Dacres, another lord warden, was a great feud. The lords of the Council heard of this, and fearing it might turn to the disservice of the State, had interposed themselves between them, and often had exhorted them earnestly to lay aside their animosities for the public good. But malice was too deeply riveted in their hearts, especially of the Lord Dacres, to come to an amicable understanding; which occasioned the Council to write once more to the said Lord to this tenor:

Epist. com. Salop. in Offic. Arm.

"We have so often and so earnestly written unto you, "touching the good agreement and friendly joining toge- "ther of you and the Lord Wharton, that we are weary "to persuade you any more in remembrance therof: and "yet shal be very sory, if you for your part shal not shew "your self as conformable to the King and Queen's Ma- "jesties desire and ours herein, as we perceive the Lord "Wharton for his part very honorably doth: who conti- "nuing therin, as we doubt not he wil, cannot but deserve "for that respect the praise of a good tractable gentleman, "as we have good hope your Lordship wil on your behalf

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" deserve the like." Thus gently did the Council now treat this nobleman.

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Now to look a little back, to shew further the endeavours for resettling Popery.

Bishop of Bath and Wells's proceedings with his clergy.

The Popish Bishops were not wanting in their diligence to restore in their dioceses the old abrogated superstitions, and to turn all the clergy out of their benefices and livings, that had in the former reign conformed to the religion then settled, or that had taken wives; and that in no small numbers. And this may soon be discovered by the course of one of them, *viz.* Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells: and we shall shew from his register his commission to his vicar general, and then the proceedings thereupon.

His commission to his vicar general. Regist. Bourn.

The commission was to John Cottrel, LL. D. his vicar general, " to institute, induct, command, &c. And those " that were intruded into ecclesiastical benefices, to remove, " deprive, reform, correct, and punish, &c. Moreover, clerks " and priests, as well regular and religious, as secular, who- " soever, that were in holy orders, and keeping, in adulterous " embraces, women, upon shew of feigned and pretensed ma- " trimony; and who had joined themselves unlawfully with " the same women; and broken and despised the vow of " chastity, and had contracted matrimony, or more truly " the *effigies* of matrimony, *de facto*, with women: also,
222 " married laics, who, in pretence and under colour of priestly " orders, had rashly and unlawfully mingled themselves in " ecclesiastical rights, [*in juribus ecclesiasticis*,] and had " obtained *de facto* parochial churches, with cure of souls, " and ecclesiastical dignities, against the sacred sanctions of " the canons and ecclesiastical rites; to deprive and remove " from the said churches and dignities. And those so con- " victed, to separate and divorce from their women, or their " wives, or rather their concubines; and to enjoin salutary " and worthy penances, as well to the same clerks as to the " women, for such crimes," &c. Dated the 8th of April, 1554.

Now to see briefly and in part what was done in obe-

dience to this commission. April the 11th, royal letters were written, to commit to prison, and to keep their bodies there, John More and Richard Brereton. Who these were, and what their crimes, I cannot tell: perhaps More might be the suffragan of that name: but I find him in the beginning of the next reign presented to the church of Chuddon Fitzpain. CHAP. XXVII. Anno 1555. Upon this commission, what was done. Regist. Bourn.

Roger Edgeworth, S.T.P. preferred, April the 30th, to be chancellor of Wells, by the deprivation of John Tayler, alias Cardmaker, who the next year was burnt at a stake for his religion.

In May following, deprivations were executed upon all these persons, *viz.* Thomas Day, from Yevelton; Robert Keamys, from the prebend of Whitlakinton; John Smith, from the church of West Cammel. To which the Bishop collated William Fynche, his suffragan; John Tayler, or Cardmaker, from the prebend of Comb; John Faber, from the prebend of Timbercomb; another, without name, deprived from the vicarage of Butleigh; Thomas Gennyngs, from Norton Pyntly; William Writheosly, from the prebend of Lytton; Nicholas Mason, from the church of Chedsey; George Carew, from the prebend of Barton; John Best, deprived from ———; Thomas Trewbody, from the prebend of Comb 3a.; Humfrey Dunn, from the vicarage of Pawlet; Thomas Day, from the vicarage of Lockynge; Stephen Lions, from the vicarage of Il Bruars; Alexander Brown, from the vicarage of S. Decuman; John Welshe, from the church of Curry Malet; William Radbert, from the vicarage of Somerton; another, nameless, deprived of the church of Aishebrylle. All these, about twenty in number, deprived in the month of May; and one or two more resigned: such round work was made. They followed their business the next month, and seventeen more were then deprived. And the deprivations went on in the month of July: and so along the ensuing month, more or less, till March 1555. And some resignations and some deprivations were in this said year 1555, as appears in that Bishop's register. Many are deprived.

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Anno 1555. Chilcote chapel restored to the chaplain.

A case was decided in February, in the Star-chamber, about a chapel in this diocese; obtained in the former reign by one Coke, by virtue of the act *for dissolving free chapels, chantries,* &c. *and granting the revenues thereof to the crown*: which was now restored to the former chaplain, upon pretence or proof that this chapel came not under that statute: which cause is thus entered into the said register.

"A decree in the Star-chamber, the 13th of February, "1 Mariæ, between Robert Higden, chaplain of Calcote, "and William Coke of the said village: where it was de- "creed, that Calcote was not a free chapel or chauntrie "within the statute, but a chapel of ease. And the chap- "lains and successors shall enjoy the same chapel and "churchyard, with all the tiths, commodities, and oblations, "and other duties, in as large and ample maner as any of
223 "the predecessors have enjoyed them, before the making "of the statute of chauntries. And it is further ordered, "that the said chapel, with bells, font, windows, and doors, "and seats, be re-edified by the said Coke, in as good "estate as it was when he pulled them down: and that he "restore the ornaments belonging to it, or the value of "them, judged by the court. And also, that the said "Coke shall bring into that court to be cancelled, a pre- "tensed lease of tiths of the said chapel, which he obtained "out of the court of Augmentations, and the said lease be "cancelled."

The Pope grants a plenary indulgence. Regist. Bourn.

The Pope was not wanting on his part, in this favourable juncture, to bring back the English nation to their old devoirs to him, and graciously to overlook and forgive all former backslidings from his religion and laws: for he soon issued a bull of *plenary indulgence* to every one for all past misdemeanours whatsoever, in as full a manner as in a year of jubilee, that would give thanks and make a prayer for the causes therein mentioned.

It was as follows, as it was taken from the register of the see of Bath and Wells.

" *Bulla plenarie Indulgentie,*

" Granted by Julius III. pope, to all who shall give " thanks for the union of the kingdom of England to the " holy mother Church, and humbly pray for the rest which " as yet remain in error, and for peace among Christian " princes." The indulgence is granted " for all faults, " however grievous and enormous, reserved to the apostolic " see; even those that are contained in the bull which is " read in *cœna Domini.* And to be absolved for sins com- " mitted; and whatsoever vows, (except those of chastity " and religion,) to be changed into other pious works. " And those that shall pray, &c. *plenariam omnium pecca-* " *torum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem, sicut anno* " *jubilei concedi solet, misericorditer in Domino elargimur.* " *Dat. Romæ* 9 *kal. Jan.* 1554."

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Memorable events happening in the months of July, August, September, October, and November. Some remarks upon Bradford and Latymer, martyrs.

July.

MASTER Bradford, a holy man and admirable preacher in King Edward's days, and one of Bishop Ridley's chaplains, and with him a tallow chandler's apprentice, dwelling hard by Newgate, on the first day of July went to Smithfield to be burnt for religion, by eight of the clock in the morning, surrounded with a great company of people. Of Bradford something will be said hereafter. Of the other young man, whose name was Leafe, it may be observed, that his living so near St. Sepulchre's gave him the opportunity to be an auditor of Mr. Rogers, the preacher there; by whom his eyes were enlightened, and his mind instructed in true religion. In which he was at length so established, that when, as it was reported, Bishop Boner sent him two bills to sign, either one or the other, by the signing of one to save his life, or of the other to lose it; that is to say, a

Two burnt. One was Mr. Bradford.

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bill of recantation, and a bill of his former confession; he refused the former: and because he could not write, he pricked himself to fetch blood, and then sprinkled it upon the letter; signing it after that manner, to shew his readiness to confirm his confession by his blood.

Three more.

On the 8th day of July were three more delivered out of Newgate, and sent into the country to be burnt for heretics.

Four more.

On the 12th, were four burnt at Canterbury: two priests, named Bland and Frankesh; the one incumbent of Adesham in Kent, and a bringer up of youth, and sometime schoolmaster to Edwin Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York; and the other, incumbent of Rolvendon in the same county. The other two were laymen, named Sheterden and Middleton.

Richardson, a Scot, preaches.

On the 22d day, one Richardson, a Scot, who was reader of Whittington college, came up in the afternoon to preach at Aldermary church a recantation-sermon. In expectation whereof, was one of the greatest audiences as had been known at a private church. Richardson continued his sermon from one till three, but deceived every one's expectation; for he shewed rather his persistance in his former doctrines, than recanted any.

Apprehensions upon a fleet of ships from Denmark.

A report had lately come to the Court, being still at Hampton Court, of a fleet of ships belonging to the King of Denmark, to be arrived in or near Scotland. This alarmed the English nation, which was once conquered by an invasion of that northern people. The Council thought fit, July 11, to send to the Earl of Shrewsbury, their exploits being so doubtful as they were, to desire him to learn as much as he could, at the hands of the wardens, what might be thereby intended, who being nearer, might, by their diligent espials, and other means, procure some knowledge. And but seven days before, the Lord Conyers, governor of Berwick, gave the Earl of Shrewsbury this account, which was the best intelligence thereof; "That there was a great "voice of certain ships, which should have been seen in "Scotland, supposed to have been a fleet from the King of

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" Denmark. And that the Scots Queen, being much afraid " of their landing, had given strait commandment to all her " officers along the sea coast to have a careful respect to " their charge, and that in no wise they should be suffered to " land, until such time as she should have notice, and grant " leave." This fleet lay hovering upon these north seas all the month of July and the beginning of August. The Scotch Queen at this time commanded a great number of the gentlemen of Scotland, with their powers, to be in readiness against the seventh day of August at Dumfreeze, whether it were upon the apprehension of this navy, or some other enterprise; but this somewhat startled the English. And as for the eye these Danish ships cast upon England, the Lord Conyers advised the Lord President, in another letter, that they much inquired of the state and strength of the town of Berwick.

But after all, this fleet did no harm to either kingdom, and seemed only to be against pirates. The conjectures thereof, however intended, were various. Some, that it was procured by the Emperor, to put the King of Denmark's son or his brother in the possession of the kingdom of Scotland. Some, that it was procured by the free cities of Germany against the Emperor, to restrain him, in case he should attempt any thing against them, by the help of England. And some, that this fleet was for the French King's use.

August. Another burnt.

August 2, was a shoemaker, named Abbes, burnt at St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, for heresy.

The King and Queen remove to Otelands.

On the 3d of the same month, the expectation of the Queen's great belly being laid aside, she left her chambers at Hampton Court, and the place itself, and resorted with the King her husband to Otelands, about four miles off. And as she went through the park to take her barge, there met her by the way a poor man with two crutches, who when he saw her Grace, for joy he flung away his staves, and run after her: of which such notice was taken, that command was given to one to give him a reward. This perhaps was reported as a little miracle wrought by the pre-

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sence of the Queen, to make the people the more to admire her gracious Majesty; when all this seemed to be nothing but a common deceit of beggars.

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[226] The late treaty made between Scotland and England seemed to prove but of small duration, and was looked upon by the English as very dubious; for the Scots delayed evidently to do justice to the English, and withal were making great preparations of armed men, as was shewed before. Whereupon the Council resolved to have the borders well guarded, and gave out their orders to the Earl of Shrewsbury, August 6, to this effect: "That by "letters from the wardens they perceived what delays of "justice were used by the Scots: which sort of dealing, "together with those other preparations and rumours that "were come to his knowledge, as they could not but seem "strange to some of the Council, so the more cause of sus-"picion they brought with them, the greater heed, in their "opinion, was to be given to the surety of those frontiers, "for the meeting with all attempts that might happen to "be offered. And they prayed his Lordship to give sub-"stantial order, that the force of the borders might be in "such readiness, according to a former order sent by them, "as might serve to encounter with the Scots practices, if "they should happen to attempt any." This was dated from Otelands, and signed by Winchester, lord treasurer, the Lord Cheyne, Sir Robert Rochester, Sir William Petre, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir John Baker, Sir Edward Waldgrave. We shall perhaps hear more hereafter of these matters.

Preparations against Scotland.

Two more burnt.

On the 8th day, betwixt four and five in the morning, was a prisoner, whose name was Denby, delivered out of Newgate, to the sheriff of Middlesex, to be carried unto Uxbridge, to be burnt there on that day, being the market day, for heresy. For the same crime, on the same day, and in the same town, was Robert Smith burnt, once a retainer to Sir Thomas Smith.

Procession.

On the 9th was a general procession at London, with all the children of the schools in the city; all the sextons, and

all the clerks, and all the priests; the Bishop of London; the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and all the corporations in their liveries; marching from St. Paul's down Cheapside, through Bucklersbury and Walbrook, and so up Wattling-street back to Paul's.

Fight at sea.

On the 15th happened a great sea-fight between the French and the Flemmings, and Dutch; wherein divers of both parties were slain and burnt, both men and ships, and divers hulks belonging to the Spaniard, taken with the goods, and brought into Diepe.

A woman burnt.

On the 23d was burnt at Stratford Bow, in the county of Middlesex, a woman, who was wife of John Waren, or Warne, upholster, lately burnt with Cardmaker in Smithfield for heresy. The said woman had a son taken at her burning, who was carried to Newgate to his sister there: for they both shewed a desire to burn for religion. Her name was Joan Laishford, daughter-in-law to Warne and his wife.

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Ambassadors come home.

On the 24th, the Bishop of Ely, Glyn, bishop of Bangor, the Lord Viscount Mountacute, Sir Harry Hussey, and divers others, came home from the embassy to Rome; and passed through London in the afternoon.

The King and Queen pass through London.

Aug. 26, the King and Queen came from Westminster, riding through London unto Tower-wharf; where they took their barge unto Greenwich, and landed at the Long Bridge; being received by the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Viscount Mountacute, Mr. Comptroller, Sir Richard Southwel, and divers more, together with the guard; divers holding torches burning. And so they went up to the Friars Observants, lately new founded by the Queen. And there their Graces made their prayers. At the Queen's landing, she received nine or ten supplications: and so back again to the Court, with an hundred torches burning. The reason of this cavalcade was, that the Queen might publicly shew herself to her subjects, who, upon her long keeping up, upon the account of her belly, was talked and whispered every where to have been dead. The midwives

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also and rockers being observed to have been dismissed, increased the suspicion.

Anno 1555. More burned.

On the 28th, certain heretics went this day out of Newgate into the country to be burned. Among the rest, Patrick Pachingham, who was burned this day at Uxbridge.

The Merchant Tailors' procession.

The 29th day, being the day of the decollation of St. John Baptist, the Merchant Tailors kept their mass at St. John's, beyond Smithfield. There my Lord of St. John's did offer at mass: and Sir Harry Hubblethorn, Sir Thomas White, and Mr. Harper, aldermen, and all the clothing. And after, the four wardens of the yeomanry, and all the company of the tailors, did all offer a penny apiece. And after mass, unto the Tailors' hall to dinner. All the choir was hung with cloth of arras.

The King goes to Dover.

The same day the King took his journey towards Dover, with a great company. And there tarried for a wind, the ships lying ready for his wafting over sea. And in the beginning of September he set sail for Calais, and so to Brussels, to visit the Emperor his father.

Another burnt.

On the 30th day, a man of Essex was carried out of Newgate, by the sheriff of Middlesex, unto Barnet, to be burnt there for heresy. His name was William Hayle, of Thorpe in Essex.

And the next day was John Newman, a pewterer, of Maidstone in Kent, burnt at Walden in Essex: where once the blessed Bradford had preached, and converted a great many to the true faith of Christ. And this execution was to be a terror to these.

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September. The Court fast.

September 4, the Queen's Grace, and the Lady Elizabeth, and all the Court, did fast from flesh: to qualify them to take the Pope's jubilee and pardon granted to all, out of his abundant clemency.

A consecration of bishops.

The same day were certain bishops consecrated at St. Paul's: *viz.* Dr. Corwyn, archbishop of Duvelyn in Ireland; Dr. William Glyn, bishop of Bangor; and Dr. Troublefield, [or Turbervile,] bishop of Exeter.

On the 15th day of the same month, the preacher at Paul's declared the Pope's jubilee and pardon sent from Rome. And that as many as would receive the pardon should be shriven, and fast three days in one week, and receive the sacrament the next Sunday. And after to receive clean remission of all their sins that ever they did, *toties quoties*. Anno 1555. The Pope's jubilee.

On the 29th were the greatest rains and floods that ever were seen in England. The low countries in divers places were drowned, and both men and cattle. All the marshes near London, and such like places, and all the cellars, with the beers and wines, and other wares and merchandises in them, drowned also. The rains began after Bartholomew tide, and continued till St. Edward's tide after, that is, to March 18: not ten days together fair. Great rains.

The Queen was now pretty well recovered, and seemed to be in a good state of health, and ready to remove nearer to London, having some expectation of the speedy return of the King her husband to her again. For thus did one Cryche, a servant to the Earl of Shrewsbury, write to him of the news at Court, October 13: "The Queen's Majesty, "God be thanked, is in prosperous health, and, as the voice "goeth, doth intend to remove to St. James's very shortly, "and there to tarry the King's Majesty's return: of which, "as yet, few or none know the certainty. For the Spaniards "go over still with their stuff so fast as they can, as well "from the Court as from London." The state of the Queen's health. October.

October 16, the sergeants at the law had their feast. Seven were made the same day, and a great dinner after. New sergeants.

On this day also were the reverend fathers, Dr. Latymer, once bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, burnt at Oxford for heresy. They were reputed the greatest preachers in their time; and now died with like courage and constancy, as the rest had done in the same good cause. At their burning preached Dr. Smith, some time master of Whittington college. Of these two martyrs some things shall be spoken hereafter. Latymer and Ridley burnt.

On the 26th day was one set upon the pillory for speaking of seditious words One pilorized.

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Two executed for robbing a Spaniard.

And on the 28th, in the morning, was a pair of gallows set up in Fleet-street, beside the well, and two men hanged thereon, for the robbery of a Spaniard: hanging against his gate from the time of their execution, which was betimes in the morning, all the day in the rains. The Spaniards' gold and riches were great temptations to the English; which made them sometimes venture their necks. But when they were caught, more exemplary punishment was taken of them, by hanging them, not at the common place of execution as common felons were, but before the court, or the doors of the Spaniards that were robbed, and by appointing them to hang all day, or sometimes several days. For the Queen was very tender of giving them offence.

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November.

Bp. Gardiner, lord chancellor, dies.

November the 13th, Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England, and one of Queen Mary's prime privy counsellors, died in the morning between twelve and one of the clock at the King's place, called Whitehall, at Westminster. And by three of the clock he was brought by water to his own place by St. Mary Overy's. And by five of the clock his bowels were taken out, and buried before the high altar. And at six the knell began there, and a dirge and mass; and all the bells continued ringing till seven at night.

Dirge and morrow-mass for him.

On the 14th day began the knell again for him. There was then an herse of four branches, with gilt candlesticks, and two white branches, and three dozen of staff-torches. All the choir hung with black and arms, and a dirge sang; and the morrow-mass of *requiem* sung by Boner, bishop of London, the bishops, lords, knights, and gentlemen present. And Dr. Whyte, the bishop of Lincoln, did preach at the same mass. After the ceremonies were over, they all repaired to the place to dinner. The same day, in the afternoon, was dirge sung in every parish in London, and an herse, and ringing, and the morrow-mass of *requiem*. And so he was prayed for after the old fashion.

Forgery.

Nov. 18, Richard Verre, of Strattebrook in Suffolk, for forging a letter in the names of Andrew Revet and William Bygot, whereby he was like to have brought them within

the compass of treason, was adjudged by the court of Star-chamber to be set on horseback, with his face towards the horse's tail, to be led about Westminster-hall, and so into Cheapside. And there, in open market, to be set on the pillory; and to be burnt in the one cheek with an iron with the letter F graven thereon, and burnt also on the other cheek with another iron, and the letter A graven thereon, to imply, by the initial letters, *false accuser*. And after that, he was set on the pillory at Norwich and Ipswich. Anno 1555.

On the 21st of November, at noon, began the knell for the late Lord Chancellor, whose body was then brought to the church of St. Mary Overy's, with a great company of priests and clerks, and all the bishops. And the Bishop of London did execute the office, and wore his mitre. There were two goodly white branches burning; the herse covered with arms and mourning, and four dozen of staves, and all the choir with black, and his arms. And before the corse went the king of heralds, with his coat and five banners of his arms, and four of images, wrought with fine gold and jewels. At the morrow-mass were said three masses, one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and the third of *requiem* for his soul. And after this the company repaired to dinner. His corps was put in a resting place in the church, till a day when he should be taken up and carried unto Winchester to be buried there. Of this man we shall hear more hereafter. The Lord Chancellor's funerals celebrated. [230]

November the 26th, a stripling was whipped about London, and about Paul's Cross, for speaking there against the Bishop that had preached the Cross sermon the Sunday before. A young fellow whipped at Paul's Cross.

This year put a period by fire to the lives of two famous divines, among many others, *viz.* Bradford and Latymer, as was mentioned before. Of whom I shall now make a few remarks.

John Bradford, a native of Lancashire, burnt at Smithfield, was a man of great learning, elocution, sweetness of temper, and profound devotion towards God; a prebendary of St. Paul's, preferred by Bishop Ridley; and one of whose Some remarks upon Bradford.

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worth the Papists themselves were so sensible, that they took more pains to bring him off from the profession of religion, than any other. But he, knowing the truth and goodness of his cause, remained steadfast and immovable.

His painfulness.

While he was in prison, he spent his time in preaching twice every Sunday, in writing many letters and discourses, praying, reading, conferring, disputing; sleeping but four hours in the night.

His writings.

Many of his writings and letters are preserved by Mr. Fox in his volumes. Besides which, I have met with three or four other treatises of his amongst my MSS. Two or three whereof I have put into the Catalogue, that nothing of so extraordinary a man may be lost. One is, *A meditation upon God's providence, and of his presence.* Another, *An wholesome and sound counsel written in prison to a dear faithful brother in Christ, being at liberty.* Wherein he inveighed against such as, being friends to the gospel, did yet frequent mass, and outwardly conformed to the idolatrous worship, to save themselves from danger. This letter was printed at Oxon, 1688, with Ridley's disputation. A third is a prayer, that God would shorten the persecution, and restore the gospel: composed to be said in the congregation. And being near his death, in expectation of it daily, he wrote a seasonable treatise, *Not to fear death*, which was printed, and afterwards turned into Latin, by some of the exiles, I suppose, for their use and comfort; and entitled, *Institutio divina et vere consolatoria contra vim mortis, Johanne Bradfordo, Anglo, authore, ex vernacula lingua in Latinum sermonem conversa:* but whether ever printed in this translation, I know not. I have it in MS. The two former I have preserved: though indeed the first I have seen in a little obscure book, printed in the year 1622, entitled, *Holy Meditations; by John Bradford, Martyr.* But lighting on so good and godly a discourse, I was willing to revive it; that thereby a specimen might be taken of the man that wrote it. To which I have added two of his letters: whereof one is to Traves, a learned and pious gentleman, his patron and counsellor: both writ before he went to study at Cambridge.

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Of this man's great service in the Church in King Edward's days, Bishop Ridley, whose chaplain he was, used these words, "That he was a man, by whom (as I am assuredly informed) God hath and doth work wonders, in setting forth his word." [231]

Ridley's character of him.

He studied in Cambridge, and was a member thereof, having been of Katharine hall first, and afterwards elected to Pembroke. And he was an earnest preacher there, exciting his auditors to walk worthy of the gospel, and threatening them with terrible judgments, if they neglected the means they then enjoyed. And soon after, as though he had been a prophet, fell the judgment of the sweating sickness upon them. After his condemnation, he wrote a very passionate letter to this University, wherein he upbraided them for their falling off so lamentably from the profession of the gospel, and bade them repent, and remember those excellent men they had lately among them. "Remember," says he to them, "the readings and preachings of God's "prophet and true preacher, Mr. Bucer. Call to mind the "threatenings of God, now something seen, by thy children, "Lever and others. Let the exile of Lever, Pilkington, "Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, &c. something "awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, "Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer move thee. Consider the "martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. "And now cast not away the admonition of me, going to "be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory "with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. "——You know, I prophesied to you before the *sweat* "came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal "gospelling. And now I tell you, before I depart hence, "that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of "God that will fall upon you all, both town and University, "if you repent not; if you leave not your idolatry; if you "turn not speedily to the Lord; if you still be ashamed of "Christ's truth, which you know. Oh! Pern, repent. Oh! "Thomson, repent. Oh! you doctors, bachelors, and mas-"ters, repent. Oh! mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers,

Letter to Cheke.

Bradford preaches in Cambridge;

And writes to the University.

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"repent, repent, repent." This was the present apostate condition of this University, once earnest receivers of the doctrine of the gospel; and these were some of the compassionate solicitations and warnings of this man of God.

Judiciary proceedings against him.

From the acts of the judiciary proceedings with this holy man, it appears, that Jan. 29, in St. Mary Overy's church, he was brought forth before the Bishop of Winchester; who tempted him to come again to the unity of the Church, as he styled it, that is, to comply with all the Roman superstitions. Which when he would by no means yield to, he was accused by the said Bishop, for believing and defending, that the true and natural body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar; and that there were only material bread and wine there. And no other article but this was laid to his charge, for which he was condemned: to which article Bradford answered, "That Christ is present "in the sacrament by faith, to faith, and in faith, and none "otherwise. And saith, that Christ is not in the sacrament "by transubstantiation. And saith, that simply he be-
[232] "lieveth no transubstantiation." Also, that it is not the body of Christ, but to him that receiveth it: and that any evil man doth not receive it *in forma panis*. And that after and before the receipt, there is the substance of bread. The next day, as he was ordered, he appeared again. Then the Bishop exhorted him by many arguments and reasons to reconcile himself, and to return to the Church; but not prevailing, he made short work, and read the sentence of condemnation upon him; and so he was delivered to the secular hand, that is, to the sheriffs of London. The sentence was much what the same that was pronounced against Hoper, mentioned before. One thing I observe in it, that

Bradford's ordination.

Bradford is styled *laicus*, and so he is all along styled in the process, as though they disowned the ordination he received from the hands of Ridley, Bishop of London.

His care in making restitution.

I cannot but mention one thing more concerning this holy man. While he followed the study of the law at the Temple, London, he was steward to Sir John Harrington, kt. treasurer of the King's camps and buildings, and kept

his books and accounts: whom he therefore called his master, in whose service once he took up some money, (and that, it seems, in his master's name,) which he was not able presently to repay. But interest and application were made by friends on his behalf, and at length, in May 1548, his master was prevailed with to pay the debt for him, and he to become debtor to his master, and so Sir John bound himself under his hand to pay the sum before Candlemas next ensuing. But while this thing depended, (which he called in his letters his *great thing*,) the conscience of his fault did exceedingly afflict him. He confessed his fault to his master, owned his debt, offered all the satisfaction he could. And because, beside confession and repentance, restitution was required, which he was not yet able enough in purse to do, he intended to offer himself to be a bondman to his creditor, according as he read in the Jewish law. Concerning this intention of his, he writ to a faithful friend, (Father Traves, I suppose,) desiring him to resort to Latymer, (who was privy to his matter,) and advise with him concerning this selling of his body to make restitution. When he came to the reverend father, he was busy in preparing a sermon to be preached the next Sunday before the King, but in short signified his dislike of so rigorous and unusual a course, and said, that he would not have him go so far; and that better counsel, or more, he could not now give him, than he had before done, *viz.* that he should wait, and commit the whole to God. He consulted also with his aforesaid friend, and poured out his trouble into his bosom, fearing much, lest he should die before he had made his restitution. But soon after going to study in Cambridge, means was made that the debt was paid, and his heart set at rest; which he thus expressed in a letter to his friend Traves: "God hath wrought the restitution of the *great* "*thing* you know of, the which benefit should bind me to "all obedience." His friend's letter to him with relation to the said business may be read in the Catalogue.

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I have but one thing more to add concerning this holy

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man; which is, that there are threescore and sixteen letters of his printed in the collection of the Letters of the Martyrs, most of which were writ during his imprisonment, which are [233] many more than be extant in Fox.

His letters published.

Hugh Latymer. Foxii MSS.

In the month of October was Hugh Latymer, an old disciple, burnt at Oxon. Besides what I have in the course of this history and elsewhere wrote of him, I shall here add a few more memorable passages concerning him, that deserve to remain on record. "It pleased Almighty God" (I do now but transcribe from a writing of Ralph Morice, bishop Cranmer's secretary) "to call Hugh Latymer unto "the knowledge of the truth of God's holy word, by the "godly lecture of divinity read by Mr. George Stafford, in "the University school of Cambridge; and of a Saul, had, "as it were, made him a very Paul: for otherwise, all the "days of his life, he had bestowed his time in the labyrinth "study of the school doctors, as in Dunce, Dorbel, Thomas "of Aquine, Hugo de Victore, with such like. Insomuch "that being mightily affected that way, he of purpose, per- "ceiving the youth of the University inclined to the read- "ing of the Scriptures, (leaving off those tedious authors, "and that kind of study,) being a bachelor of divinity, and "for his gravity and years preferred to the keeping of the "University cross, which no man had to do withal, but "such an one as in sanctimony of life excelled other, came "into the sopham school, among the youth, there gathered "together of daily custom to keep their sophams and dis- "putations; and there most eloquently made to them an "oration, dissuading them from this newfangled kind of "study of the Scriptures; and vehemently persuaded them "to the study of the school authors: which he did, not "long before that he was so mercifully called to the con- "trary. And as he felt by this his divine vocation, that all "his other study little profited him, but was rather a "stumblingblock unto him, then intending to preach to the "world the sincere doctrine of the gospel; so he mightily, "tracting no time, preached daily in the University of

Addicted at first to the schoolmen.

Becomes a great preacher at Cambridge.

" Cambridge, both in English, and *ad clerum*, to the great " admiration of all men, that aforetime had known him of " a contrary severe opinion. CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1555.

" Insomuch, that Bishop West, then bishop of Ely, hear- " ing of this Mr. Latymer's conversion, determined with " himself to come and hear him preach, but that should be " suddain, and withouten any intelligence to be given to " Latymer. And so it came to pass, that on a time when " Mr. Latymer had prepared to preach in the University a " sermon *ad clerum*, in Latin, the Bishop hearing thereof, " came secretly and suddainly from Ely, and entred into " the University church, accompanied with certain men of " worship, (Latymer then being well entred into his ser- " mon,) whose approach being honorable, Latymer gave " place, and surceased from farther speaking, until the " Bishop and his retinue were quietly placed. That done, " after a good pause, Latymer beginneth to speak to his " auditory after this sort: It is of congruence meet, quoth " he, that a new auditory, namely, being more honorable, " requireth a new theme, being a new argument to intreat " of. Therfore it behoveth me now to divert from mine " intended purpose, and somewhat to intreat of the honor- " able estate of a bishop. Therfore let this be the theme, " quoth he, *Christus existens Pontifex futurorum bonorum*, " &c. This text he so fruitfully handled, expounding every " word; and setting forth the office of Christ so sincerely, " as the true and perfect pattern unto al other bishops that [234] " should succede him in his Church, that the Bishop then " present might wel think of himself, that he nor none of " his fellows were of that race of bishops which Christ " meant to have succede in his Church after him, but ra- " ther of the fellowship of Caiaphas and Annas.

The Bishop of Ely comes to hear Latymer preach at St. Mary's.

" This notwithstanding, the Bishop being a very wise " and politique worldly man, after the sermon finished, " called to him Mr. Latymer, and said, Mr. Latymer, I " heartily thank you for your good sermon; assuring you, " that if you wil do one thing at my request, I wil kneel " down and kiss your foot, for the good admonition that I

The Bishop sends for him.

His words to him.

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" have received of your sermon: assuring you, that I never " heard mine office so wel and substantially declared be- " fore this time. What is your Lordship's plesure that I " should do for you? quoth Mr. Latymer. Mary, quoth " the Bishop, that you will preach me in this place one ser- " mon against Martin Luther and his doctrin. Said then " Mr. Latymer again, My Lord, I am not acquainted with " the doctrine of Luther, nor are we permitted here to read " his works. And therefore it were but a vain thing for " me to refute his doctrin, not understanding what he hath " written, nor what opinion he holdeth. Sure I am, quoth " Latymer, that I have preached before you this day no " manys doctrin, but only the doctrin of God out of the " Scriptures. And if Luther do none otherwise than I have " don, there needeth no confutation of his doctrin. Other- " wise, when I understand he doth teach against the Scrip- " ture, I wil be ready with al my heart to confound his " doctrin, as much as lyeth in me. Wel, wel, Mr. Laty- " mer, I perceive that you somewhat smel of the pan: you " wil repent this gear one day. And so the Bishop, never a " whit amended by the sermon, practised with Mr. La- " tymer's foes from that day forwards to put him to silence." [And came not long after to Barnwel Abbey, and preached against him, and then forbad him to preach hence forward in any churches within the University.]

Sent for by Cardinal Wolsey.

" Insomuch, that grievous complaint was made of him " by divers Papists of the University, as by Mr. Tirrel [fel- " low of the King's hall] and others, unto Cardinal Wol- " sey; that he preached very seditious doctrin, infecting " the youth of the University with Luther's opinions. " Whereupon the Cardinal sent for him to York Place. " And there, attending upon the Cardinal's plesure, he was " called before him into his inner chamber by the sound of " a little bell, which the Cardinal used to ring when any " person should come or approach unto him. When Mr. " Latymer was before him, he well advised him, and said, " Is your name Latymer? Yea, forsooth, quoth Latymer.

His words to Latymer.

" You seem, quoth the Cardinal, that you are of good

" years, nor no babe, but one that should wisely and soberly
" use your self in all your doings. And yet it is reported to
" me of you, that you are much infected with this new fan-
" tastical doctrin of Luther, and such like heretics, that you [235]
" do very much harm among the youth, and other light
" heads, with your doctrin. Said Mr. Latymer again, Your
" Grace is misinformed; for I ought to have some more
" knowledge, than to be so simply reported of, by reason
" that I have studied, in my time, both of the antient doc-
" tors of the Church, and also of the school doctors. Marie,
" that is wel said, quoth the Cardinal: I am glad to hear
" that of you. And therefore, quoth the Cardinal, you
" Mr. Dr. Capon, and you Mr. Dr. Marshal, (both being
" there present,) say you somewhat to Mr. Latymer touch-
" ing some question in Dunce. Wherupon Dr. Capon pro-
" pounded a question to Mr. Latymer. Mr. Latymer, being
" fresh then of memory, and not discontinued from study,
" as those two doctors had been, answered very roundly;
" somewhile helping them to cite their own allegations
" rightly, where they had not perfectly nor truly alledged
" them.

Hath the Cardinal's approbation and discharge, and licence to preach.

" The Cardinal, perceiving the ripe and ready answering
" of Latymer, said, What mean you, my masters, to bring
" such a man before me into accusation? I had thought
" that he had been some light-headed fellow, that never
" studied such kind of doctrin as the school authors are.
" I pray thee, Latymer, tel me the cause, why the Bishop
" of Ely and other do mislike thy preachings. Tell me the
" truth, and I will bear with thee upon amendment. Quoth
" Latymer, Your Grace must understand, that the Bishop
" of Ely cannot favour me, for that not long ago I preached
" before him in Cambridge a sermon of this text, *Christus*
" *existens Pontifex*, &c. wherin I described the office of
" a bishop so uprightly as I might, according to the text,
" that never after he could abide me; but hath not only
" forbidden me to preach in his dioces, but also found the
" means to inhibit me from preaching in the University.
" I pray you, tel me, quoth the Cardinal, what thou didst

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" preach before him upon that text. Mr. Latymer plainly " and simply (committing his cause unto Almighty God, " who is director of princes hearts) declared unto the Car- " dinal the whole effect of his sermon preached before the " Bishop of Ely. The Cardinal, nothing at al misliking the " doctrin of the word of God that Latymer had preached, " said unto him, Did you not preach any other doctrin than " you have rehersed? No, surely, said Latymer. And exa- " mining throughly with the doctors, what els would be " objected against him, the Cardinal said unto Mr. Laty- " mer, If the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrin as " you have here repeated, you shall have my licence, and " shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he wil. " And therupon, after a gentle monition given unto Mr. " Latymer, the Cardinal discharged him with his licence " home to preach throughout England.

Shews his licence in the University.

" Now when Latymer came to Cambridge, every man " thought there, that he had been utterly put to silence. " Notwithstanding, the next halyday after, he entred into [236] " the pulpit, and shewed his licence, contrary to al mens " expectation. Not long after, it chanced the Cardinal to " fal into the King's displesure: wherupon divers report, " that Mr. Latymer's licence was extincted. Mr. Latymer " answering therunto in the pulpit, said, Where ye think " that my licence decayeth with my Lord Cardinal's tem- " poral fal, I take it nothing so. For he being, I trust, " reconciled to God, from his pomp and vanities, I now set " more by his licence than ever I did before, when he was " in his most felicity."

Latymer visits Baynham in Newgate. Foxii MSS.

After this, Mr. Latymer was retained in the Court, and resorted much to London, and preached the gospel in divers churches there, to the great benefit of many, and the propagation of religion. Here, in 1532, he gave a charitable visit to James Bayneham, a little before his burning, upon this occasion. " After Mr. Bayneham had been con- " demned between More, the lord chancellor, and the bi- " shops, and committed unto the secular power to be brent; " and so, immediatly after his condempnation, lodged up

" in the deep dungeon in Newgate, ready to be sent to the " fire, Edward Isaac, of the parish of Wel, in the county " of Kent, and William Morice, of Chipping Ongar, in the " county of Essex, esq. and Raphe Morice, brother unto " the said William, being togethers in one company, met " with Mr. Latymer in London. And for that they were " desirous to understand the cause of the said Bayneham's " condempnation, being to many men obscure and unknown, " they entreated Mr. Latymer to go with them to Newgate, " to th'intent to understand by him the very occasion of his " said condempnation; and otherwise to comfort him to " take his death quietly and patiently. When Mr. Latymer " and thother before named, the next day before he was " brent, were come down into the dungeon, where al things " seemed utterly dark, there they found Bayneham sitting " upon a couch of straw, with a book and a wax candle in " his hand, praying and reading therupon.

Latymer and Baynham discourse.

" And after salutation made, Mr. Latymer began to com- " mune with him in this sort: Mr. Bayneham, we hear say " that you are condempned for heresy to be brent; and " many men are in doubt, wherfore you should suffer; and " I, for my part, am desirous to understand the cause of " your death; assuring you, that I do not allow that any " man should consent to his own death, unles he had a " right cause to dy in. Let not vainglory overcome you in " a matter that men deserve not to dy for: for therin you " shall neither please God, do good to your self, nor your " neighbour. And better it were for you to submit your " self to the ordinances of men, than so rashly to finish " your life without good ground. And therfore we pray " you to let us understand the articles that you are con- " dempned for. I am content, quoth Bayneham, to tel you " altogether. The first article that they condemne me for " is this, that I reported that Thomas Becket, sometime " archbishop of Canterbury, was a traitor, and was dampned " in hel, if he repented not: for that he was in armes against [237] " his Prince, as a rebel; provoking other foreign princes to " invade the realm, to the utter subversion of the same.

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"Then said Mr. Latymer, Where read you this? Quoth "Mr. Bayneham, I read it in an old history. Wel, said "Mr. Latymer, this is no cause at all worthy for a man to "take his death upon; for it may be a ly, as well as a true "tale; and in such a doubtful matter it were mere mad- "nes for a man to jeopard his life. But what else is layd "to your charge? The truth is, said Bayneham, I spake "against purgatory, that there was no such thing, but that "it picked mens purses; and against satisfactory masses: "which [assertions of mine] I defended by the authority of "the Scriptures. Mary, said Mr. Latymer, in these articles "your conscience may be so stayed, that you may seem "rather to dy in the defence thereof, than to recant both "against your conscience and the Scriptures also. But yet "beware of vainglory: for the Devil will be ready now to "infect you therwith, when you shall come into the multi- "tude of the people. And then Mr. Latymer did animate "him to take his death quietly and patiently. Bayneham "thanked him heartily therfore. And I likewise, said "Bayneham, do exhort you to stand to the defence of the "truth: for you, that shall be left behind, had need of "comfort also, the world being so dangerous as it is. And "so spake many comfortable words to Mr. Latymer.

Latymer comforts him for his wife he was to leave behind.

"At the length Mr. Latymer demanded of him, whether "he had a wife or no? With that question Bayneham fel "a weeping. What, quoth Latymer, is this your constancy "to Godwards? What mean you thus to weep? O! Sir, "said Bayneham to Mr. Latymer, you have now touched "me very nigh. I have a wife, as good a woman as ever "man was joyned unto. And I shal leave her now, not "only without substance, or any thing to live by; but also, "for my sake, she shal be an opprobrie unto the world, "and be pointed at of every man in this sort, Yonder goeth "a heretique's wife! And therfore she shall be disdained "for my sake; which is no small grief unto me. Mary, "Sir, quoth Latymer, I perceive that you are a very weak "champion, that wil be overthrown with such a vanity. "Where are become all those comfortable words that so

" late you alledged unto us, that should tary here behind
" you? I mervail what you mean. Is not Almighty God
" hable to be husband to your wife, and a father unto
" your children, if you commit them to him in a strong
" faith? I am sory to se you in this taking, as though God
" had no care of his, when he numbreth the hairs of a
" manys head. If he do not provide for them, the fault
" is in us that mistrusteth him. It is our infidelity that
" causeth him to do nothing for ours. Therfore, repent,
" Mr. Bayneham, for this mistrusting of Almighty God's
" goodnes. And be you sure, and I do most firmely be-
" lieve it, that if you do commit your wife with a strong
" faith unto the governance of Almighty God, and so dy
" therin, that within this two years, peradventure in one
" year, she shal be better provided for, as touching the feli- [238]
" city of this world, than you, with al your policy, could
" do for her your self, if you were presently here. And
" so, with such like words, expostulating with him for his
" feeble faith, he made an end. Mr. Bayneham, calling his
" spirits to himself, most heartily thanked Mr. Latymer for
" his good comfort and counsel; saying plainly, that he
" would not for much good, but he had come thither to
" him: for nothing in the world so much troubled him, as
" the care of his wife and family. And so they departed.
" And the next day Bayneham was burnt." Of whose death this wondrous thing is recorded, that in the midst of the flames he professed openly, that he felt no pain; and that the fire seemed unto him as easy as lying down in a bed of down. But return we to Latymer, who glorified God twenty-three years after in the same manner of death, and under the same imputation of heresy.

Latymer's writings.

As for his writings, I know none else published, but his sermons set forth by his faithful servant Augustin Bernher; and divers letters, and a sermon or two, and his protestation, all extant in Fox. For as Cranmer and Ridley had delivered in writing their sentiments or protestations upon the three questions propounded by the Papists to them, to dispute on at Oxford; so old father Latymer also delivered

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His protestation.

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his. A copy whereof, such as Fox could then procure, is recorded in his Acts and Monuments; but it is very imperfect, and many mistakes made, and many things omitted, as I find by a very good copy that I have met with among the Foxian MSS. and therefore I have placed it in the Catalogue, that all the relics of such eminent professors and planters of religion, and furtherers of the Reformation, might be preserved.

The contents thereof.

In this protestation, "he prayed his lords and masters, "the *transubstantiators*, (as he styled them,) to take better "heed of their doctrine, lest they conspired with some an- "cient heretics, who denied that Christ had a true natural "body. Which heresy he knew not how they could avoid, "who would have the natural body of Christ contained in "a wafer-cake. He said, that the sacrifice of the mass was "really invented and maintained for the support of priests. "And therefore he asketh, what St. Paul meant, to say, that "*the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel* "*should live of the gospel?* when as he should rather have "said, that the Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice "at mass should live of the sacrificing. Indeed, said he, "the Holy Ghost appointed no living for the mass-sayers "in God's word, but they had appointed themselves a living "in Antichrist's decrees. He was sure, if God would have "a new kind of sacrificing priests at mass, then would "Christ, or some of his apostles, have made some mention "thereof. But, belike, said he, (according to his pungent "way of speaking,) his secretaries were not the massers' "friends. And he could not wonder enough that Peter, "and all the apostles, should thus negligently forget the "office of sacrificing.

[239] "Then he charged the Queen's commissioners for keeping "him so strictly, that no man might come at him to "supply him in his needs; no, not so much as to mend his "hose, though he had but one pair: that to him, that had "preached hours two or three together before kings, when "he was before them, they would not give him a quarter "of an hour's space, to declare to them his faith, without

" such checks, taunts, and revilings, as the like to which he " never in all his life saw: for which, he supposed, he had " given them some great cause. And he thought it might " be, that he asked them, *If their god of the altar had any* " *marrow-bones?* For that he had read over the Testament " seven times in prison, with great deliberation, and could " never find in the sacrament of the body and blood of " Christ, either flesh, blood, or bones, nor the word *tran-* " *substantiation.* He bade the sacrificing priests therefore " stand from the altar, having no authority in God's book " to offer up our Redeemer; nor would he any more come " into the hands of sacrificing priests, for the good cheer " they once made him, when he was among their sworn " generation. [He meant the Jewish priests, who crucified " him.] He bade the lay-people to go away from the " forged sacrifices, and choose whether they would ride to " the Devil with idolaters, or go to heaven with Christ and " his members, by bearing his cross."

His words to the Popish dignitaries.

He told the Popish dignitaries plainly, " that if the Queen " had any pernicious enemies within her realms, those they " were that caused her to maintain idolatry, and wet her " sword of justice in the blood of those her people, that " were set to defend the gospel. For he was afraid it would " make this commonwealth of England to quake shortly. " He bade them take warning by a number of other coun- " tries brought to desolation, that forsook God's known " truth, and followed the lies of men.

And to the Queen's commissioners.

He told those com- " missioners, who were sent to judge them, that they were " not learned, whatsoever they thought of themselves, be- " cause they knew not Christ and his pure word. For that " it was nothing but plain ignorance to know many things, " without Christ and his gospel. He made a particular re- " mark upon Dr. Weston, [one of the commissioners that " had condemned him and his two fellows,] that he had " been curate of the church near Bishopsgate all King Ed- " ward's reign, and had owned the doctrine they allowed; " and held him well content, to feed his parishioners with " the doctrine that he now called *heresy:* praying God to

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"send him a more merciful judgment at the hand of Christ, "than they had received of him."

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And, in fine, he said, "he would stand to the answer he "had made, even to the fire; and declared, that he died "for the truth. And seeing the Queen's proceedings were "directly against God's word, he would obey God more "than man, and embrace the stake." In this and much more did Latymer's excellent protestation consist, wherein, besides his divinity and constancy, one may perceive notable footsteps, in this his old age, of his former quickness, acuteness, and παῤῥησία.

[240] Latymer one of the first preachers of the gospel. Apomaxis.

And lastly, let me add one thing more of this famous divine, that he was one of the first, which in the days of King Henry VIII. set himself to preach the gospel in the truth and simplicity of it, which he did with great eloquence and conviction: insomuch that a man of great sobriety and learning, I mean Sir R. Morison, asketh this question concerning him; "Did there ever any man flourish, I say not in "England only, but in any nation in the world, after the "apostles, who preached the gospel more sincerely, purely, "and honestly, than Hugh Latymer, bishop of Worcester?" The method and course of his doctrine was, to set the law of Moses before the eyes of the people, in all the severities and curses of it, thereby to put them the more in fear of sin; and to beat down their confidence in their own performances, and so to bring them to Christ, convincing them thereby of their need of him, and of flying to him by an evangelical faith. He took occasion much, in these his discourses about the law, to shew, that those that believed in Christ were freed from the law of Moses; and therefore, they being the sons of God, they were not, like Jews, to be thrust upon servile works; and Latymer would that the observation of ceremonies should be turned upon the Jews, who would not submit themselves to Christ, nor enter into society with him. He could not brook, that such as were hastening to heaven, should be detained and taken up by the way by thieves and robbers, as he expressed it; that is, to be cast into the Pope's prison of purgatory, to be tormented, and

never to depart thence, unless money were paid to the robbers. He declaimed against the opinion of obtaining pardon of sin and salvation by singing of masses, and by monks' cowls. He taught them, on the contrary, that one Christ was the author of salvation, and that he, by the one only oblation of his body, did sanctify for ever all those that believe. That to him was given the key of David, and that he opened, and none could shut; and that he shut, and none could open. He preached, how God loved the world, and so loved it, that he delivered his only son to be slain, that all that from henceforth believed in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. That he was a propitiation for our sins: and that therefore, upon him alone, we must cast all our hopes: and that, however men were loaden with sins, they should never perish, to whom he imputed not sin; and that none of them should fail that believed in him. These were the spiritual and sound contents of his sermons, when and before he was bishop of Worcester; quite different from the insipid, unprofitable preachings of the priests, the monks, and friars. This was the account that the learned man aforesaid, who lived in those days, gave of this worthy martyr's method of preaching.

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Latymer's letters. Bishop Ridley's character.

VARIOUS are the letters of this reverend father, and penned with an excellent acumen, and intermixed with a very hearty and honest zeal for God and his truth: divers of which are preserved by Mr. Fox. Among the rest of them registered in his volume, there be two that deserve some more particular remark.

His letter to King Henry against the prelates.

The one was to King Henry; occasioned by a proclamation, which he set forth against having the Scripture in English, making it treason so to do; led on hereunto by the Popish clergy; in which he boldly spake against the wealth and grandeur of spiritual men: mentioning to the King,

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" how they endeavoured to withstand and break the acts, " which were done in the last Parliament [preceding this " his letter] against their superfluities. Yet he would not " that his Grace should take away the goods due to the " Church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, " and set better in their stead. Then he fell upon their " persecution of the gospel, and the true professors of it. " And that because they cared not for the clear light: and " they whose works were naught, dared not to come to this " light, but went about to stop and hinder it; and that " made them let, as much as they might, the holy Scrip- " ture to be read in the mother tongue: saying, that it " would cause heresy and insurrection. And so they la- " boured to persuade his Grace. But this was their shame- " less boldness, which were not ashamed, contrary to Christ's " doctrine, thus *to gather grapes of thorns, and figs of* " *thistles.*"

He told the King, "how others had shewed him, how " necessary it was to have the Scriptures in English; and " how that his Grace had promised it in a late proclama- " tion. He prayed the King, that the wickedness of these " worldly men might not detain him from his godly pur- " pose and promise. He admonished him, that seeing " Christ had sent his servants, that is to say, the true " preachers, and his own word, to comfort weak and sick " souls, he would not suffer these *worldly men* (as he still " called them) to make his Grace believe, that they would " cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as " they imagined of their own brains, lest God be avenged," saith he, " upon you and your realms."

And whereas the King had lately set forth a proclamation against keeping certain good books, he said, " the very true " cause of it, and his counsellors therein," as the fame went, and not unlikely, " were they, whose evil living and cloaked " hypocrisy those books uttered and disclosed. As indeed " many times before they had set forth, he said, their own " conceits in the King's name, and as his proclamation. " And what marvel, that they who were so nigh of his

" Council, and so familiar with his lords, should provoke " his Grace and them to prohibit these books; who before, " by their own authority, had forbid the New Testament, " under pain of everlasting damnation. And yet the book 226 " was meekly offered to every man that would or could to " amend it, if there were any fault.

" That it was not these books were the causes of so many " extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, that broke " his Grace's laws and ordinances, and the commandments " of Almighty God, but rather their *pardons;* which caused " many a man to sin in trust of them. And those very ma- " lefactors beforesaid were the men that cried out most " against these books, and also against them that had them; " and would have been glad to spend the goods they had " wrongfully gotten upon fagots, to burn both the books, " and them that had them.

" That his purpose in thus writing was the love that he " had to God, and the glory of his name; and for the true " allegiance he owed to his Grace, and not to hide in the " ground of his heart the talent which was given him of " God, but to chaffer it forth, and to exhort his Grace to " avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their " abominable ways and counsels. He bade him take heed, " whose counsels he took in this matter: for some there " were, that for fear of losing their worldly worship and " honour, would not leave their opinions; which rashly, " and to please the men by whom they had their promo- " tions, they took upon them to defend by writing. So " that now they thought all their felicity, which they placed " in this life, would be marred, and their wisdom not so " greatly regarded, if that which they had so scandalously " oppressed, should be now put forth and allowed. That " they were so drowned in worldly wisdom, that they thought " it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance.

" Finally, he prayed God, that his Grace might be found " acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his " Church; and that according to his office that God had " called him unto, he might be found a faithful minister of

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" his gifts, and not a *defender of his faith* by man, or man's " power, but by God's word only. He prayed him to re- " member himself, to have pity upon his soul, and to think " that the day was at hand, that he must give account of " his office, and of the blood that had been shed with his " sword."

This letter is said to have been writ December 1, 1530: if there be no error in the print of the date, we may conclude it penned while Latymer was now at Court, entertained by Dr. Butts, and by him brought unto the presence and knowledge of the King, who then made use of him, as a fit man to assist in his assuming his *supremacy*. In this letter we may note the boldness of this reverend man, in opposing the prelates, and in so plain an address to so haughty a Prince, whom it was so dangerous to gainsay; and how he adventured his life in a frank discharge of his conscience.

Latymer to a certain gentleman whom he had reproved.

The other letter was wrote, as it seems, after he had resigned his bishopric, and lived privately in Warwickshire, to a gentleman and a justice of the peace of the county; whom he had so offended by reproving him freely for a certain fault, that the gentleman sent him a very threatening letter, telling him, that he would not bear it at his hand, though he were the best bishop in England. To whom Latymer replied, " that, as to the admonitions he had given
227 " him, he used to commit such trespasses many a time in " a year with his betters by two or three degrees, both lords " and ladies of the best rank, and yet had not heard that " any of them had said in their displeasure, *that they would* " *not bear it at his hand.* He asked the gentleman, if he " were to be taught, what the office, liberty, and privilege " of a preacher was, namely, to reprove the world of sin, " without respect of persons. He told him, he would flatter " no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteem all " men as he found them, allowing what was good, and dis- " allowing what was bad."

The case was this; this gentleman's brother had wronged a poor man, Latymer's neighbour, in detaining some of his goods. Whom therefore Latymer sent for, and required

him to do the wronged man right. He pretended he was willing to refer the cause to his brother, a justice: who made an award, and promised that satisfaction should be made by his brother unto the poor man; but neither the award nor promise was performed: and he rather maintained his brother's iniquity by falsehood and shifting. Latymer told him plainly, "that he would not his awardship "should take place; he shewed himself nothing inclinable "to the redress of his brother's unright dealing with an "honest poor man; who had been ready, at his request, to "do him pleasure with his things, or else he had never "come into the wrangle for his own goods with his brother."

The gentleman had told Latymer, (as in his own vindication,) that the justices in the country thought it unnatural that he should take part with him before his own brother. To which Latymer makes this reply, asking, with some wonder, "what a sentence that was to come out of his "mouth? for partaking was one thing, and ministering "justice another; and a worthy minister of justice would "be no partaker, but of indifference between party and "party. He asked him, whether ever he required him to "take any part? No, he required him to minister justice "between his brother and the poor man, without any par-"taking with either. And then he asked what manner of "justices were they, that would have this gentleman to "take part naturally with his brother, when as he ought "and should amend his brother. What! *justices?* No, "*jugglers*, he thought such might more worthily be called. "Finally, he told him, that there was neither archbishop "nor bishop, nor any learned man in either University, or "elsewhere, that he was acquainted withal, but they should "write unto him, and confute him by their learning. No "godly man of the law in the realm, that he was acquainted "with, but should write unto him, and confute him by the "law. No lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage of the "realm, that he was acquainted with, but should write unto "him, and threaten him with their authority. I will, said "he, do all this, yea, and kneel upon my knees before the

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"King's Majesty, and all his honourable Council, with "most humble petition for your reformation, rather than "the Devil shall possess you still to your final damnation." This was his love of justice, and care for relieving poor men from their oppressors.

Two letters of Latymer, sent out of prison.

There be two letters of this eminent servant of God which I have by me in manuscript, penned in his captivity, and, I think, never printed: which I therefore publish, by laying 228 them in the Catalogue; and the rather, because among all his letters in Fox's Martyrology there is only one very short letter, written out of prison, which was a thankful acknowledgment to Mrs. Wilkinson for sending him some relief. And Fox speaks somewhere, that he found very few or none written by him to his friends abroad; he means, out of prison.

The former to one in prison for the gospel.

The former was written to a certain prisoner for the gospel unnamed. This person was offered for money to be delivered out of his captivity, but he refused to give any, thinking it not lawful to do so; namely, to buy off the cross that Christ laid upon him for a price. For which, the old good father, in this letter, approves and commends him; and states the case, whether it be lawful for the prisoners of Christ to buy their liberty: quoting St. Paul's expression to the Philippians, that *it is given to us, not to believe only, but to suffer for his name.* "If suffering then," said he, "be the gift of God, how can we sell the gift of God, and "give money to be rid of it?" And another place of St. Paul he allegeth, where that Apostle bids *a man to abide in the vocation wherein he is called.* "But," saith he, "to "suffer for the truth is God's calling; and therefore we "must abide in this calling." But I refer the reader to the letter itself.

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The other to the professors under persecutions.

The latter was written by him out of Bocardo, the prison of Oxford, to the professors of religion under sufferings and persecutions. Herein he tells them, "that now was the "time in which the Lord's ground would be known, namely, "who had received God's gospel in their hearts, to the "taking good root therein:" alluding to the *good ground*,

and the *good and honest heart* in the parable; "for such "would not shrink for a little heat, or burning weather. "He exhorted them to go forward after their master, "Christ; not sticking at the foul way or stormy weather; "being certain that the end of their storm would be plea- "sant and joyful, and such a perpetual rest and blessedness, "as would swallow up the storms they now felt: that they "were not alone, but many of their brethren and sisters "pressed on the same way. He exhorted them to pray to God, "that he would make both himself and them meet to suffer "with good consciences. Die once they must; and happy "they whom God gave to pay nature's debt, that is, to die "for God's sake. Here was not their home. He bade them "to have always before their eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, "the way thereunto ever being persecution. Let us fol- "low the footsteps of Christ and his friends," said he, "even to the gallows, if God's will be so." This and a great deal more of such warm counsel and comfort will be read in the letter itself. CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1555. Number XXXVI.

At the same stake, with this reverend father Latymer, was also burnt another holy father, and very learned man, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London: of whom, to all that I else- where, and others, have writ concerning him, I will here add a little more, which shall be nothing but some relation of the place of his birth, and of his qualities, set down by one that was his countryman, collegian, and contemporary; I mean Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Fox: *De Ridlæo plura dicere possum*, &c. I shall transcribe it into our vulgar language. "Concerning "Ridley, I am able to say things more, and more certain "than you have in your book set down, as being born in "the same country with him, and for many years his col- "legian in Pembroke hall, and his opponent in theological "exercises. He was born in my native county of Nor- "thumberland, and sprung of the genteel pedigree of the "Ridleys. One of his uncles was a knight, and another "was doctor of divinity, who by the name of Robert Ridley "was famous, not only at Cambridge, but at Paris, where Bishop Ridley's character, from Doctor Turner's letter to Fox. Fox's MS. 229

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" he long studied, and throughout Europe by the writings " of Polydore Virgil. At the charges of this doctor was " our Nicolas long maintained at Cambridge, afterwards at " Paris, and lastly at Louvain. After his return from the " schools beyond the seas, he lived with us for many years in " Pembroke hall; but at length was called away from us " to the Bishop of Canterbury, whom he served faithfully. " And lastly, was raised to the dignity of a bishop. The " town where he was born was called Wilowmontiswick, " now Willowmont, in the Northumbrian language signi- " fying *the duck of the rocks*, or *the rock duck;* and *wick* " signified *vicus*, or *town*, as appears in the words Anwic, " and Berwic, and Crowic.

His memory and manifold knowledge.

" Concerning his memory, and his manifold knowledge " of tongues and arts, although I am able to be an ample " witness, (for he first instructed me in a further knowledge " of the Greek tongue,) yet, without my testimony, almost " all Cantabrigians, to whom he was sufficiently known, " will and can testify. How able he was in confuting or " overthrowing any thing, yet without any boasting or " noise of arms, not only I, but all with whom he disputed, " easily perceived; unless he understood that they thirsted " more after glory than was fit; for this he used to set " himself more vigorously to crush. His behaviour was

Courteous.

" very obliging and very pious, without hypocrisy or monk- " ish austerity; for very often he would shoot in the bow " and play at tennis with me. If there were no other wit-

Charitable.

" ness of his beneficence to the poor, I will testify this to " all, that before he was advanced to any ecclesiastical pre- " ferment, he carried me along in company with him to the " next hospital, and when I had nothing to give to the " poor, besides what he himself according to his estate libe- " rally gave, he often supplied me, that I might give too. " While he was himself in prison, what aid he sent out of " England to us in our exile in Germany, that learned man, " his faithful Achates, Dr. Edmund Grindal, now bishop " of London, can testify; and many others, who were as- " sisted by his liberality. When therefore he was such a

" man, so learned, so chaste, and in all respects so holy; " what unmerciful, fierce, and cruel kings and bishops had " England then, who by their joint counsels conspired his " death, and delivered him to the executioners to be burnt " alive, for no other crime, than that he asserted *that Christ*, " *being true man, had a fixed, and not uncertain seat in* " *heaven;* and attributed to him the supreme government " on earth against the Roman Antichrist. Mighty impie- " ties indeed! for which so illustrious a prophet of Christ, " and bishop, should be so heavily punished. O! you, who " joined in conspiring his death, while ye are yet alive, re- " pent and confess, and acknowledge your tyranny before " all, and with many prayers earnestly beg pardon of Al- " mighty God, lest for this your horrible wickedness the " whole kingdom be severely plagued." Thus Dr. Turner. Anno 1555.

Dorman, an Oxford man, (who wrote certain books for Popery, learnedly answered by Dean Noel,) was present at the burning of these two reverend fathers, and took notice how they had gunpowder given them to apply to their bodies, the sooner to be out of their pain: which he made a great matter of, as not at all agreeable to God's martyrs, by any such acts to shorten their lives. " A kind of practice " among Christ's martyrs never, I trow, heard of, the sooner " to despatch themselves, as with my own eyes I saw Ridley " and Latymer burned." And in the margin thus writ, " This agreeth not with the martyrdom of Polycarpus." To which Noel made this answer, " That he [Dorman] " might justly lament, that he did see that wicked cruelty " executed most unworthily upon so worthy men of learn- " ing and virtue, and so reverend in age as the one, and in " office and calling as they were both. But the more he " might lament, that he reported that horrible wickedness " and cruelty without lamenting therefore, yea, rather re- " joicing highly therein." He added, " that Ignatius, that " holy martyr, said, he would provoke and anger the beasts, " that they might the more speedily tear him in pieces, and " greedily devour him. And why may not the heat of fire 230 Latymer's and Ridley's using gunpowder censured. Disproof, fol. 19. Confutation, p. 276.

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" be provoked, as well as the heat and fury of beasts? " Why may you," as he went on, " devise instruments and " means of long afflicting and tormenting of innocent and " true Christians, [as the Papists did by slack and lingering " fire made of green fuel, as in many places was done,] and " why may not they accept speedy means offered unto " them, whereby they might the sooner be rid from such " tyrants as you are, and be with Christ? What opinion " soever you have of that use of gunpowder, you may " justly lay the cause thereof unto your own tyranny, and " long terrible roasting of some quick; which, being heard of, " might cause some others, considering the infirmity of the " flesh, and loathing that kind of death, so dreadful to " man's nature, and fearing your most horrible cruelty, not " to refuse such helps of speedy death, to rid them the " rather from your tyranny, and bring them unto everlast- " ing refreshing."

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Archbishop Cranmer burnt. His character. His subscriptions: revoked.

Archbishop Cranmer burnt.

ARCHBISHOP Cranmer followed Ridley and Latymer not long after, being burnt in the same place. It was greatly desired that he might have lived, that by his excellent pen and learning he might have still more exposed Bishop Gardiner's book, that he wrote in defence of transubstantiation. " Transubstantiation, that bird of the De- " vil," said a sharp pen in those days, " hatched by Pope " Nicolas, and sith that time fostered and nourished by all " his children, priests, friars, monks, &c. and in these last " days chiefly by Steph. Gardiner, and his black brood—— " God put wisdom in the tongues of his ministers and mes- 231 " sengers, to utter that vain vanity; and especially gave " such strength to the pen of that reverend father in God, " Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to cut the " knots of devilish sophistry, linked and knit by the Devil's

Knox's Admonition.

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" Gardiner and his blind buzzards, to hold the verity of " God under bondage; that rather, I think, they shall " condemn his works, (which notwithstanding shall conti- Anno 1555. " nue and remain to their confusion,) than enterprise to " answer the same."

The Archbishop a great preacher.

Enough hath been said elsewhere, to recommend the memory of this Archbishop. But not to let him pass here without some character as well as the rest, I shall, in a few words, relate how he was accounted of in the reign of King Henry VIII. and that from the pen of a person of eminence and public character that lived in those times. " He used " to preach often, and was a minister of the heavenly doc- " trine. The subject of his sermons for the most part were, " from whence salvation was to be fetched, and on whom " the confidence of man ought to lean. He insisted much " upon the doctrines of faith and works, and taught what " the fruits of faith were, and what place was to be given " to works. He instructed men in the duties they ought " their neighbours, and that every one was our neighbour, " whom we might profit. He declared what it was fit men " should think of themselves when they had done all: and " lastly, what promises Christ had made, and who they " were to whom he would make them good. And these his " holy doctrines he strengthened with plenty of quotations " out of the holy Scriptures, not out of the schoolmen's " decrees, or later councils: and he recommended them " with great integrity of life. Thus he brought in the true " preaching of the gospel, altogether different from the or- " dinary way of preaching in those days; which was to treat " concerning the saints, and to tell legendary tales of them, " and to report miracles wrought for the confirmation of " transubstantiation, and other Popish corruptions. And, " that such a heat and conviction accompanied the Arch- " bishop's sermons, that the people departed from them with " minds possessed with a great hatred of vice, and burn- " ing with a desire of virtue. And as for the endowments " of his mind, such was his singular modesty, rare pru- " dence, exemplary piety and innocence, that it even eclipsed

Sir Rich. Morison's Apomaxis.

His excellent endowments.

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" that extraordinary learning that all acknowledged to be " in him: insomuch that my author, at last, breaks out into " this expression; that he could not but most heartily bless " God, and congratulate his native country, that piety so " strove in this most reverend man with learning, that one " might say more truly, that both, rather than either, had " the victory."

Alex. Ales, his character of him.

Or if you will rather hear what a very learned foreigner, *viz.* Alexander Ales, a Scotchman, but professor at Leipsich, spake of this Archbishop, one who was well acquainted with him in the days of King Henry. He thus described him in a letter to a friend: " That he could not but love " him, and that the admiration of his excellent learning and " most accurate judgment did wonderfully increase that " love in him; as also his constant indefatigable study in " searching for and finding out the truth of difficult ques- " tions in divinity, from the most ancient and approved " writers; his munificence and liberality in inquiring after " and cherishing learned men of all nations; his benignity,
232 " affability, goodness in treating, favouring, and defending, " as all good and pious men, so especially strangers, toge- " ther with the rest of his worthy and heroic virtues: a " catalogue of which, as it would require a long work to " draw up, so there would be no need of it, since they were " so well known, not only all England over, but to Britany " in Scotland, also France, Germany, and other realms. " But one thing, in short, he would add, that in his whole " life, and through all his long travels, in which he had " acquainted himself with the places and customs of the " world, he never saw a more learned bishop, more grave, " more prudent, more pious, courteous, affable, nor more " beneficent. And this he was wont to speak of to all " wheresoever he had any familiar converse."

He subscribeth six divers recantations.

Other historians speak of this Archbishop's recantation, which he made upon the incessant solicitations and temptations of the Popish zealots at Oxford. Which unworthy compliance he was at last prevailed with to submit to, partly by the flattery and terror suggested to him, and

partly by the hardship of his own strait imprisonment in Bocardo. Our writers mention only one recantation, and that Fox hath set down, wherein they follow him. But this is but an imperfect relation of this good man's frailty: I shall therefore endeavour here to set down this piece of his history more distinctly. There were several recanting writings, to which Cranmer subscribed one after another: for after the unhappy Bishop, by over-persuasion, wrote one paper with his subscription set to it, which he thought to pen so favourably and dexterously for himself, that he might evade both the danger from the State, and the danger of his conscience too; that would not serve, but another was required as explanatory of that. And when he had complied with that, yet either because writ too briefly or too ambiguously, neither would that serve, but drew on a third, yet fuller and more expressive than the former. Nor could he escape so, but still a fourth and a fifth paper of recantation was demanded of him, to be more large and more particular: nay, and lastly, a sixth, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgment of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome, an abhorrence of his own books, and a vilifying of himself as a persecutor, a blasphemer, a mischiefmaker; nay, and as the wickedest wretch that lived. And this was not all; but after they had thus humbled and mortified the miserable man with recantations and subscriptions, submissions and abjurations, putting words into his mouth which his heart abhorred; by all this drudgery they would not permit him to redeem his unhappy life, but prepared him a renunciatory oration, to pronounce publicly in St. Mary's church immediately before he was to be led forth to burning.

But revokes all.

But here he gave his enemies, insatiable in their reproaches of him, a notable disappointment. They verily thought that when they had brought him thus far, he would still have said as they would have him. But herein their politics failed them, and by this last stretch of the cord all was undone, that they with so much art and labour had ef-

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fected before: for the reverend man began indeed his speech according to their appointment and pleasure; but in the process of it, at that very cue when he was to own the Pope and his superstitions, and to revoke his own book and doctrine of the sacrament, (which was to be brought in by this preface, that "one thing above all the rest troubled his "conscience beyond all that ever he did in his life,") he, on the contrary, to their great astonishment and vexation, made that preface serve to his revocation and abhorrence of his former extorted subscriptions, and to his free owning and standing to his book wrote against transubstantiation, and the avowing the evangelical doctrines he had before taught.

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Published by Bishop Bonner unfaithfully.

But to blind the world, and to stifle this last glorious confession of Cranmer, the Papists had the confidence to set forth in print his last speech, not indeed as he spake it, but as it was by them drawn up for him to have spoken, in confirmation of their *placits*, and in condemnation of himself. And to expose this good man's memory the more, and withal to make a vainglorious boast of themselves, no sooner was he dead, but they published in print these writings of the Archbishop, bearing this title, *All the Subscriptions and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, truly set forth both in Latin and English, agreeable to the Originals, and subscribed with his own hand. Visum et examinatum per Reverendum Patrem et Dominum, D. Edmundum Episcop. Londinensem.* So that this profligate Bishop Bonner, (for so let me call him,) to serve an end, prostituted his faith and credit, by testifying a thing so notoriously known to be quite otherwise, I mean in relation to the Archbishop's last speech before mentioned.

And here, because these foresaid subscriptions may not be unworthy to be preserved and taken notice of, I shall exhibit them to the reader.

Cranmer's first subscription.

The copy of the first subscription was this. "Forasmuch as the King's and Queen's Majesties, by consent of "their Parliament, have received the Pope's authority "within this realm, I am content to submit myself to their "laws herein, and to take the Pope for chief head of this

" Church of England, so far as God's laws, and the laws CHAP. XXX.
" and customs of this realm will permit.

" Thomas Cranmer." Anno 1555.

By which proviso he hoped to save his conscience as to his opinion of the Pope's jurisdiction in this realm. The original of this was presently posted up to the Queen and her Council. But even this that he had done the good man could not digest, but soon after did cancel, as the print itself acknowledged, assigning the reason thereof to be his unconstancy and unstableness.

The second subscription, how soon following after the former I cannot tell, was short, but more full, and without reserve, *viz.* " I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, do " submit myself to the Catholic Church of Christ, and unto " the Pope, supreme head of the same Church, and to the " King's and Queen's Majesties, and unto all their laws and " ordinances. His second subscription.

" Thomas Cranmer."

This, the print saith, he did not revoke; and the original 234 was sent up to the Queen and her Council. But something more was thought fit to be subscribed to, because his exhortation and influence would go a great way with others; and his book gave such offence. Therefore Cranmer's third writing was in these words:

" I am content to submit myself to the King's and His third.
" Queen's Majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances,
" as well concerning the Pope's supremacy, as others. And
" I shall, from time to time, move and stir all others to do
" the like to the uttermost of my power; and to live in
" quietness and obedience unto their Majesties, most hum-
" bly without murmur or grudging against any of their
" godly proceedings. And for my book which I have writ-
" ten, I am content to submit me to the judgment of the
" Catholic Church, and of the next general council.

" Thomas Cranmer."

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This was signed by him in the prison of Bocardo, and exhibited to the Bishop of London; which must be at the
Anno 1555. time that Bishop was at Oxford: who, on St. Valentine's day, *i. e.* Febr. 14, by a commission from the Pope, with certain others, degraded the Archbishop. So I judge, this subscription was made soon after the degradation, and before the Bishop of London's departure from Oxford.

A fourth recantatory writing of the same Cranmer, and by him exhibited also in Bocardo to the said Bishop of London, (who, as it seems, thinking the former not full enough, drew up this following himself, and required Cranmer's subscription,) ran in this tenor:

His fourth. "Be it known by these presents, that I, Thomas Cran-
"mer, doctor of divinity, and late archbishop of Canter-
"bury, do firmly, steadfastly, and assuredly believe in all
"articles and points of the Christian religion and Catholic
"faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe, and hath ever
"believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning
"the sacraments of the Church, I believe unfeignedly in
"all points as the said Catholic Church doth, and hath be-
"lieved from the beginning of Christian religion. In wit-
"ness whereof, I have humbly subscribed my hand unto
"these presents, the xvith day of February, MDLV.

"Thomas Cranmer."

Nor would all this serve, but a fifth paper was propounded to him to subscribe, which was a great deal more large and particular. And this was drawn up in Latin, and subscribed by Cranmer in the presence of Henry Syddal, (who, notwithstanding his zeal now, was a subscriber to Queen Elizabeth's supremacy in the beginning of her reign,) and one called *Frater Johannes de Villa Carcina*, that went
His fifth. then for a notable learned man. It began thus, *Ego Thomas Cranmer, anathematizo omnem Lutheri et Zuinglii*
Page 1710. *hæresin*, &c. This is extant in English, in Fox's Acts and
235 Monuments, and this only: and therefore thither I betake the reader that is minded to peruse it.

There was yet a sixth, longer than all the rest; and by the tedious prolixity and style of it, seems to me to be drawn up by Cardinal Pole, as he drew up such another for Sir John Cheke. This is said to be written and subscribed by Cranmer's own hand. It was in Latin, and began thus: CHAP. XXX. Anno 1555.

His sixth.

Ego Thomas Cranmer, pridem archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, &c. That is, "I Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop "of Canterbury, confess and grieve from my heart that I "have most grievously sinned against Heaven and the Eng- "lish realm, yea, against the universal Church of Christ, "which I have more cruelly persecuted than Paul did of "old: who have been a blasphemer, a persecutor, and con- "tumelious. And I wish that I, who have exceeded Saul "in malice and wickedness, might with Paul make amends "for the honour which I have detracted from Christ, and "the benefit of which I have deprived the Church. But "yet that thief in the gospel comforts my mind: for then "at last he repented from his heart, then it irked him of "his theft, when he might steal no more. And I, who, "abusing my office and authority, purloined Christ of his "honour, and the realm of faith and religion; now by the "great mercy of God returned to myself, acknowledge myself "the greatest of all sinners, and to every one as well as I "can, to God first, then to the Church and its supreme "Head, and to the King and Queen, and lastly to the "realm of England, to render worthy satisfaction. But as "that happy thief, when he was not able to pay the money "and wealth which he had taken away, when neither his "feet nor his hands, fastened to the cross, could do their "office; by heart only and tongue, which were not bound, "he testified what the rest of his members would do, if they "enjoyed the same liberty that his tongue did. By that he "confessed Christ to be innocent; by that he reproved the "impudence of his fellow; by that he detested his former life, "and obtained the pardon of his sins; and, as it were by a "kind of key, opened the gates of paradise. By the example of

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" this man, I do conceive no small hopes of Christ's mercy,
" that he will pardon my sins. I want hands and feet, by
" which I might build up again that which I have de-
" stroyed, for the lips of my mouth are only left me. But
" He will receive the calves of our lips, who is merciful be-
" yond all belief. By this hope conceived, therefore, I choose
" to offer this calf, to sacrifice this very small part of my
" body and life.

" I confess, in the first place, my unthankfulness against
" the great God. I acknowledge myself unworthy of all
" favour and pity; but most worthy, not only of human
" and temporal, but divine and eternal punishment. That
" I exceedingly offended against King Henry VIII. and
" especially against Queen Katharine his wife, when I was
" the cause and author of the divorce: which fault indeed
" was the seminary of all the evils and calamities of this
" realm. Hence so many slaughters of good men; hence
" the schism of the whole kingdom; hence heresies; hence
236 " the destruction of so many souls and bodies sprang, that
" I can scarce comprehend with reason. But when these
" are so great beginnings of grief, I acknowledge I opened
" a great window to all heresies, whereof myself acted the
" chief doctor and leader. But first of all, that most vehe-
" mently torments my mind, that I affected the holy sacra-
" ment of the Eucharist with so many blasphemies and re-
" proaches; denying Christ's body and blood to be truly
" and really contained under the species of bread and wine.
" By setting forth also books, I did impugn the truth with
" all my might. In this respect, indeed, not only worse
" than Saul and the thief, but the most wicked of all which
" the earth ever bore. *Lord, I have sinned against heaven*
" *and before thee:* against heaven, which I am the cause,
" it hath been deprived of so many saints, denying most
" impudently that heavenly benefit exhibited to us. And I
" have sinned against the earth, which so long hath misera-
" bly wanted this sacrament: against men, whom I have
" called from this supersubstantial morsel; the slayer of so
" many men as have perished for want of food. I have

" defrauded the souls of the dead of this daily and most " celebrious sacrifice. CHAP. XXX.

" And from all these things it is manifest, how greatly, Anno 1555. " after Christ, I have been injurious to his vicar, whom I " have deprived of his power by books set forth. Where- " fore I do most earnestly and ardently beseech the Pope, " that he, for the mercy of Christ, forgive me the things I " have committed against him and the apostolical see. And " I humbly beseech the most serene Kings of England, " Spain, &c. Philip and Mary, that by their royal mercy " they would pardon me. I ask and beseech the whole " realm, yea, the universal Church, that they take pity of " this wretched soul; to whom, besides a tongue, nothing " is left, whereby to make amends for the injuries and da- " mages I have brought in. But especially, because against " thee only have I sinned, I beseech thee, most merciful " Father, who desirest and commandest all to come to thee, " however wicked, vouchsafe to look upon me nearly, and " under thy hand, as thou lookedst upon Magdalen and " Peter: or certainly, as thou, looking upon the thief on " the cross, didst vouchsafe, by the promise of thy grace " and glory, to comfort a fearful and trembling mind; so " by thy wonted and natural pity, turn the eyes of thy " mercy to me, and vouchsafe me worthy to have that word " of thine spoken to me, *I am thy salvation*, and in the " day of death, *To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.*

Written this year of our Lord 1555, in the 18th day of the month of March.

" *Per me, Thomam Cranmer.*"

His last speech at St. Mary's.

As all these acknowledgments were made by his pen and hand, so the poor mortified Bishop was, to all the rest, required to make a solemn verbal protestation openly, before a great auditory in St. Mary's. This consisted, 1. Of an exhortation to those that were present, to pray with him and for him. 2. Of his prayer. 3. His last advices to the 237 people. The fourth part of his speech was to declare the Queen's just title to the crown: wherein it is probable he

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was enjoined to give the history of her mother's divorce favourably on her part, and to draw all the pretended blame of it upon himself, and to disclaim all that he had done in that affair. And then, fifthly and lastly, he was to confess his faith, and to revoke his former books and writings, and to profess his owning of the Papal gross doctrine of transubstantiation. And all this he had in a paper written with his own hand; which his enemies, no doubt, had directed him in the penning, and perused after it was penned. The three first parts of his speech he read without any variation from what was in his paper: but in the two last he varied; wholly omitting the fourth part, and saying nothing to that. For Mr. Fox, who in the relation of this last end of Cranmer is very punctual, is wholly silent of it. And when he came to the last part of his task, he boldly owned his books, avowing the truths in them contained, and disclaimed that Roman doctrine. And this being so remarkable a piece of Cranmer's history, the better to represent it, I shall shew in two columns what he was to have spoken, and what the Papists gave out (in a print falsely) he did speak, and what he spake indeed, as was, by hundreds of witnesses present, notoriously known.

What Cranmer spake, according to Bishop Bonner's paper.

First, I believe in God the Father, &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith; every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament, and all articles explicate and set forth in the great Councils.

And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that

What he spake indeed.

First, I believe in God the Father, &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith; every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever

ever I did: and that is the setting abroad untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's word: which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous, and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them, or else my conscience is not discharged: for they be the books which I wrote against the sacrament of the altar sith the death of King Henry VIII. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth. Wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever in them is contained, I say and believe, that our Saviour Christ Jesu is really and substantially contained in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine.

And this grievous lie is said to be printed at London, by John Cawod, the Queen's printer, *cum privilegio*, ann. MDLVI.

I did or said in my whole life: and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be. And that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore: for may I come to the fire, it shall be first burnt. And as for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester. The which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the Papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to shew her face.

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And more he would have

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spoken of the sacrament, and of the Papacy, but that they bade, Stop his mouth, and pull him down.

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The persecution of these times. The exiles: where. Protestants' prayers and letters. Free-willers. The nation involved in perjury. Neuters.

Torments exercised upon Protestants.

THE Protestants were now dealt withal as the worst sort of malefactors; and things were carried in that severity, as though it were resolved utterly to extinguish the religion for ever in England: for, besides the exquisite pain of burning to death, which some hundreds underwent, "some "of the professors were thrown into dungeons, ugsome "holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners; other some "lying in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons "that they could scarcely stir: some tied in the stocks, "with their heels upwards; some having their legs in the "stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of "iron; some with both hands and legs in the stocks at once; "sometimes both hands in, and both legs out; sometimes "the right hand with the left leg, or the left hand with the "right leg, fastened in the stocks with manacles and fetters, "having neither stool nor stone to sit on, to ease their woe-"ful bodies: some standing in Skevington's gives, which "were most painful engines of iron, with their bodies dou-
239 "bled: some whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and "buffeted with fists: some having their hands burned with "a candle, to try their patience, or force them to relent: "some hunger-pined, and some miserably famished and "starved. All these torments, and many more, even such "as cruel Phalaris could not devise worse, were practised "by Papists, the stout, sturdy soldiers of Satan, thus de-

"lighting in variety of tyranny and torments upon the "saints of God, as is full well and too well known; and as "many can testify, who are yet alive, and have felt some "smart thereof:" as one writ who lived in the midst of those times, and scaped narrowly with his life, to see the beginning of a happier government. Who tells us also, that they were so straitly used in prison, that their keepers would not allow them paper, nor ink, nor book, nor light. So that the letters they writ, they writ in stealth. They oftentimes began letters, but ended them not, for lack of ease, being so fettered with chains, or wanting light, or through the hasty coming in of the keepers. Sometimes for lack of pens they were fain to write with the lead of the window, as for lack of ink they used their own blood: as divers letters so writ remained then to be seen.

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Coverdale, Ep. before the Mart. Letters.

And dismal were the flames that blazed out every where, fed with the fuel of the bodies of poor men and women, under a Popish legate and two bloody bishops. As though there were now but one element in England, and that of fire, as a poet about these times set it forth:

Gabriel Harveii Musar. Lacrymæ.

In pretio Polus est, dominatur callida vulpes,
Mulciber imperio potitur: (Mulciber alter,
Ignivomus Bonerus erat:) cuncta occupat ignis,
Solum elementum ignis, sceptrum gestante Maria.

Endeavours were especially used to disperse and take off the preachers and ministers. Of these in the county of Kent, where religion had taken good footing, were Thomas Woodgate, William Maynard, and one Harwich; who went about in that county, and in secret meetings of the gospellers preached unto them; confirming them in the doctrines they had received, and exhorting them to stand fast in those critical times. In the beginning of April this year, letters were sent from above to the high sheriff to seize these men, and to send them up. And Thomas Rosse, who had been taken on new-year's-day in the meeting at London, where he preached and administered the sacrament to those that assembled there, having laid in the Tower till May,

Preachers especially persecuted.

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after divers appearances before the Lord Chancellor and others; the Council, May 12, ordered him to be delivered to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed to the Bishop of Norwich, of whose diocese he was: and he to reduce him to recant, or else to proceed against him according to the law.

Fierce orders from the Council.

The Queen's Council now became strictly Popish, and shewed themselves very active for the taking away the lives of all that professed the gospel, the Queen shewing herself zealous this way; and thinking, according to Gardiner's suggestion, that these terrible proceedings would soon bring all to her mind. The Council therefore sent away orders abroad for this purpose, as hath been partly seen already, and will further appear by what follows. The Court being now at Hampton Court, and the Lord Treasurer at London, in the month of May the Council sent to him to make a despatch of all that were already condemned for religion; and to confer with the Bishop of London, and the justices of peace of the respective counties, where they were to be executed; and to give order for the executions accordingly. And upon the motion of the said Lord Treasurer in the same month, letters were sent to all the bishops from the Council; the contents whereof seem to have been to stir them up to be very vigorous in searching for the gospellers, and bringing them to recantation or execution. And whereas there was one Derick a brewer, and two more, condemned for heresy, that lived in Surrey and Sussex; the Council sent in the month of June to the said Lord Treasurer, to cause writs to be made to the sheriff of Sussex, for the burning of Derick at Lewis, and the two others, one at Chichester, and the other at Stainings. And a report about this time coming to the Council, of four parishes in Essex that still used the English service, they writ to Bishop Bonner to examine the matter, and to punish the offenders. And in July, Bonner having condemned three more, according to his letters sent to the Council, the Council presently ordered their burning, appointing the places to be Uxbridge, Stratford, and Walden: willing him, moreover, to proceed in

Theirletters sent to the bishops, to search for the gospellers.

judgment with the rest. Thus eager was the Council in these direful proceedings. CHAP. XXXI.

Therefore the best prevention of these deaths and calamities was flight; which courses many took, commending themselves to the mercies of the seas, and the compassion of strange nations, rather than to their own prince and country; and so preserved their lives, to do God and the realm service afterward. This the persecutors were much offended with: but seeing the professors were fled out of their bloody hands, they thought to be even with them, by endeavouring to hinder all supplies of money and provisions to be sent them: saying, *that they would make them so hungry, that they should eat their fingers' ends.* These words, Gardiner, in great passion, had uttered in Calais, being there ambassador with Cardinal Pole and others: but notwithstanding, God so provided for them, that they enjoyed plenty of all things in the places where they came. And so one, who was an exile himself, wrote soon after his return home: "Although "persecution was great among us, yet God shewed himself "more glorious, mighty, and merciful, in strengthening so "many weak ones to die for him, than in providing for "them which were abroad; although both be wonderful. "What glorious cracks made the persecutors, that they "would make God's poor banished people to *eat their "fingers for hunger!* But they had plenty, for all the "others' cruelty: God's holy name be praised therefore. "What a mercy of God is this! that where we deserved "to be cast from him for ever, because of our wickedness, "he now corrected us gently, and called us into this honour: "that he punished us not so much for our own sins, as "that he called us to the promotion of bearing his cross; "witnessing to the word of his truth, and vouchsafe to "prove, teach, and confirm others in this his truth by our "witness-bearing. Thus humbly and thankfully did these "pious men take their sufferings, and looked not so much "upon the malice of men, as the correcting hand of God in "them, and that with all thankfulness."

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Many fly into foreign countries.

Pilkington, in his Exposit. upon Agg.

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Of the flight of the gospellers I have said somewhat in

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The exiles. Cranm. Memor.

another work, and shall say a little more here. Their pastors advised them to fly, especially such as misdoubted their own strength; that hereafter, when the times grew better in England, there might be a seminary of pious ministers, scholars, and other good men and women, to furnish the nation again, after the destruction of so many. So that there were great numbers of them dispersed abroad in France, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Helvetia, and other places, both students of divinity and other laymen; and some with their wives and families; and many gentlemen of good quality; where, among the rest, Sir Francis Walsingham was one, the great secretary of state afterwards, being then a young man and a scholar; which appears by the inscription that was upon his monument in St. Paul's church; a part whereof was, *Juvenis exilium, Maria regnante, subiit voluntarium, religionis ergo.*

Sir. Fra. Walsingham.

Thomas Lever travels from place to place.

Some took this opportunity to travel about from place to place, and see towns and cities, especially those that were reformed, for their better inquiry into the doctrines of their learned men. One of these was Thomas Lever, late master of St. John's college in Cambridge, a grave and good man: who gave some account of his travels in a letter to Mr. Bradford, then a prisoner in England: *viz.* "I have seen "the places, noted the doctrine and discipline, and talked "with the learned men of Argentine, Basil, Zuric, Berne, "Louvain, and Geneva. And I have had experience in all "these places, of sincere doctrine, and godly order, and "great learning; and especially of such virtuous learning, "diligence, and charity, in Bullinger at Zuric, and in Calvin "at Geneva, as doth much advance God's glory, unto the "edifying of Christ's church, with the same religion for "the which ye be now in prison."

Exiles at Frankford.

I will make a small stop at those of the English nation that placed themselves at Frankford; some of the chief of whom were Whitehead and Sandes, Noel and Fox, Bale and Horn, Whittingham, and Knox the Scot, Elmer and Bentham, Sampson, Crowley, Thomas Cole, and Kelk, of the clergy; Chambers and Isaac, Knolles, father and son,

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John and Christopher Hales, and others of the gentry: the whole congregation consisting of about sixty-two. It is well known what unhappy contentions fell out there among themselves, concerning the discipline that was to be set up in their church; and the alterations to be made in the English Service-Book. In this hot contest some few of the wiser sort would not mingle themselves: among these was John Fox, the famous martyrologist; who in a letter to Peter Martyr told him, "that he behaved himself as a scep- "tic in that business; yet that it was hard to be wholly a "neuter. Therefore he added, he could not be altogether "an idle looker on. But for the generality, all the young "men, even such as were but boys, joined themselves to "the one side or the other. Nay, and those that were old "men, and divines, that should have been the promoters of "peace and concord, added more flame to the fire than the "rest. He lamented the hatreds, the envies, the defama- "tions, the evil-speakings, the suspicions and jealousies that "were among them; and he could never have believed, "*tantum amari stomachi latere in his, quos assidua sacro-* "*rum librorum tractatio ad omnem clementiam mansue-* "*facere debuerat: i. e.* that so much of anger and passion "could be in such, whom the daily use of the Scriptures "should have qualified to all gentleness and goodness. Some "at length fled away from Frankford, but left stings be- "hind them: the heats continued all the winter; at length "they began to be something cooler." The side which Fox took in these indecent sidings was to take no side, nor join himself to any part; but his main business was to be a *peace-maker*, and to persuade both to concord. And particularly he advised them, that they should come to argue friendly or gently by letters, or conference, rather than by ill words. By which means, he supposed, the fuel being withdrawn, the fire would at last go out of itself. And indeed by the book of the *Troubles of Frankford*, we find that Fox had brought them to this, and had prevailed with them to take his counsel, *viz.* to debate the matter more mildly by letter and conference. And some of the letters

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Their broils.

Fox's advice to them.

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and conferences are there set down: to some of which Fox subscribed his name among others. But the last means he contrived for the composing these differences was, that if they could not make them up by themselves, then to refer the matter to the judgment of some chosen men to stand between both in an equal moderation, and to prescribe a liturgy to which both sides might assent. But to this point of his sober advice, as appeared, they consented not, but instead thereof, many of them separated, and divided asunder.

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Knox returns to Geneva from Frankford.

Knox, who was minister to this congregation, and invited by them the last year from Geneva, September the 24th, now, May 26, returned in some haste thither again; for he was the chief opposer of the use of the English Liturgy, averring, that it was a superstitious model, borrowed from the Papists; and refused to celebrate the communion, according as it was there prescribed to be done. And besides, Knox held and published some dangerous principles about government; which were so disliked by the chief of the English divines there, as Cox, Bale, Turner of Windsor, Jewel, and others, that they thought it fit, and that for their own security, to disown him publicly, not only by discharging him of his ministry, but also by making an open complaint against him to the magistrates of the town. And so Mr. Isaac and Parry brought, in writing, several passages taken out of his Admonition to England, as so many articles against him, declaring his ill-will against Queen Mary, King Philip, and the Emperor himself: the congregation hereby disavowing his book and principles. These passages were as follow: I. "If Mary and her counsellors had been "dead before these days, then should not her iniquity and "cruelty so manifestly have appeared to the world. II. "Jezebel never erected half so many gibbets in all Israel, as "mischievous Mary hath done in London alone. III. Would "any of you have confessed, two years ago, that Mary,
243 "their mirror, had been false, dissembling, unconstant,
"proud, and a breaker of promises, except such promises as
"she had made to her god the Pope, to the great shame

His principles disallowed.

" and dishonour of her noble father? IV. The love of her " native country could not move that wicked woman's heart " to pity. V. She declared herself an open traitoress to the " realm of England, contrary to the just laws of the same, " to bring in a stranger, and to make a proud stranger " king, to the destruction of the nobility, and subversion of " the realm. VI. God, for our scourge, suffered her and her " council to come to authority. VII. Under an English " name she hath a Spaniard's heart. VIII. Much trouble " in England for establishing that most unhappy and wicked " woman's authority: I mean, of her that now reigneth in " God's wrath. IX. Marriage ought not to be contracted " with those who do maintain and advance idolatry, such as " the Emperor, who is no less enemy to Christ than ever " was Nero."

The manner of his departure from Frankford.

The magistrates, upon this information, sent for Mr. Williams and Mr. Whittingham, willing them to advise Knox to depart; otherwise they should be constrained to deliver him unto the Emperor's Council, which was then at Ausburge; that, upon this information, sent for him. Knox hereupon makes a sermon in his lodging, to about fifty persons, of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the unspeakable joys prepared for God's elect, and then departed; and was conveyed, by some, three or four miles out of town.

They at Frankford invited P. Martyr to come and read divinity among them.

One thing more concerning these English at Frankford, for their commendation, as the former, *viz.* their contentions, tended to their dispraise. For they sent an earnest invitation to Martyr, to come and read divinity to them; acquainting him with the consent of the magistrates, and promising him a fair salary. The letter to him was writ by Mr. Elmer, and subscribed by the fraternity, and carried, as it seems, by Whittingham. Fox, in October, (which was but a little after,) urged it, fearing Martyr's non-compliance; shewing what a means it would prove of uniting and bringing the English nation together into one place, that were at present dispersed and scattered about. In this letter Fox styles him *the apostle of the English nation.* The former

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letter of Fox to Martyr, concerning their dissensions, and this, I have transcribed, and laid in the Repository.

Anno 1555.

Number XXXVII, XXXVIII.

The exiles at Basil.

To which letters I have added a third, written by John Bale, late bishop of Ossory, who was now lately removed from Frankford to Basil, with many others, upon the dissensions there. By whose letter it appears, these fractions were also got into this Church of Basil; the disaffected at Frankford bringing hither with them their dislike to the English Liturgy. They thought it not convenient to have the Ten Commandments, the Epistles, and Gospels repeated in the Communion Office, reckoning them ill placed there: and the communion itself they called a *Popish communion*, and said, *it had a Popish face.* This made them labour to set up a new office in this congregation of English exiles at Basil, and wholly to throw out the English book. Many, on the other hand, could not away with this, having a great reverence for the book that had been composed first, and then with all possible care revised and corrected by Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and other divines of the
244 greatest reputation; and was narrowly inspected and approved by those two great learned foreign Protestant doctors, Martyr and Bucer; and lastly, used with such general approbation throughout England under good King Edward. Of this latter sort was the said Bale, the learned antiquary, and late bishop: who wrote some account of these men and their doings, in a letter to Mr. Ashley, a gentleman of quality, then, as it seems, at Frankford: who had wrote letters to him to know the state of the church there, being himself minded, upon some disgust between him and Horn the pastor, to remove to them. Bale, accordingly, in the year 1556, let him understand in what troubles their church was at that time, by reason of certain men, that, to such as required the common prayer according to the English order, denied it, pretending the magistrates would not suffer it; which, Bale said, was manifestly false: adding, "that they blas-
"phemed the communion, and mocked at the things in it:
"that they were guilty of fierce despisings and cursed speak-

" ings; and that with these they triumphed, and laboured " to erect their Church *of the purity;* terming them *new* " *Catharites.*" But in this letter he shewed his friend how vastly different the communion, as it was appointed in the book, was from the Popish mass, and that in many particulars. But I betake the reader to the letter itself, which may be worth the perusing, (allowing Mr. Bale's broad words and angry way of writing,) to let some light into the causes of these unhappy animosities among the professors at Basil, as well as at Frankford. CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1555. Number XXXIX.

Many of the English, especially students, settled themselves at another place, namely, Tygur, or Zuric, in Helvetia, for the sake of Bullinger and other learned men there. Here were Jewel, Horn, Lever, Parkhurst, Humphrey, Beaumont, Mullings, and others, men of great note and eminency afterwards in the Church of England. To these exiles, both Peter Martyr from Strasburgh, and John Calvin from Geneva, wrote comfortable letters. That of Martyr bore this title, *Omnibus Anglis, qui Tiguri degunt in sancta societate, dilectis Deo, et mihi in Christo charissimis;* and was brought by Horn. That from Calvin was thus superscribed, *Doctis et piis, qui nunc exules ab Anglia, se ad Christi ministerium comparant in ecclesia Tygurina, fratribus charissimis;* dated from Geneva, in June 1554, and brought by Lever. In this letter " he advised them to constancy, " until God stretched forth his hand from heaven;" and said, " that certainly God would at length look upon his " people, of whom there were no small numbers, and re- " strain the pride of their enemies, who did therefore so " much insult, that their fury would not be possible to be " borne long. And exhorting them to follow their studies, " he spake of God's reserving them for his service. For he " doubted not, but that the Lord, in his wonderful counsel, " would have them thus exercised in the studies of godly " learning under a shadow, that a little while after he might " bring them forth into the light, and into a serious war- " fare. Therefore he bade them earnestly ply their studies, " as though matters were well composed, and their country The exiles at Zuric. Letters from Martyr and Calvin to them.

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" had now wanted their assistance. For although the gate " was then shut to Christ's servants, yet he hoped in a short " time there would be use of them:" and so there was. 245 Both these letters are extant in the Life of Bishop Jewel, wrote by Dr. Humfrey; whither they may repair that desire to read them.

The exiles at Wezel.

There was another company of English good people got together at Wezel in Cleves, occasioned chiefly by the coming thither of Mr. Berty, and the Duchess of Suffolk his wife, both serious professors of religion: which coming of theirs being heard of, many others flocked thither. And Mr. Coverdale lately escaped out of England, by the King of Denmark's intercession, came from that King, and was sometime preacher to this company at Wezel. But this congregation soon brake up, the Lady Duchess and her husband going away, and the English depending upon their favour and charity: some followed them, others went to Basil; Coverdale to Geneva, and others to other places.

Grindal to Ridley concerning the exiles.

Lastly, to all this I will add what one of these exiles, *viz.* Mr. Grindal, at Frankford, wrote from thence to his patron, Bishop Ridley, then at Oxford, in May 1555.

Martyrs' Letters.

" Sir, I thought good to advertise you in part of our " estate in these parts. We be here dispersed in divers and " several places. Certain be at Tigury; good students of " either University a number; very well entreated of Master " Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole city. " Another number of us remain at Argentine, and take the " commodity of Master Martyr's lessons, who is a very " notable father; Mr. Scory, and certain others that be " with him, be in Friseland, and have an English Church " there, [at Embden,] but not very frequent. The greatest " number is at Frankford, where I was at this present by " occasion; a very fair city. The magistrates favourable " to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles " can well look for. Here is also a Church, and now, God " be thanked, well quieted by the prudency of Master Cox " and others, which met here for that purpose. So that " now we trust God hath provided, for such as will flee

" forth of Babylon, a resting place, where they may truly " serve Him, and hear the voice of their true Pastor. I sup- " pose in one place or other dispersed, there be well nigh " an hundred students and ministers on this side the sea. " Such a Lord is God to work diversly in his, according to " his unalterable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man." This was Grindal's letter. And thus much of the professors abroad; now let us turn back to those that remained at home.

A congregation taken at prayers.

The course they took in these sad times was the same which the primitive Christians did, when they were under their persecutions, *viz.* prayers and tears. They continued to assemble together even in the hottest times. And in these assemblies sometimes they only prayed together. At one of these prayer-meetings in London a congregation was seized and taken, and clapped into both counters, because, I suppose, one would not hold them. To whom Hoper writ a consolatory letter, wherein he aggravated the Papists' sin, " that had imprisoned them for doing the work of God, " and one of the most excellent works that is required of " Christian men. That they had taken them while they " were in prayer, but not in such wicked and superstitious " prayers as the Papists used, but in the very same prayer " that Christ had taught them to pray, [as if they had been " taken in that very moment wherein they were praying the 246 " Lord's Prayer together.] And in his name only ye gave " God thanks, said he, for that ye have received; and for " his sake ye asked such things as ye want. Oh! glad may " ye be, that ever ye were born to be apprehended while " ye were so virtuously occupied."

Their prayers.

They prayed much, and earnestly exhorted one another to pray, to incline God to strengthen, succour, and deliver them. And divers set prayers they used for this occasion, composed by pious men for the service of Christians in these evil days; read, I suppose, with the common prayer, wherein they made intercessions.

First, For the poor afflicted church and congregation,

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that was oppressed, injured, dispersed, and persecuted for the testimony of God's word.

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Secondly, For such as were imprisoned or condemned for the cause of the gospel: to give them constancy to shed their blood.

Thirdly, For those that were exiled for the testimony of the truth; because they would not bend their backs, and incline their necks under the yoke of Antichrist. That God would feed them in strange countries, and prepare a resting place for them; and that they might unite themselves in the sincere ministration of the word and sacraments: and, in due time, to restore them home again.

Fourthly, For such as had outwardly, through fear and weakness, complied with the Popish religion, in dissimulation and hypocrisy: to strengthen their weakness, that they might be able to abide the storms of adversity; and that they might, with Peter, rise again by repentance, and become constant confessors of God's truth: and that when God should lay the cross upon them, they might no more seek unto unlawful means to avoid the same; but be contented to take it up, in what sort soever it should be laid upon their shoulders, whether by death, imprisonment, or exile.

Fifthly, Against the enemies of God's truth, the Papists; that they might not always triumph over them, nor shed the blood of his saints; and to confound their wicked counsels; and to root up the rotten race of the ungodly.

Sixthly, To deliver the land from the invasion and subduing of *misers*, that is, Spaniards, that the nation was then in very great apprehension of. That God would remove this feared vengeance from the nation; and not give over their lands, their cities, towns, and castles, their goods, possessions, and riches, their wives, children, and their own lives, into subjection to strangers.

Seventhly, To preserve the Prince and rulers, magistrates and governors, as would advance God's glory; and so build up again the decayed walls of ruinated Jerusalem. Such a prayer as this, very piously and devoutly composed, for the

use of these times, by one R. P. I have met with in an old printed book, and present it to the reader in the Repository. CHAP. XXXI.

There was another framed by Tho. Spurge, a condemned prisoner in Newgate, which will be found also in the Repository. Anno 1555. N°. XL, XLI.

Those also that were able, and had parts and learning, did use to excite one another by godly letters, warmly penned; some out of prison to the brethren at liberty; and others writ by those at liberty unto the prisoners. Among the rest I find one writ by a *freewill-man*, as they styled them; being an exhortation by one of that persuasion in the country to some friends in London, that they would stand fast, and not comply with the idolatrous worship. In which letter he took occasion, largely, to prove men's abilities to keep the laws of God, and the freedom of their wills. The writer of this letter is unnamed, but I suppose him to be Henry Hart, one of the chief of this sort of men, and afterwards a prisoner himself. The letter may be seen in the Repository. They write letters to one another. 247 One writ by a freewiller. N°. XLII.

Another letter there was writ by one in prison, who had lately been one of these freewillers, but now changed in his judgment, to certain of that persuasion in prison also for the gospel; lamenting the loss of the gospel, and shewing the reasons of it; whereof one he made to be, that "they "had professed the gospel with their tongues, but denied it "in their deeds." Another, "that they were not sound in "the doctrine of predestination." In this letter he mentioned, "what a grief it was to him, that he had endea- "voured so much to persuade others into his error of free- "will, and how much joy he took in the change of his "judgment;" and that divers of that congregation of free-will-men began to be better informed, as namely, Ledley and Cole, and others unnamed; the report of whom gave him and his prison-fellows much rejoicing. That he was convinced by certain preachers in prison with him; who reconciled St. Paul and St. James together, to his great satisfaction. This letter also I have laid to the other, that the reader may perceive the arguments on both sides. N°. XLIII.

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Anno 1555. A writing against the Popish priests for perjury.

Among the many prayers, letters, and godly discourses, that were in these days penned by the prisoners, the martyrs, and other good men, copies whereof were transcribed and dispersed among the professors, there was one that exposed the Popish clergy, for saying, *the nation was perjured in renouncing the Pope:* the author uncertain, but somebody under restraint, as it seems. This writing shewed, "how the whole Popish clergy, according to their own confession, lay perjured for twenty years: and that they compelled all the people, many against their consciences, to "confess the same, [as they did in the late Parliament before Cardinal Pole, the legate,] and also compelled all "that in twenty years past had been admitted priests, to "perjure themselves in like manner: inasmuch as they "were required to swear never to receive the Bishop of "Rome, nor no other power, to be head over the people of "England under God, but only the King and his successors.

"And so were all young men required to do every *law-*"*day*, by the keepers of the same, in their respective hun-"dreds. Now, if this oath were unlawful, saith this writer, "as the clergy now say, then might all the nobles of the "realm, of that opinion, have great cause of displeasure "against all the bishops that so led them, and knew other-"wise: and so might all magistrates and gentlemen against "the company of that mark, (*i. e.* the clergy,) which was the "cause of their perjury. And that perjury they caused all "the rest of the subjects and common people to commit:
248 "insomuch that all ranks of people had reason to be angry "at the wickedness of the clergy, not only for their own "perjury, but for theirs. But to help and heal this, they "had authority from the Pope to pardon this national per-"jury, by the sacrament of penance; and God must needs "forgive them all that submitted to it. And without this, "they must needs be damned. But the writer wondered "that no one priest, during the last twenty years, had en-"joined his people penance for their perjury; but suffered "them to die in that black curse and excommunication "that they knew was upon the people, as they now say

" they did. So that he concludes, *This clergy was none of Christ's clergy, but the Pope's, who sat in God's seat, even in the consciences of the people.* Anno 1555.

" He proceeded to blame two sorts of people, that in effect " made up the whole nation. One, that received the Pope's " pardon with penance for their perjury; that thought they " were perjured, and made amends, and were forgiven: " the other, that knew they were not perjured, and yet re- " ceived pardon, and did penance. This latter sort, in his " judgment, were worse than the former; doing contrary to " their knowledge and conscience. He concludes with his " prayer for a third sort, that knew they were not perjured, " but lawfully sware the oath to the King, and were con- " tented rather to die by the Pope's sword, than to slander " the truth." This bold and notable paper may be found in the Repository, and had this title, *All sorts of people of England have just cause of displeasure against the bishops and priests of the same.* No. XLIV.

Let me add here, for the reader's better information concerning these days, that the kingdom now consisted of three sorts of people, with relation to their religion. The one sort were the Papists: a second sort, the open professors of the gospel: and a third, were of the same judgment with those professors; who, though they in their minds disallowed of Popery, and esteemed the worship to be idolatrous, yet out of policy outwardly complied with that religion, and went to mass, keeping their opinions to themselves, for their own security. Various were the letters written by some of the learnedest men and martyrs against this neutrality: and when their judgments were demanded concerning the lawfulness thereof, they would by no means allow of it. Of these three sorts, Ralph Allerton the martyr spake occasionally to Bishop Bonner; telling him there were three religions in England. Who asking him which they were, Ralph answered, " that which he, the Bishop, held: the second, " that which was clean contrary to the same: the third " person he called a neuter, being indifferent; that is to " say, one who observed all things that were commanded

Three religions under Queen Mary.

Neuters.

Fox's Acts, p. 1827.

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" outwardly, as though he were of that part, said he, his " heart being wholly set against the same." Considering which, there were even in those days but a third part of the nation Roman Catholics.

A case about temporizing.

Concerning this temporizing, there happened a case of conscience to be started near about this time. A certain person, out of his care and love of his wife, advised her in these days to do as she might, when she could not do what she would. For that now she should keep her religion as well as she could, and God would accept her will, and impute the fault of her going to mass, and compliance with
249 idolatrous worship, to others, *viz.* to those that imposed it. Upon this counsel of the husband, a doubt arose in the woman's conscience to be resolved, wherein she seemed to betake herself to Augustine Bernher, minister of the congregation in London. And he thought fit to crave the resolution of Ridley, then in prison: who gave this answer.

" Brother A.

Ridley's letter thereupon.

" Where ye desire so earnestly to know my mind in that " piece of the husband's letter unto his wife, wherein he " permitting her to do as she may, when she cannot what " she would; giving this reason, that she must keep her " religion as she may in this realm, and God shall accept " her will, and shall impute the fault to others, &c. what " blame is in her, if she use the religion here, as she may, " though it be not as she would? This seemeth to me to " be a perilous saying, wherein, I fear me, the man tender- " eth his wife too much. I wish rather he had counselled " her to depart the realm: for peradventure she tarrying " to have bidden her openly and boldly, when she should " have been commanded to follow ungodliness; to have " bidden her, I say, there, and then to have confessed the " truth, and to have stood in it; he thought, and perad- " venture knew, it was more than she was like to do. But, " I suppose, if she had considered more deeply her hus- " band's mind in writing, that his counsel savoured more of " a too tender zeal towards her, than of the contempt of all

" worldly and carnal affection, which ought to be in Christ's " cause, and upon the same had required licence to have " departed the realm; yea, and then had departed indeed, " rather than after certain knowledge had of their ungodly " ways, to seem to allow the same by her in this case upon " fact, and so not to have followed her husband's former " counsel; I think she should less have offended her such " a husband, than she doth now, in that she hath made his " privy and secret letter, not so warily written, methinks, " as I would have wished it had been, (if it were her deed,) " to have come to the knowledge of those, that will use it, " and construe it to the worst, to the defence and mainte- " nance of ungodly ways.

CHAP. XXXII. Anno 1555.

" N. R."

Of this practice of some gospellers in going to mass, Thomas Sampson, now an exile in Strasburgh, took notice in his letter he wrote to the inhabitants of Alhallows, Bread-street, where himself had formerly been pastor; admonishing them to this tenor: " That if they thought they could " embrace both Popery and the Gospel, they did deceive " themselves. For they could not both hold the taste of " Christ's death in their consciences, and also allow that " mass, which was the defacer of Christ's death. They " could not embrace the right use of the Lord's supper, " and also use and partake the horrible profanation of the " same. They could not by faith apprehend free justifica- " tion, and yet seek by their own righteousness and merits " to be saved."

Tho. Sampson to such.

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Prohibition of heretical books. The Spanish match. Revenues of the Church and hospitals spoiled.

ABOUT this time came forth a strict proclamation against printing, bringing over, or vending heretical books. And whosoever had any such, were to deliver them up to the ordinary of the diocese, or his chancellor or commissary,

A proclamation against certain books.

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upon pain of the statute made in the reign of Henry IV. for suppressing heresy. This proclamation may be read in Fox. And under this character of heresy were comprised all books and writings of Luther, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Calvin, Pomeran, John A Lasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus Ochine, Erasmus Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latymer, Robert Barnes, Justus Jonas, Hoper, Coverdal, Tyndal, Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Bazil, otherwise called Thomas Becon, Frith, Roy: and lastly, Hall's Chronicle went in the rear. Any books of the aforesaid authors, and in any language, whether in Latin, Dutch, English, Italian, or French, came under the lash of this proclamation. For, it seems, heretical books were in all these languages. And to these in the same proclamation were added the Communion Service, and the Administration of the Sacraments used in the reign of King Edward.

Anno 1555. Acts and Monuments, p. 1450.

Articles of inquiry concerning those books.

There were articles also of inquiry set forth to the wardens of every company in London: as, "whether they had "seen or heard of any of these books, which had come "from beyond seas; namely, from Zurick, Strasburgh, "Frankford, Wezel, Embden, Duisburgh, [in which places "were plantations of English Protestants, who, it seems, "were diligent to send over gospel-books into the nation, "both to confirm and convert,] whom they knew or sus-"pected to be carriers of letters or money from hence to "those places." This was proclaimed in London, June the 14th.

The occasion hereof.

A great occasion of this proclamation and inquisition was, that there came over into England a book entitled, *A Warning for England;* giving warning to the English of the Spaniards, and discovering certain close practices for the recovery of abbey lands.

The Spanish design by the match.

Indeed the English could not away, in this age, with the proud Spaniard: and here I shall insert the warning that John Bradford (not the martyr, but another, once a servant to Sir William Skipworth) gave of them to certain lords in a letter from Flanders, having lived a servant with one of

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the King of Spain's privy counsellors two or three years; and, during that time, much conversed with them, and saw and heard their words and designs against this nation; intending, by this marriage with the Queen, the destruction not only of the estate of the realm, but of the Queen herself. Letters whereof, written by noble Spaniards, he had read, and the copies whereof he took, and had ready to shew for his discharge. A large account of the nature of the Spaniards, and their purposes against England, Bradford drew up, by way of letter to the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Darby, and Pembroke, privy counsellors, designing it for the public, with a dedication to the Queen herself: but whether ever printed, I cannot tell. Herein he speaks of their tempers: "That in dissimulations, until they had "their purposes, and afterwards in oppression and tyranny, "they exceeded all other nations upon earth: besides an "heap of ambitious, fleshly lusts, as pride and disdain, and "all manner of lechery. That as for the English themselves, he had heard with his ears, and seen with his eyes "in their writings, how they designed the spoiling them "of their lives, lands, wives, and children, and the ruin of "the whole realm, and suppression of the commonwealth, "and the bondage of the country for ever. And he took "God to witness, he wrote nothing for malice of the Spaniards, or flattery of the English. That he came by this "intelligence, having been chamberlain to one of the privy "council of that nation, and, by great diligence, had learned "to read and write Spanish; but he kept it secret from his "master, who trusted him the rather in his closet, supposing he could not understand his papers. And there he "read such writings as were daily brought into the council-chamber. He mentioned, how he heard the Spaniards "talk, that if they obtained not the crown of England, they "might curse the time that ever the King was married to "a wife so unmeet for him by unnatural course of years." This and much more may be read in the manuscript, which I have preserved in the Catalogue; a most notable piece,

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Signified in a letter to some noblemen.

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discovering the wicked intrigues of Spain, had not God prevented them.

Anno 1555. Revenues of the Church spoiled.

Though the revenues of the Church were miserably spoiled in the days of King Edward by the nobility and gentry, that got them into their own hands, upon pretence of maintaining their houses and state, yet even in this reign did this grievance continue. He that is minded to know this more particularly, may read the paragraphs that follow, which I have taken out of a treatise printed in this Queen's reign; where, speaking of the spiritual dropsy, one of the diseases which the author makes the nobility and gentry to be sick of, he writ thus: "That they swole so big with "their disease, that they could not be content with their "fathers' houses, which were as great men as these be: for "their fathers' houses will not hold them; but they build "wider houses, and more than their fathers did, for one or "two will not hold them. And some swell so great, that "all the houses their fathers and they have builded will "not hold them: but they must also have bishops' houses, "and deans' houses, parsons' houses, and vicars' houses, "and poor beggars' houses, called hospitals. And yet "they swell so great, that all these will not hold them, "except they amend their manners, until they come to "hell; there is place great enough." And a little after: "The other kind of common tokens, that the water-sick "have, is an exceeding great thirst, and so great, that the "more they drink, the more they desire to drink; and "no drink is able to quench their thirst. Such a thirst "have some of the nobility now; and such a one have "some had of late. Some, having lands of their own to "live on, have peltingly gone about from court to court, "buying farms and bargains, and overbidding all men: so "that poor men can get no reasonable prize of any term or
252 "bargain for them. Some are so thirsty of farms, and "namely of benefices, that they snatch up all the reversions "that can be had in a country, though the farmers have "yet forty or fifty years to come. There is one knight

Dr. Turner's Spirit. Physic.

" that hath ten benefices in one shire in his hands; and " another hath two and twenty, as credible persons have " told me. Some are so thirsty for the farms of vicarages " or parsonages, that they beg or buy the advowsons of " them of the patrons; and as soon as they fall, they will " let none have the benefice, but such as will let them the " benefice to farm with house, and land, and tithe, with all " that belongeth thereto. Others drink up the glebe-land, " and let the rest alone. Some have by bribery, simony, " and other unlawful ways, robbed many a poor parish in " England of their parsonages and parsons; and have " drunken up quite the parsonages for them and their " heirs for ever: wherewith the church of Christ hath " been wont to be fed both bodily and ghostly.

" Some new gentlemen have drunken up not only a great " part of bishops' lands, but also have drunken up divers " churchyards, and hospitals, chapels and chantries, to patch " and clout up their livings withal; because their fathers " left them never a foot of land. One of the nobility saw, " of late years, a pretty church, with a good large church-" yard; the same was lord of the town there; and he de-" sired the parish, that they would let him have the church " and churchyard, promising them a new church and a new " churchyard in another place. The poor tenants durst not " say him nay, because he was their lord. In the mean " season he lent the parish a foul ill-favoured hole, an end " of an old abbey, very strait and narrow, evil covered, and " every day like to fall upon the poor people's heads: and " as for the other church, the poor people can get none " unto this hour. Where is there any good parsonage in " England, but it is either bought or drunken up of some " gentleman? As with great honesty and praise, the noble-" men's servants had wont to come home to their masters' " houses with hares, wild cats, and foxes upon their backs, " so, with much shame, they come now with their tithe-pigs " by their tails, with tithe-eggs, and tithe-hemp and flax.

" There was an earl, within these few years, that had " lands and goods enough, and could not quench his thirst

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" therewith, until he had gotten one of the greatest deane-
" ries in England; and so was made my lord dean also.
Anno 1555. " But he left to his successors the land undiminished: and
" therefore did much better than he should have done, if
" he had taken the deanery quite away in his own hands
" for ever, for him and his heirs."

And again: " Some, when as they have drunken up as
" much of the commons, of abbey lands, of bishops' lands,
" of deans' lands, of parsons' lands, and beggars' lands, I
" mean of hospitals, as would serve four as honest and as
" honourable men as they be; yet, for to spare their own
" drink at home, are not ashamed to beg drink of such poor
" men as I am, when as I had seventy-four pounds to spend
" in the year, my first-fruits yet unpaid: and yet they never
" gave me a cup of ale undeservedly all their lives. I have
253 " yet copies of their begging letters here in Germany, to be
" witness of their shameful begging. I would there were
" some act of Parliament made against such *valiant beg-*
" *gars*, which vex poor men as I was, much worse than the
" lousy beggars do."

This evil in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

These were the evils the Church suffered from the temporalty, both nobility and gentry, in King Edward's, and now in Queen Mary's days. I have been the larger in this transcription, that the history of this sacrilege might the more fully appear. Nor did this great evil cease in the next reign. The clergy did sadly complain of it in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. Thus spake honest Augustin Bernher: " I will not speak now of them, that, being
" not content with their lands and rents, do catch in their
" hands spiritual livings, as parsonages, and such like, and
" that under the pretence to make provision for their houses.
" What hurt and damage this realm of England doth sus-
" tain by that devilish kind of provision for gentlemen's
" houses, knights' and lords' houses, they can tell best that
" do travel in the countries, and see with their eyes great
" parishes and market-towns, with innumerable others, to
" be utterly destitute of God's word; and that because that
" these greedy men have spoiled the livings, and gotten

Epist. before Lat. sermons.

" them into their hands. And instead of a faithful and CHAP. XXXII.
" painful teacher, they hire a Sir John, which hath better
" skill in playing at tables, or in keeping of a garden, than Anno 1555.
" in God's word. And he for a trifle doth serve the cure,
" and so help to bring the people of God in danger of their
" souls. And all those serve to accomplish the abominable
" pride of such gentlemen, which consume the goods of the
" poor, (which ought to have been bestowed upon a learned
" minister,) in costly apparel, belly-cheer, or in building of
" gorgeous houses. But let them be assured, that a day
" will come, when it will be laid to their charge, *Rapina*
" *pauperum in domibus vestris.* And then they shall per-
" ceive that their fair houses are built in the place called
" Aceldama. They have a bloody foundation, and there-
" fore cannot stand long. This matter also is so weighty,
" and the spiritual slaughter of the poor people so misera-
" ble and woful, that except the magistrates speedily look
" thereunto, and redress the same, the Lord of Sabaoth
" himself will find out some remedy to deliver his people
" from such caterpillars, and require the blood of his people
" at their hands, by whose covetousness they were letted to
" come to the knowledge of Christ." But I am now out of my way, and therefore return.

CHAP. XXXIII. 254

Bishop Ferrar, Cardmaker, canon of Wells, and Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, burnt for religion.

As I have made some remarks, a little before, of Bradford and Latymer, Cranmer and Ridley, four prime pillars of the reformed Church of England, which this bloody year executed in the flames; so, passing by many others, I shall take notice of three more this same year so used; namely, a bishop, a canon, and an archdeacon: that is to say, Ferrar, bishop of St. David's; Cardmaker, canon and residentiary of Wells; and Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester.

March 30, the abovesaid Bishop suffered in the fire at Bishop Ferrar.

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Carmarthen; a pious and good man, but pursued with unjust vexations in the former Prince's reign, as well as in this.

Memor. Archbp. Cranm.

Something hath been said of this matter elsewhere: to which in this place I will take occasion to add some more particulars in behalf of the memory of a man that had the resolution and courage to die for the true doctrine. When this person came first to oversee the diocese of St. David's, he found many things amiss, even in the chapter, (which ought to have been the example to the rest of the diocese and clergy:) for there was great spoil made of the plate and ornaments of the church, which was converted into the private possessions of those that belonged unto the church. And of these and other misdemeanours were the chanter Young, and one of the canons residentiary, named Merick, chiefly guilty: and Constantine, his own register, was not clear. These men were also guilty of simony, bribery, and bearing with ill lives for money. So the Bishop resolved to begin his visitation with his own church.

The delinquency of the chapter of St. David's.

Fox's Acts, p. 1407.

They were also very defective, as to many of the King's injunctions, refusing to obey them: as concerning the founding of a school for poor men's children; a lecture of divinity; sermons on the Sundays; repairing of their church and mansion-houses; decent order and ministration in their public assemblies. But they stubbornly counted themselves, with the chanter, to be a body politic, without regard of the Bishop and his lawful monitions, though he were named in their statutes, *decanus aut quasi decanus;* having also their dean's seal in the choir, with a prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the chapter-house, with a key of their chapter-seal; being also by the King's commission appointed their ordinary. Yet would they not, in any wise, deliver unto him a book of their statutes, for the better knowledge of his or their duties; nor shew unto him their records and monuments, for declaration of the King's right and his. For which cause afterwards, by a writ of *Quo warranto*, he called them to answer. But the writ, by their interest, lay asleep. For their crimes he had first friendly admonished

them; but that not mending them, he put them out of their office, which made them more his enemies, and say, *they would pull him out of his bishopric.*

255 They refuse the Bishop's visiting them.

But let me shew how they endeavoured to impede his visitation. For, to stop the Bishop's just proceedings, they began to raise all the dust they could, and to express the greatest malice against him. And because his commission to his Chancellor was issued out in his own name, according to the old form, and not in the name of King Edward, they took hold of this for an advantage against him. So they, in the name of the chapter, (who yet were willing to receive him,) appealed unto the Archbishop: and for carrying on the suit, spent the goods of the church; but notwithstanding their disobedience, he visited the diocese, and was friendly received by them. But as for Young and his fellows, they employed against him many promoters and witnesses, dissolute or mercenary men; whereof one was Rawlins, a priest, who had four or five livings, but resided upon neither of them: a lewd man; of whom they said themselves, "We know Rawlins to be a very knave, and so meet for "no purpose, so much as to set forward such a matter." Another was Lee, a broken merchant turned promoter. Of Constantine, this is to be remarked, that he had been his old acquaintance and friend, whom he continued register, having been so made by Barlow, Ferrar's predecessor; but one that formerly abjured his religion, and that afterwards, namely, in this Queen's reign, complied with the old religion again, and sat as register when this Bishop was condemned to be burnt for heresy. These men raked into the Bishop's life and conversation, his preaching, his behaviour in public, in private; and at last scraped up together fifty-six articles against him; which are extant in Fox, with his answers to them. These articles they sent up to the King's Council; and having a warrant from the Council to go down and examine witnesses, which they had procured, by money and promises, to the number of no less than an hundred and twenty-seven, (many of whom were persons of most scandalous life and the illest fame,) in the mean time so ordered

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their matters, that the Bishop was stayed in London, lest his presence might lay some awe upon the witnesses, and obstruct their proceedings: and yet after all, to some of their articles they had but one witness; and to some nothing but fame; and to some no witness at all, as appeared by their own paper, entitled, *A brief note how many witnesses deposed to every article.*

The Bishop's interrogatories to the witnesses.

Fox in his manuscript.

And all this they did, hoping to get him deprived at last, and to run him into a *premunire*. But the Bishop being so well aware of the dishonesty of the witnesses, and how probable to have been procured to swear falsely for the gain of money, got so much favour, that certain interrogatories might be administered to the witnesses secretly and apart upon their oaths: first letting them know the danger of an oath, and the pain of a perjured person: then to demand of them, whether they were not instructed and informed what they should say or depose in this case? And whether they had communed and consulted with any body in that behalf? And whether any thing had been given or promised unto them for bearing of witness? And which of
256 the parties the witness would wish to have the victory in this matter, if it lay in his power? And whether it were more for his profit the Bishop should be deprived, or continue Bishop? And whether he came to bear witness willingly or by compulsion, desired or hired? And whether there were any displeasure, variance, strife, or hatred between him or any of his friends or kindred, and the Bishop? And whether he did hope to obtain any profit or commodity, if the party that produced him had the victory? And whether any of the witnesses were tenants, farmers, servants, kin, or of special friendship, with Young, Constantine, or Merick, or either of them; or had any part of his living by them, or any of them? And whether any of the witnesses were, at that present time, incontinent persons, and noted and suspected of any notorious crime? Thus was the poor Bishop fain to sift these men, and put close questions to them; of whose true speaking he had such just suspicion.

And as they preferred their articles against him at the council-table, so they indicted him at the quarter sessions at Carmarthen: and to create him the more disgrace, it was at the same time that he was visiting his diocese; so that he was fain to adjourn his visitation to appear at the sessions.

Anno 1534.

The Bishop indicted at the quarter sessions.

But above and beside all these articles and malicious courses against him, they thought to make their advantage of an expression which he had used in a sermon in the month of April 1551: when, out of good-will to the Welsh, and it may be to get their love, that so he might the better instil his doctrine and instructions into them, Rawlins informed, that he had used these words, or to this effect; "That the Englishmen were more churlish and cruel than "the Welshmen were: for in England they would rush one "at another without any salutation or manners; but here "in Wales," said he, "ye are more gentle: and not without "cause: for ye were the Britains sometimes, and had the "realm in governance. And if the prophecy of Merlyn be "true, ye shall be Britains again, and this land shall be "called *Great Britain*." Which indeed, though it were then made a matter of accusation against the Bishop, yet in our days we cannot look upon without a remark, how it fell out what that Bishop then preached, or the Welsh prophet foretold. But this, Rawlins, employed by Young and Constantine, as promoters, took hold of as a criminal matter against a law, enacted in King Henry VIIIth's time concerning the country of Wales, of laying aside their old customs, and living according to the laws of England; and that their vain prophecies should be extinguished, and the tellers of them punished. And this was the very information they drew up against the Bishop, in language spiteful enough.

Accused for a passage in his sermon.

"*To the Right Honourable the Lords and others of the "King's Majesty's Privy Council.*

"For as much as our late sovereign Lord, of famous "memory, Henry the Eighth, did, by th'authority of the

Information given thereof to the Council.

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Anno 1555. Fox's MSS. 257

" high court of Parliament, establish and enact, that his " country of Wales, laying aside their old and ill customs, " should from thence after use and have the laws of Eng- " land, and to all purposes be as meer Englishmen: and " that vayn prophesies shuld be extincted and abolished, " and the tellers and supporters thereof accordingly pu- " nished, according to this effect of the statutes and other " laws in that case provided; thorough whose provydence " many good things have happened to the nation: so that " they have lived more wealthily and quietly under fear and " obedience, which evermore they do most thankfully em- " brace, as apperteyneth. Nevertheless, Robert, the bishop " of St. David's that now is, the xixth day of April last " past, or thereabouts, in the town of Carmarthen, in the " diocess aforesaid, perceiving himself to be evil beloved in " that country, and utterly out of credence with the people " there, not only for his unsatiable covetousness, daily vex- " ing the poor tenants and clergy without just cause, but " also for that he buyeth lands of open adulterers, taking " the same better-cheap for permitting their sins, leaving " their detestable adulteries unpunished, to the slander of " God's holy word; yet, thinking to get the favour of the " people again with flattery, spake and said these words " following, openly in the pulpit, saying, 'That ye Welsh- " men were more gentle than the Englishmen were: for the " Welshmen would salute gently the one the other. And " the Englishmen be more cruel and more sturdy, rushing " one at the other without salutation or greeting. But you " Welshmen are more gentle: and no marvel, for some- " times ye were Britains, and had this realm in govern- " ance; and if the prophecy of Merlyn be true, ye shall so " have it again.' And by these seditious words and preach- " ing, he did not only stir envy and hatred betwixt the two " peoples, being the King's Majesty's subjects and inha- " bitants there, but also provoke idle rhime-singers and " vain prophesiers to rhime old seditious and pernicious " prophesies, blazing of arms and such like, to the great

" disturbance of the common-wealth, and no less imminent " danger that thereof may ensue, if remedy be not the " sooner provided. In tender consideration whereof it may " please your good Lordships to command the said Bishop, " being now here present, to make answer to the premises, " and that such order and direction may be taken therein, " as to justice apperteyneth, and as to your good Lordships " shall seem expedient." CHAP. XXXIII. Anno 1555.

To this the Bishop made this plea for himself, " that he " preached upon those words of St. Peter, *I beseech you,* " *as out-comlings and strangers, to abstain*, &c. and thence " did exhort the people to be friendly unto strangers, ac- " cording to God's precepts unto Moses, given unto the " people of Israel: affirming, that it seemed well, by the " diligent observing of that precept in the country of Wales: " that these people, as Britains, of whom this realm was first " called Britain, (and if Merlyn's saying be true, it should " be called Britain again.) That they had received that " lesson of loving-kindness towards strangers originally from " God's people; and that they were worthy of much com- " mendation, for that they kept the same more diligently " than other parts of the realm, even to this day." And more than this he spake not: but for proof of the words, according as Rawlins had represented them, he produced nine witnesses: yet but two of them agreed with Rawlins's information; the one the veriest drunkard in the town, and the other a poor simple fellow, that could speak no English, and therefore, very probably, could not understand the Bishop when he preached. The Bishop's answer. 258

Besides what Fox hath preserved in his Acts and Monuments in behalf of this Bishop, publishing, as the articles against him, so his answers to every one of them, wherein judgment may be made of the malice of his enemies, I refer the reader to the Catalogue for two other papers of the Bishop in his own vindication, one entitled, *Adversaries principal against the Bishop of St. David's:* the other, *Exceptions general, in behalf of Robert Bishop of St. David's.* Wherein will appear the true grounds of Young's, Constan- He displayeth his adversaries. No. XLVI, XLVII.

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tine's, and Merick's, and the rest of his enemies, their anger against him; and that it was procured, because he would not grant some of them their unreasonable desires, and because he reproved and threatened the vices of others. For this they laboured to bring him into a *premunire*, nay, to take away his life.

The Bishop pardons his enemies before his death.

By these unkind dealings towards their diocesan, they procured his imprisonment, in which he lay to the death of King Edward; and so was the easier exposed to the rage of the Papists, as it happened afterwards. But before his death, Young and Constantine came to him, and begged his forgiveness, which he, like a Christian, gave them; and there was a reconciliation between them.

Fox advised to leave out of his book this controversy.

But the matter looked with such an ill aspect upon religion, that one Prat, a learned and pious preacher, and acquaintance of Mr. Fox, did earnestly dissuade him from publishing it in his then intended edition of his Acts and Monuments: writing thus to him in the year 1560.

Letter to Fox to that intent.

Epist. Fox.

"The bishop of St. Davyes, Mr. Young, shall be archbishop of York: who, I promise you, in my judgment, is a virtuous, godly man; and therefore, I pray you, in your augmentation of the history, meddle not with such matters as passed between Bishop Farrar, him, and Constantine, (who is of late dead,) in King Edward's days; for if you should, the Papists might gather an occasion to say, that we persecuted one another. I think you may well either leave it out altogether, or else couch it in such sort, that no man may be slandered. The controversy was for profane matters, and therefore unmeet for your history. We must be circumspect in our doings, that we give Papists no occasion to accuse us for persecutors, which we lay so much to their charge. This I am sure, that both Bishop Farrar, and Mr. Young, who shall be bishop of York, and Mr. Constantine, were all reconciled before Mr. Farrar's death. And they came to him, and asked him forgiveness; and he forgave them, so that they were in brotherly love, and they all professed one religion: for which he died, and they fled. And therefore, I pray you,

" renew not that malice that is once remitted. Constantine is " named in the Latin history, for the which I am very sorry. " I pray you let it be mended in the next, and pass it over " with silence; either else write it in such sort as no man be " defamed, whereby religion may sustain no hurt, otherwise " the Papists may have a just occasion to triumph."

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But notwithstanding all this solicitation, either it came too late, or Fox thought convenient to follow his own judgment rather than that of his friend; chiefly, I suppose, for the vindication of the memory of this pious martyr, and to clear him from those aspersions that otherwise might have been believed concerning him, let the living clear themselves as they could: and therein shewing himself an impartial historian. 259

Cardmaker burnt.

Two months after Bishop Ferrar was burnt, *viz.* May 30, was John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, so served, canon residentiary of Wells, and a learned man; once an Observant friar, afterwards reader of divinity in St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Bridget's in Fleet-street: who was taken into custody with Barlow, bishop of that see, upon Queen Mary's coming to the crown. What promise of compliance he had made to Gardiner, lord chancellor, at first, I cannot tell, but he was almost sure of him: insomuch as he would speak concerning him to others, that he was convented before him for religion; and would bring forth the names of him and Bishop Barlow, who was prison-fellow with him, and had gone too far; praising them for men of great gravity, wisdom, and learning. But Cardmaker was afterwards separated from Barlow into another prison: Barlow indeed, by some submission, got free, and fled into Germany. And soon after, Laurence Saunders was committed to the same prison with Cardmaker, and by his company, Cardmaker, it was thought, was mightily confirmed, and gathered great courage to defend the truth. The Bishop of London also thought himself sure of Cardmaker, and openly talked, that he should soon be discharged out of prison, when he had subscribed to transubstantiation and some other articles. Cardmaker

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soon lost his dear companion Saunders, who was carried forth and burnt, and he left alone.

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An account of his submission. Fox's MSS.

What submission this good man made, we may be informed by the judiciary acts of his process: which was thus, as I extract it thence, Jan. 28, 1554, the day on which Hoper and Rogers appeared before the bishops and others, commissioners; Cardmaker was the third that made his appearance that day. "To him then did the Bishop of Win- "ton repeat the counsel he lately gave him in the presence "of some of the Privy Council, for the reduction of him to "the unity of the Catholic Church, which Cardmaker then "refused to do. Now the Bishop again asked him, whether "he would from his heart, and from an humble spirit, sub- "mit himself, and arise from his former spot of heresy; "signifying to him, that if he would, he should be freely "received. In consequence whereunto, the said John Card- "maker humbly submitted himself, as it appeared, pro- "mising willingly to yield to such things which should be "appointed him by my Lord on this behalf. Then my "Lord admitted kindly his submission, together with the "congratulation of all that were present; and it was en- "tered into the acts of the day." But that this worthy man meant not a plenary submission unto their wills, may appear by a letter that he privately wrote to a friend upon this occasion, fearing Mr. Cardmaker's revolt from religion. The letter is recorded in Fox, which being short, I will transcribe, shewing the spirit and Christian resolution of this man.

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His letter, shewing what it was.

"*The peace of God be with you.*

"You shall right well perceive, that I am not gone back, "as some men do report me, but as ready to give my life "as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although "by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the "best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly "appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of "doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord

" being mine assistance, as I doubt not but he will. Com- CHAP. XXXIII.
" mend me to my friend, and tell him no less. This the
" Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches Anno 1555.
" and poverty is as it was wont to be: and I have learned
" to rejoice in poverty as well as riches; for that I count
" now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ: sa-
" lute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with
" some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they
" be but *sophists* and *shadows*."

His learning and steadfastness.

But when he would not so easily be brought to subscribe as they expected, he continued a great while after a prisoner, and endured many and grievous conflicts with the Papists, the rather because they conceived good hopes they should have drawn him to their side at last. Great pains was taken about him: earnest was their desire to gain so learned a man, and often their sittings; resorting daily to him, no labour omitted: whatsoever diligence in this matter might prevail; contention, threatening, fear, entreaty, flattery, profit, nothing was left unattempted. He being therefore baited so many ways, when he could not otherwise escape out of their snares, desired them to put all their reasons in writing, promising them that he likewise would answer them in writing. To be short, one of the doctors took upon him this office, called Martyn, a civil lawyer of Winchester's retinue, and well traded in his master's school of errors and deceits; otherwise a man not the slowest witted among the Papists, if he had used the gifts of nature to the maintaining of truth and right, rather than to the flattering of a few men. This was that Martyn that set forth the book against priests' marriages, in the year 1554. This man would needs encounter Cardmaker, in maintaining transubstantiation and other articles: but Cardmaker, though lower in degree, yet better in force of arguments, answered him again by writing; and did well and plentifully beat down his youthful boldness, and taught him to keep himself within his bounds of the law, if he were wise. And thus this godly man, being much and a long time tossed on every

Dr. Martyn.

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side, continued in steadfast constancy even to the day of his death, which he suffered at Smithfield. It is a great pity that none of his disputations, nor these answers to Martyn, nor any letters of his are extant, being as learned a man as any that suffered in those evil days, and as much means used by the Popish party to bring him over. And yet very little is recorded of him in Fox or elsewhere.

Cardmaker's words to the promoter.

He shewed his learning and parts, methinks, in those few words that passed between him and Beard, by occupation a tailor, by office a *promoter;* who, two or three days before Cardmaker's death, came unto him from the Council, as he
261 pretended, to know if he would recant. Whereupon he told Beard, that he had been a tailor by his trade, and had endeavoured to be a skilful workman, and thereby to get his living. And so had he been a preacher for twenty years, and ever since, that God, by his great mercy, had opened his eyes to see his eternal truth, he had endeavoured to call upon him to give him the true understanding of his holy word; and he thanked God for that great mercy, hoping that he had discharged his conscience in the setting forth of the same, according to the talent he had received. And when Beard asked him what he thought of the blessed sacrament of the altar, he, among other things, asked him again, "whether the sacrament he spoke of had a beginning "or no?" Whereunto Beard replying, granted it had, and an end too. Then said Cardmaker, "If the sacrament had "a beginning, as he confessed, and an ending too, then it "could not be God, for God had no beginning nor ending." And so willed him to note the same.

Philpot burnt.

John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, was burnt at Smithfield in the month of December; another learned man, as appears by those many examinations that were taken of him, which are preserved in Fox's book. He once, in his zeal for the honour of Christ his master, did spit at an Arian: for which he wrote a discourse, entitled, *An Apology, and an Invective against the Arians; with an admonition to beware of them, and of other late sprung heresies:* which he wrote by way of letter to the godly brethren and

sisters: which being not printed in Fox, nor in the Martyrs' Letters, I have placed, and I think very deservedly, in the Catalogue; for I think it pity, that any scraps of these great men should be lost. He was present when a certain Arian, being minded to pervert some to his own heresy, said words to this effect, that "God was no otherwise in "Christ, than God was in him;" making Christ but a creature as he himself was: and that "he might be without sin "as well as Christ." Philpot could not bear these blasphemous words, and in indignation spit upon him: "which, "he said, he did for this end, to signify thereby, that he "was a person not fit to be accompanied withal for his hor- "rid blasphemy, and to relieve that sorrow which he con- "ceived for that blasphemy that was spoke against our "Saviour." These reasons he gave to defend himself in this seemingly rude behaviour, which had given offence to some.

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His reasons for spitting on an Arian.

These modern Arians, besides their heresy about Christ, denied the godhead of the Holy Ghost. They objected against some passages of our Liturgy; as against the suffrage, *Lord have mercy upon us, miserable sinners;* for they said they were not *miserable*, nor would be accounted so. They were against using the Lord's Prayer; for it was needless, they said, to pray, *Thy kingdom come*, when God's kingdom was already come upon them; and that men needed not to pray for that which they had already. And also that petition, *Forgive us our trespasses;* for they held they had no sin. They denied also the Old Testament to be of any authority; and that David's psalms were not to be used as prayers and praises unto God; and they denied the benefit of repentance to any that sinned after baptism. These errors and heresies, and the like, Philpot, in the aforesaid letter, discovered and confuted. There is a book of his against the Arians, mentioned in his eleventh examination to be published; but whether it were this letter, or something else, I cannot tell.

Some of the tenets of the Arians.

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To this I have added another of his letters hitherto unprinted, writ to a certain pious lady, nameless; I suppose

Philpot's letter to a lady.

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the good Lady Vane, to whom he wrote many: and I verily believe this to be his own hand. It was writ a month and four or five days before his death. Herein he mentioned an examination he underwent before a great many Lords of the Council; before whom, he said, he did more frankly deliver his mind than he had done at any time before; and that the matter laid against him was his disputation in the convocation two years before, concerning their idol the mass; which they urged him to recant. And then he answered them, that if the clergy could prove their sacrament of the altar to be a sacrament, or themselves to be of the true church of Christ, he promised he would be conformable to all their doings.

Some further account of Philpot.

This Philpot was of a knightly family, and had ingenuous education in Wickham's school by Winchester. He was a traveller, and had been at Rome; where he was acquainted with Christopherson, in this Queen's reign bishop of Chichester, well seen in Greek learning. In King Edward's days he entered the lists against the Arians, who began to shew their faces then, and he wrote against them. He was a man of strong affections; and when he saw, at Queen Mary's first convocation, (whereof he was a member,) what a sort of men were gathered together, and how bent to set up idolatry in this land, where it had been with so much care and pains thrown out, and the godly reformation like to be overthrown, he wept before them all, casting himself down upon his knees; whereat some there did but make sport. In that convocation he spake very boldly; insomuch that Weston, the prolocutor, told him he was mad, and that he should go to Bethlem, and bade him hold his peace, and to have him to prison, and to put him out of the house. He wrote a report of this convocation, which fell into Bishop Bonner's hands, among other of Philpot's books that that Bishop had seized: and this report he maintained before the said Bonner, and the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bath, and divers other doctors, to be true. The Bishop of London taunted at him for some sentences that he read in some of Philpot's books; as this sentence in his Bible,

Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terris. And in another book, *In me Johanne Philpotto, ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit et gratia.* Both which Bonner would have made matter of charge against him, though the former sentence was St. Bernard's, and the latter St. Paul's, which Bonner, it seems, knew not. When Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, had reproached him with ignorance in the doctors, Philpot told that Bishop, "that it was a shame for "them to wrest and wreath the doctors as they did, to "maintain a false religion: and that the doctors were altogether against them, if they took them aright: and that "it was indeed their false packing of doctors together had "given him and others occasion to look upon them: where-"by we find you," said he, "shameful liars, and misrepre-"senters of the ancient doctors." And when Dr. Morgan of Oxford told him, "all the doctors were on their 263 "side, and against Philpot and his party altogether;" he replied, "that so indeed they said, when they were in their "pulpits alone, and none to answer them; but if they would "come to cast accounts with him thereof, he would venture "with them a recantation, that he, as little sight as he had "in the doctors, would bring more authorities of ancient "doctors on his side, than they should be able for theirs. "Nay, he that can bring most to him," said he to him, "let "the other side yield."

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He writ some treatises and very many letters in prison, specially while he remained in the King's Bench in an easier confinement, before he was by Bishop Bonner cast into his "Coal-house, a dark and ugly prison as any was about Lon-"don," as himself described it. Most of his letters were to the Lady Vane, a most excellent pious woman, whom he styled *the elect lady*, and sometimes his *mother*, and sometimes his *sister*. She sent him large portions of money to supply his necessities, and of the rest of the prisoners of Christ; making him her almoner. One parcel of which money, by her order, was conveyed by him to Oxford, in the month of October, to the three fathers, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, in captivity there. He also penned his examinations, thirteen in

Philpot's writings in prison.

Lady Vane.

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number: which yet were not all he underwent. These being conveyed beyond sea, were by Fox put into Latin, and printed.

His justice.

To all the rest I shall add one piece of his justice, and his adversaries' injustice. Though all the time of his imprisonment he received no benefit from his archdeaconry, which his enemies had stopped payment of, yet his sureties for the first-fruits were compelled to pay the same. This occasioned him, in a letter to a brother, and another to a sister of his, to entreat them to take all care that the sureties might be satisfied out of his own estate, to the contentation of his mind, which could not be quiet till they were discharged. One Fokes, a lawyer, sent him a book of law to instruct him in some law case, probably concerning this business. But Philpot reckoned law would little avail him now; and, in a letter, bade Careless commend him to Mr. Fokes, and thank him for the law book; "but neither law," said he, "nor equity will take any place among these blood-"thirsty."

His parts when young. Foxii MSS.

He was the son of Sir Peter Philpot, knight, nigh Winton; and was in his youth put to Wickham college: where he profited in learning so well, that he laid a wager of twenty pence with John Harpsfield, that he would make two hundred verses in one night, and not make above three faults in them. Mr. Thomas Tuchyner, schoolmaster, next before Mr. White, was judge, and adjudged the twenty pence to Mr. Philpot.

A passage between the Bishop and him.

Stephen, bishop of Winton, ever bare ill-will against this godly gentleman, and forbad him preaching oftentimes in King Henry's reign. But he could not, in his conscience, hide his talent under this Prince, and in so popish a diocese. At last the Bishop sent for certain justices, who came to his house, named Wolsey; and there, calling Mr. Philpot *rogue*, "My Lord," said he, "do you keep a privy "sessions in your own house for me, and call me *rogue*, "whose father is a knight, and may dispend a thousand
264 "pounds within one mile of your nose? And he that can "dispend ten pounds by the year, as I can, I thank God, is

"no vagabond." *Winchester.* "Canst thou spend ten "pounds by the year?" *Philpot.* "Ask Henry Francis, "your sister's son." Henry Francis kneeling down, said, "I pray you, my Lord, be a good lord unto Mr. Philpot, "for he is to me a good landlord." *Winch.* "What rent "dost thou pay him?" *Francis.* "I pay him ten pounds "by year." At this word the Bishop was afraid, and ashamed for making so loud a lie upon a gentleman, and a learned gentleman. This passage Mr. Sternhold, one of King Edward's privy chamber, told afterwards to that King for entertainment sake.

This Henry Francis, the Bishop's nephew, the Bishop took care of from his youth; but he wanted, as it seems, a sober education, for he proved a cutter and a ruffian: and, as though he intended to further him in vice, he preferred him to the bailiffwick of the Clink, that is, he made him captain of the stews, and all the whores thereunto belonging.

The register sets him and Bishop Poynet together. Foxii MSS.

To return to our Archdeacon. There was, in the latter end of King Edward, an unhappy difference started between Poynet, the learned bishop of Winton, and him; fomented and devised by Cook, the register, a man that hated pure religion. He informed the said Bishop, whether true or false I know not, that there was a yearly pension due to him from the Archdeacon. This causing contention between them, hence intolerable troubles arose, and slanders in that diocese to them both: while so good a Bishop, at the setting on of so rank a knave, could find in his heart to vex his brother, so conspicuous both for learning and life. Another instance of Cook's malice towards the Archdeacon was this: Cook having married a lady, rode with more men than the Archdeacon himself; and taking this opportunity of number of attendance, once forestalled the way between Winchester and Mr. Philpot's sister's house, about three miles from the said city, whither he was going; and lying in wait for him, set his men upon him, and sore beat him, overdone by number: for otherwise the Archdeacon had as lusty a courage to defend himself, as in disputation against popish

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prelates, to impugn their doctrine. But though he were thus beaten, hurt, and wounded, yet remedy he could have none in the spiritual court, the Bishop, as well as this his register, being in contest with him. But enough of Philpot.

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Justices. Bishop Bonner's book for his diocese. Other books set forth. A Parliament. First-fruits and tenths. A synod. A bull granted to Secretary Petre.

Justices persecutors.

NOW the persecution grew hot, and the Papalins shewed their cruel natures. The civil magistrates in each county were procured to be such as might seek out every where the true professors of religion, and bring them to suffering. In Essex were these justices of peace, among others; the Lord Rich, that had been lord chancellor under King Edward, and a complier with his proceedings, but now a severe prosecutor of the Protestants; Sir Anthony Brown, Henry Tyrril, Edmund Tyrril, Tho. Mildmay, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, Justice Gaudy; which last was the only favourer of them, and the least fierce against them.

Bonner sets forth a book containing A necessary Doctrine.

By this time Bishop Bonner had prepared, by the study of his chaplains, a book of popish doctrine and homilies for the use of his diocese, being printed by Cawood in September. It was entitled, *A profitable and necessary Doctrine, with certain Homilies adjoining thereunto. Set forth by the reverend father in God, Edmund, Bishop of London, for the instruction and information of the people being within his diocese of London, and of his care and charge.* The Bishop's *Preface to the Reader* hath this beginning: "Whenas in the time of the late outrageous and pestiferous "schism, being here in this church and realm of England, "all godliness and goodness was despised, and in a manner "banished, and the Catholic trade and doctrine of the "Church, with a new, envious, and odious term, called and "named *Papistry*," &c. The book itself begins with an

explication concerning faith, what it is. Then follows the exposition or declaration of the Creed, the exposition of the seven sacraments, the exposition of the Ten Commandments, the exposition of the *Pater noster*, the exposition of *Ave Maria*, the exposition of the seven deadly sins, the exposition of the seven beatitudes, and lastly, prayers. Then follow in the same volume, "Homilies set forth by the right "reverend father in God, Edmund, bishop of London, not "only promised before in his book, entitled, *A necessary* "*Doctrine*, but also, now of late, adjoined and added there-"unto. To be read within the diocese of London, of all "parsons, vicars, and curates, unto their parishioners, upon "Sundays and holydays, anno MDLV." These homilies were thirteen in number, *viz.* I. Of the creation and fall of man. II. Of the misery of all mankind, and of his condemnation to death. III. Of the redemption of man. IV. How the redemption in Christ is appliable to man. V. Of Christian love and charity. VI. How dangerous a thing to break off charity is. VII. Of the Church, what it is, and of the commodity thereof. VIII. Of the authority of the Church. IX. Of the supremacy. X. Of the true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. XI. Of transubstantiation. XII. Of certain answers against some common objections made against the sacrament of the altar. The book is concluded with an address of the Bishop to all parsons and curates within the diocese of London, beginning, "Forasmuch as the people of my diocese, &c. "Therefore desiring to have something done onward, till "God, of his goodness, provide something better; I have "laboured with my chaplains and friends to have these "homilies printed, that ye may have somewhat to instruct "and teach your flock withal: requiring and charging every "one of you, that diligently, and upon Sundays and holy-"days, ye read to your flock, fruitfully and deliberately, "one of the said homilies. And thus, fare you well. Given "at my house at London, the 1st of July, 1555."

And homilies.

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There was also one Miles Hogheard, or Huggard, a tradesman in Pudding-lane, who set forth a book about this time,

Huggard's book.

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(or rather the year after,) bearing for its title, *Against the English Protestants:* a piece written with much bitterness and scurrility; laying to their charge the famine, and the other miseries of England. This man made some pretence to learning; but Bale laughs at him for going about to prove fasting from Virgil's Æneis and Tully's Tusculan Questions. But he set himself to oppose and abuse the gospellers, being set on and encouraged by priests and mass-mongers, with whom he much consorted, and was sometimes with them at Bishop Bonner's house. And the Protestants were even with him, and made verses upon him, not sparing him at all: some whereof, in Latin, may be seen in Bale's Centuries. Against him wrote Laur. Humphrey, Crowly, Kethe, Plough, and others. When Mr. Hawks, a gentleman of Essex, was Bonner's prisoner, because he would not permit his child to be christened after the popish rites, this Hogheard was in company with Doctor Richard Smith, and others of the Bishop's chaplains, who came to confer with the said Hawks. Then did this tradesman take upon him to talk with Hawks, but he was not his match. He asked Hawks, where in Scripture he proved that infants were baptized, thinking thereby to drive him to acknowledge the authority of the Church. But Hawks readily answered, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them*, &c. To which Huggard replied, "What, shall we go teach children?" Hawks again briskly, "Doth that word trouble you? It "might be left out full well," [speaking ironically, as they would have it, to save themselves the pains of teaching.] "It is too much for you to teach." He added, "Is not "your name Huggard? and be not you a hosier, and dwell "in Pudding-lane?" And when the other had confessed it, Hawks replied, "It should seem so, for you can better skill "to eat a pudding, and make a hose, Than either to answer "or oppose." With which he was in a great rage, and did chafe up and down. Whereat Hawks desired some good man to take the pains to walk the gentleman, he fretted so.

Answered under the name Rob. Crowley.

A book comes forth, call-

And from time to time came forth books, to set a fair face upon the alteration of religion. Nor were the Pro-

testants a whit behind them in exposing the mass and the superstitions brought in again, and in upbraiding those that had their hands therein. And particularly about this time, in the month of October, somebody (perhaps Coverdale, or some other scribe) laid it close in a small book to the nobility, by whose means all this change was effected: who themselves, under King Edward, had established, and shewed themselves forward for that which now they rejected. 267 This book was entitled, *A short Description of Antichrist, unto the Nobility of England, and to all my brethren and countrymen born and dwelling therein: with a Warning to see to, that they be not deceived by the hypocrisy and crafty conveyance of the Clergy.* It began, "There is no- "thing more perilous, right honourable Lords, ne yet more "pernicious and evil to Christian man's religion, than so to "be corrupt, poisoned, and blinded in his understanding "and judgment, that he esteemeth and judgeth evil in the "stead of good, error in the stead of verity, cloaked superstition in the stead of Christ's true religion, painted hypocrisy in the stead of godly virtue, manifest and open idolatry in the stead of the true worshipping of God, men's "dreams and traditions in the stead of God's most holy laws "and ordinances; a common custom, long time used of our "forefathers, instead of a sure ground and firm foundation "of our Christen faith: and finally, to accept and take "Antichrist, the *man of sin* and *child of perdition*, as Paul "nameth him, instead of God and of Christ; whose name "is most contrary to God, and most hateful to Christ, in "all his doctrines, works, and conditions," &c.

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ed, A short Description of Atheism.

He directed his book especially to the nobility, those of the Queen's Council, and the rest; because by their means that law of burning men for religion was revived: "which "law," he said, "did not only accuse their Lordships of their "inconstancy, who not long time before, upon reasonable "and godly causes, well weighed, freely disputed and reasoned, did disannul, make frustrate and void the same as "a wicked law; but also this their sudden reviving of the "same, declared that they cared not what they did, were it

Upbraids the nobility.

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"never so wicked and contrary to God; so they might "avoid the displeasure of the magistrate and supreme civil "governor: whereby it appeared manifestly, that they re- "garded more the displeasure of man than the displeasure "of God.

"Alas! right honourable," as he passionately proceeded, "who hath so bewitched you, that you so suddenly are fled "from God's truth, your own consciences so long time ap- "proving the same? before whose eyes Jesus Christ was so "lively preached, and so faithfully set forth; and neverthe- "less now, not only his doctrine, and the true and profitable "use of the sacraments, be by your consents repealed for "heresy, but also Christ himself, in his holy members and "mystical body, most cruelly tormented and slain. Alas! "that foreign nations shall object this inconstancy to your "dishonours; namely, to be so inconstant and wavering in "the principal points concerning a Christian man's religion, "now by you repealed as heresy, which was by your "commandments set forth and commanded through all "the realm and dominions of England, to be taught, and "also to be received of the people. To what truth and "what religion may the subjects of this realm hereafter "cleave, and assuredly, without wavering, follow; which "do perceive that your Lordships, contrary to your own "commandment heretofore, made and directed to them, do "fly and retire from the doctrine and true use of the sacra-
268 "ments, that you, in so little time past, did most worthily "approve to be most godly and necessary to be taught and "followed? God grant that the commons of this realm, "that now murmur and grudge at this inconstancy, and "other your evil doings, do not hereafter burden you with "the same; and especially for your flying from the true "religion, which you did before all men approve to be most "godly: from the which ye be now fled, to the great dis- "honour of God. Wherefore God, by his prophet, threat- "eneth you to bring you to dishonour, saying, *I will give "them honour that honoureth me, and they that dishonour "me, will I bring to dishonour.*" Thus this fickleness in

the gentry and nobility of those times was smartly thrown in their teeth by the best sort. CHAP. XXXIV.

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The method the author of this book followed was, first, to describe and set forth Christ according as the holy Scriptures bear witness of him; and then to paint, in his lively colours, that arch-heretic Antichrist, that extreme contrary to Christ: so that the one contrary, compared and set near to the other, should expressly declare and set forth the other more evidently, plainly, and apparently. The substance of the book.

A Parliament (being the fourth assembled under this Queen) was begun and holden on the 21st of October this year, and lasted to the 9th of December following, and then dissolved. The Queen rode to the Parliament-house in a horselitter open; so that they might behold her Grace very plainly: who never looked more merrily to all men's sight; as was wrote in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury in the north, from one that belonged to him in London. A Parliament.

In this Parliament, that which was done about religion was, that the King and Queen released the first-fruits to the clergy, (which had been given to King Henry VIII.) and that these payments should from henceforth cease, and be clearly extinguished for ever, their honours and consciences them especially hereunto moving: though this bill stuck, and passed not above two or three days before the breaking up. And touching the order and disposition of the tenths of spiritual and ecclesiastical promotions; of these, being called a *perpetual pension* and *annual rent* to the King, the clergy was to be exonerated and acquitted also; but yet to be so ordered and disposed, as afterwards in the act was expressed. And the Lord Legate should, from time to time, name and appoint certain of the clergy, and the successors of them, who should take, perceive, and receive the perpetual pensions, annual rents of divers and sundry rectories, parsonages, benefices, improprieties, glebe land, tithes, oblations, pensions, proportions, &c. belonging to the King and Queen, and the reversion and reversions of them, since the 20th of King Henry VIII. as also all and singular the revenues, rents, profits, and commodities of the said rectories, First-fruits and tenths. A trust committed to the Legate.

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parsonages, &c. to this use and intent following, that the said clergy, so appointed by the Lord Legate, shall therewith satisfy, content, and pay to all religious persons, late abbots, priors, masters of colleges, chantry priests, their pensions, corrodies, annuities, &c. for their term of years or life. And to the intent the poor benefices and cures of this realm might be furnished with good and able curates, to instruct the people with good and sincere doctrine; and to be
269 able to maintain hospitality, and for and to other godly intents and purposes, the said Lord Legate might dispose, employ, and convert the said rectories, parsonages, benefices, improprieties, glebe lands, tithes, oblations, pensions, &c. to the increase and augmenting of the livings, and otherwise for the finding of preachers, or the exhibition of scholars within this realm, according to the godly wisdom and discretion of the said Legate. And upon the death of any persons that received the said pensions, annuities, &c. the said payment of perpetual pensions, annual payments, or tenths, shall utterly cease and be determined for ever. This may be noted as one great respect given to the Cardinal, and a considerable employ for him.

John Hooper of this Parliament. Lord Coke's Institut. p. iv. p. 20.

I find one John Hooper, gent. related, it is probable, to Bishop John Hooper, lately martyred, a burgess in this Parliament for New Sarum; who absented from this Parliament, as not liking perhaps their doings.

A patent to the Cardinal for holding a synod.

The Cardinal, hoping to bring his matters to pass the better by the assembly of the clergy, had now called a synod shortly to appear before him at Westminster, upon the session of the Parliament: but thought it not convenient to do it absolutely, or found he could not, by virtue of his legatine power, without the licence and allowance of the Prince, as the year before he obtained it for the dispensing of his graces and faculties to the subjects. Another patent therefore was granted him from the King and Queen, dated November 2, for celebrating this synod: the tenor whereof was as followeth.

Regist. Card. Poli.

"Philip and Mary," &c. [then repeating their former instrument, allowing Cardinal Pole's legatine jurisdiction,

they proceed,] "Know ye, that forsomuch as the said reverend father, earnestly desiring that his labour and travail may take fruit, to the honour of God, and the wealth of our subjects, hath now called a synod of the clergy of this realm of England to appear before him at our palace of Westminster; we, to avoid all danger, doubt, and ambiguity, which might arise in that case, by reason of any laws, statutes, customs, or prerogatives of us, or of this our realm of England, and for the more ample declaration of our said letters patents, have granted, declared, and signified, and by these presents do grant, declare, and signify, that our will, pleasure, and consent is, that as well the foresaid reverend person may freely, without lets of us, or danger of any of our laws, statutes, &c. call and celebrate the said synod, or any other synod hereafter, at his will and pleasure: and in the same synod ordain and decree any wholesome canons, for the good life and manners of the clergy of our realm of England, or any other of our realms and dominions, and to any other thing for the better executing of their office and duty. And also the said clergy may appear and be present at the said synod or synods, and consent to fulfil and obey all such canons as shall be ordained in the same, or in any of them, without let or impediment of us, and without incurring any danger, or penalty, or forfeiture of any of our laws or statutes; any act, ordinance, or other matter contrary to the same notwithstanding. And hereto 270
we have given full power and authority by these presents. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, the 2d of November, in the second and third years of our reign."

By which it seems to appear, that the clergy was shy of assembling in synod, or doing any thing there, upon the summons of the Cardinal, notwithstanding his legatine vapour, for fear of running into a *premunire*, by virtue of some former laws of the realm: and so as yet they assembled not, though the Parliament began to sit twelve days before the date of the former letters. Something was done

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by the Legate in this convocation, which may be read in the History of the Reformation by Bishop Burnet.

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Vol. ii. p. 324.

Church lands confirmed to Petre by the Pope.

Notwithstanding the law that was made in the Parliament last year, confirming church lands to the present owners; yet so cautious was Sir William Petre, one of the principal secretaries of state, that he thought it not sure enough to rely upon it, and therefore obtained a bull this year from the Pope, for the ratification of the manors and lands that he had purchased of King Henry VIII. which had formerly belonged to monasteries; absolving him from all excommunication for the same; and that he might continue his possession of them without scruple of conscience; and commanded the Bishop of Cond. to permit the said Petre not to be vexed or disturbed in relation to the said lands. This bull is extant in Dugdale's Monasticon, where it is specified, that Sir William Petre was ready to assign and demise the said lands to spiritual uses. The original bull was in the keeping of William Lord Petre, descended from the said Secretary, anno 1672.

Vol. iii. at the end.

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The death of Bishop Gardiner, with some remarks upon him. Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Bonner bloody.

Some account of Bishop Gardiner.

As this year brought many Protestant bishops and divines to their deaths, so it brought their great persecutor, in the midst of his bloody triumphs over them, to his end. For in November, the next month after the burning of Ridley and Latymer, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord high chancellor of England, deceased; a man of good learning and great parts, but of infinite pride, ambition, and malice, and most fatally set against the gospel, and the profession of it; for the prevention of which he shed abundance of innocent blood. Holingshed is mistaken both in the day of his death, and in the place where he deceased; making the former to be November the 9th, and the latter, his house at Winchester place by St. Mary Overy's. To assign the

Holingsh. p. 1130.

truth of which, we are enabled by a letter, dated November 14, 1555, wrote from London by Crych to the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose servant he was; the said Earl being then in the north. In which letter he signified the news of the departure of the Bishop in these words: "My Lord of Win-
"chester (whose soul God pardon) is departed; and his 271
"bowels were buried at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark:
"but his body (as the saying is) shall be carried to Win-
"chester to be buried there, [and so it was.] What time he
"departed is not yet certainly known; but most say, he
"died on Thursday night, being the 12th day of this in-
"stant, about two of the clock at after midnight at West-
"minster, and was brought in his barge from thence to his
"house in Southwark."

His pedigree.

As for his pedigree, he is said to be misbegotten; and Godwin writes, as though he were base son to Woodvile, bishop of Salisbury, under King Edward IV. as he credibly received it from a relation of that Bishop: (and so I have seen it recorded in the Heralds' Office:) and that the said Bishop married his mother to Gardiner, one of the meanest of his followers; and committed the child to some who were to take particular care of his education. It is sure, when Gardiner was abroad in embassies, he used to subscribe himself Stevens, or Stephens, as though he cared not for his surname; though yet it must not be denied that he wrote himself by his surname also sometimes. And I have seen his coat of arms in an old herald's scroll, together with other coats, painted, as I have reason to believe, when it was first given him, being then only Dr. Gardiner, and a dignitary. Which coat resembleth the bearing of the family of the Gardyners of Glemsford, near Ipswich in Suffolk; but with an abatement, *viz.* within a bordure engrailed, argent, a field azure, a chevron of the first charged with three garlands gules, between as many griffins' heads erased of the first. Yet I have seen a very good picture of him when bishop of Winchester, belonging to Sir Richard Gibbs, of Wheltham in Suffolk, knt. where his coat of arms varies, being within the garter, the see of Winton impaled with his

His arms.

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own, which there is azure, a cross or, charged with a garland gules, between four griffins' heads erased argent, languid of the third: which is the very coat of the Gardyners of Glemsford. But I suppose this was the error of the painter. Upon the frame is written, *Vana salus hominis;* which I take for his motto. This picture was drawn when he was of the age of fifty-three. He is represented with a square cap on his head, his complexion swarthy, a severe face, shaved close, his eyelids somewhat hanging over his eyes, stone rings upon both his forefingers, habited in a white garment close at the wrists, with a tippet over it.

His picture.

Ponet's character of him. Treat. of Politic Power.

There was one (namely, he that succeeded him in his bishopric under King Edward) left this character of him, concealing the Bishop's name under the periphrasis of *the doctor of practices:* "Albeit this Doctor be now, [under Queen "Mary,] but too late, thoroughly known, yet it shall be re- "quisite that our posterity know what he was, and by his "description see how nature hath shaped the outward "parts, to declare what was within. This Doctor hath a "swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch "within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like "a horse, ever snuffing into the wind, a sparrow mouth, "great paws like the Devil, talons on his feet like a gripe, "two inches longer than the natural toes, and so tied to
272 "with sinews, that he cannot abide to be touched, nor scarce "suffer them to touch the stones. And nature having thus "shaped the form of an old monster, it gave him a venge- "able wit; which at Cambridge, by labour and diligence, he "had made a great deal worse, and brought up many in "that faculty; Wriothesly, Germain Gardiner, (whom he "caused speedily to be hanged, lest he should have too "much disclosed his master's art,) and among many others, "the master or proctor of practices, Paget.

His study and course to prefer himself.

"This Doctor, to give some signification of his nature and "cunning to come aloft, that he might do the more mischief, "betrays his master Cardinal Wolsey; and, more than any "other, labours the divorce between King Henry and the "Dowager. And by and by he earnestly sought to have rid

" in the King's boots. Worse could not content him. But " when he saw that would not be, and considered it better " to have store than one only person, (for so perchance he " might have found them sometime not all clean, when he " should have used them; and also it should be a let to " bring to pass that he purposed,) he changeth his purpose, " and because none should remember his practices, nor sus- " pect the rest to come, he shaveth his crown as broad as a " saucer, &c. [and takes holy orders."] CHAP. XXXV. Anno 1555.

The same author adds, that when Gardiner saw how ill affected the nation stood toward the match that he had the making of between the Queen and Philip, he ordered it so, that it should be given out, that the Lord Paget was the great doer of it. " He was excellent in the art of practices, " as it well appeared: for when he had wrought and made " sure the great marriage, to avoid the hatred of the people, " he made his scholar [Paget] to father it, and to have the " outward thank." The same writer shewed how obnoxious this Bishop was to the extremest capital punishment by reason of treason; that is, in holding secret correspondence with the Pope. But he obliged liberally such as knew his doings, and might have accused him. For so he tells us: that he spent yearly the half of his bishopric in bribing, or else he had lost his head long before; for the treasons were not altogether unknown, albeit they were covered and hid. A more particular account of this, and other things before generally spoken, we shall have in what follows. Gardiner's craft.

He was first bred at the University of Cambridge, being of Trinity hall there, and after taken into Cardinal Wolsey's family, and was preferred to be his secretary; and by him advanced to the King's service; as many others of that Cardinal's servants were. And being resolved to push on his own fortunes, he complied with the King in all his will and pleasure; and particularly was a great instrument in King Henry's divorce from Queen Katharine, some years before Archbishop Cranmer was concerned in it. For in the latter end of the year 1527, he, with Edward Fox, doctor of the civil law, and provost of King's college in Cambridge, was Where bred.

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sent in embassy to the Pope at Orviet, whence he had escaped out of imprisonment at Rome, after the sacking of it. Their business was to procure from the Pope a larger commission than that which Dr. Knight, the King's secretary, a little before had obtained. That which Knight had obtained was a dispensation passed by his holiness, and a commission for the Lord Legate of York to set upon the King's great business: which dispensation and commission were brought to the King by Cambara, the Pope's prothonotary: Cambara then telling the King from the Pope, that if these were in any point thought insufficient, or any thing by learned men could be devised to be added thereunto, in order to the effectual determination of the matter, he would readily do it.

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His embassy to the Pope.

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The effect thereof.

Gardiner and Fox having first waited upon the French King in their way, according to instructions, for his forwarding the King's business with the Pope, (from which King they obtained an earnest letter to the said Pope in King Henry's behalf, not without threatening,) they travelled from Paris to Orviet. They carried with them letters from the King and the Cardinal to the Pope. They carried also a book of the King's composing relating to this matter, (which the Pope read himself,) besides letters to other Cardinals there, as *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *de Ancona*, *et de Ravenna*. In fine, they obtained of the Pope the commission to two legates, the Cardinal of York and Campejus, to examine the King's great cause, which was framed according to the King's desire. The effect of all this negotiation, with the sum of the several meetings of the King's ambassadors with the Pope, and much of this intrigue, are contained in some letters from Gardiner, and the other ambassadors at the Pope's court, to the King and Cardinal; which letters are remaining among Fox's manuscripts. But hence we see how active this man was in the King's divorce, before Cranmer came to the Court, or was heard of. But Cranmer had all the blame, and Gardiner had every thing not only forgiven and forgotten, but not so much as laid to his charge.

Vid. Memor. Henry VIII.

His high promotion.

For before his death, *viz.* under Queen Mary, he was ad-

vanced to be of the order of the Garter, president of the King and Queen's privy council, and lord high chancellor of England. And he sent forth commissions by his own authority, without any other of the privy counsellors, (as he did to the church of Wells,) and offered pardon where he thought fit; as he did to Latymer and others: which made doctor William Turner, in his book printed about this time, use these words of him: "One is now clome up "so high, that besides that he is a knight of the Garter, "[or rather prelate of the Garter,] and a great lord, is also "high chancellor of England, and president of the Coun- "cil, and is above all the Lords, both temporal and spi- "ritual, of the whole Council. And so lordly behaveth "himself, that, without the knowledge of the rest of the "Council, he sendeth forth commissions, as he did of late to "Wells, by Dr. Edgeworth, and offereth pardon alone, as he "did to Mr. Latymer; as though he were either King of "England, or else had the Queen and all the Council's "heads under his girdle."

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New Book of Spir. Physick, fol. 89.

But to take some particular view of him under the reign of King Henry. Being secretary to Cardinal Wolsey at the time the French King was the Emperor's prisoner, the Cardinal, and this his secretary, penned a league at the treaty at More in Hertfordshire, the Cardinal's house: which league was between the French King's mother, then Regent, and King Henry, for payment of great sums of money, owing to King Henry from France. Upon the penning this league, chiefly done by Gardiner, the King was so well pleased with it, that he took him into his service, and made him secretary to himself; which happened before the deposing of the Cardinal; and when the bishopric of Winton fell void, he gave it him. Somewhat before which he was taken by the King into his Council; and continued so for the most part of the King's life, especially in matters relating to France.

Gardiner's rise.

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When Cardinal Pole came into France, to stir up that King to take arms against King Henry, because he had expelled the Pope out of England, Gardiner was then ambassador there, and advertised the King thereof; and so

Gardiner caused Pole to be expelled France.

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procured the Cardinal to be turned out of France. And that might give the ground that there was so little understanding between Pole and Gardiner afterwards, when they were both flourishing in England together in Queen Mary's days.

Effects a difficult business between the King and Emperor.

When Winchester came out of France, he was sent ambassador to the Emperor about certain articles in the league, being in debate. Dr. Thirlby and Dr. Carne were then ambassadors at that court, and joined in commission with him. These two could not bring the matter in debate to any effect; but when Winton was sent and transacted it, an end was put to it. And when any thing was in contest and dispute about the French King, the Emperor, and King Henry, for leagues, our Bishop of Winchester was always called to make answer; because he had the French tongue perfectly, and knew the affairs that were between them and us.

Not suffered to come to hear the discourse between the King and French ambassadors.

A little before the King's death, the ambassadors of France came to the Court: then the Bishops of Winton and Durham accompanied them, and brought them up to the King's attire chamber; and they were brought in to the King where he lay, but the two Bishops were not suffered to go in. No; because, I suppose, matters were then to be discoursed, which would not be to their mind; namely, concerning making a reformation of religion, which both Kings, at that time, were resolved upon. These matters I collect from Bishop Tonstal's depositions at Gardiner's trial in King Edward's days. Who also then declared, that in King Henry's time he did allow all his statutes, articles, injunctions, proclamations, as were then decreed; and did set forth the same accordingly: and made a book against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; which was that entitled, *Concerning true obedience.*

The Council esteemed him not.

Winchester did much value himself, because he was so often called for by the Council upon French matters; and imagined it was done out of great deference to his judgment and wisdom. But although the King's counsellors did sometimes make use of him for the tongue's sake, when others

were absent, yet they did not best like his doings in matters of religion: which the King himself did once disclose to him at Greenwich. CHAP. XXXV. Anno 1555.

More than three weeks before the King died, being very sick, he made his will; sending for divers of his Council, *viz.* the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Privy Seal, the Master of the Horse, and Sir William Paget, secretary, to consult with them about it. And when somebody had named the Bishop of Winchester to be one of his executors, the King put him out, and would not have him in any wise named in his will. And at that time he gave them strict charge and commandment, that he should never be of his son's Council. "For he is so wilful and contentious," said the King, "that you shall never be quiet, if he be among "you;" with such like words. This was part of the Earl of Warwick's evidence before the commissioners at Winchester's trial. The King will not have him in his will. 275

Whether it were Winchester's rigid temper, or his miscarriages in the management of the affairs the King employed him in, he was often severely checked by the King. But yet such was his compliance with the King in all things, that he maintained his ground almost to the King's dying day; though the King loved him not, yet esteeming him a man fit for his service. The Earl of Wiltshire and he, being then secretary, were once sent abroad ambassadors together, and at their return the King did dislike somewhat of their managery of his business, and most severely fell upon Gardiner in the Earl's presence. Whereat Gardiner being somewhat dismayed, the King took him apart in his bed-chamber, and comforted him, and said his displeasure was not so much to him, as he took it: but that he durst more boldly direct his speech to him, than to the Earl. And from that day forward, Gardiner (according to his own relation in one of his letters) was never put out of courage; but if any displeasant words passed from the King, *he folded them up in the matter*, (I use his own expression). This the King did not like; for he would have such as he chid, to shew great sorrow and subjection. Gardiner was reported unto King Henry often chid Gardiner. Letter to the Lord Protector.

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him not to have stooped, and that he was stubborn. The King upon this would commend unto him the gentle re-

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lenting nature of some other gentlemen, that wept at every one of his words. When the King gave him the bishopric of Winchester, he told him, he had often squared with him, but he loved him never the worse. And for a token thereof gave him the bishopric.

The King's saying, when he gave him the bishopric.

What the Bishop thought of the King's angry letters.

The King also would oftentimes write to him very angry letters, (which the King used to call *whetting*,) which some that were privy to them reckoned a sign of the great danger the Bishop was in: yet the Bishop (if you will believe himself) feared nothing at all. For he esteemed him a wise Prince, and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man; and nothing hurt, nor inwardly disfavour him, that had been bold with him.

Gardiner, while ambassador, holds correspondence with the Pope.

About the year 1538 a diet was held at Ratisbone; whither King Henry sent Bishop Gardiner and Sir Henry Knevit, his joint ambassadors: where also was Contarini, a legate from the Pope. This legate brought letters from the Pope to Winchester; and going away suddenly, desired an Italian merchant, named Lodovico, to go to Winchester, and to hasten his answer to the Pope's pacquet; for that the carrier was ready to depart in a day or two. This Lodovico soon after meeting one Wolf, steward to Sir H. Knevit, prayed him that he would tell the English ambassador what the legate desired. Wolf told him, there were two ambassadors, and asked him, "which?" He said, he "knew not that." But he said, it was a bishop, whom he styled *reverendissimo*. This Wolf discovered to Mr. Chaloner, Sir Henry Knevit's secretary. And him Wolf carried to Lodovico, that there might be another witness besides himself; and then pumped him so in Chaloner's company, that he again spake of it. This whole matter was fully related by these two persons to

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Knevit. And he sent secret notice of it to the King. The King thought fit, at that time, to put it up; and sent word to Knevit and the Bishop, (who had words together about this,) that they should both unite and mind his business.

But it seems Lodovico went the next day unto the Bishop; and he, by sifting the business, found out that Lodovico had mentioned it to the servants of the other ambassador. So he sent for Sir Henry, and made to him a great exclamation against poor Lodovico; saying, that he had poison in his dish, and a knave was suborned to be his destruction. He told Knevit also, that he had caused the Emperor's minister Granvela to lay up Lodovico in prison, and examine him. Knevit would have had him before them both, under examination: but the Bishop would not; saying, "he had referred it to Granvela," [who was a great friend to the Pope,] Wolf, the first discoverer, who had been long sick of a cough of the lungs, and died within two weeks after, on his deathbed took the mass, (and that before Knevit,) avowing that what he had before reported of the Bishop was true: and it was writ down in Wolf's will; to which he set his hand. This is the effect of the evidence of the Lord Paget, when he was produced a witness against the Bishop in King Edward's time.

Ballads made upon him.

He was little loved in King Henry's reign. For even players and minstrels railed on him; and others made ballads and prints of him: of which he took notice and complained in one of his letters. He was once appointed to victual the King's navy. Then he procured Wednesday to be observed by abstinence from flesh; which was therefore called, *the bishop's fasting day*. And hence proceeded one of the rhymes made upon him, with this burden, *Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your wine, beshrew your heart for your water.*

Left out in a commission for religion.

When the last book of religion was by the King's order composed, and a commission was issued out to certain of the Bishops and learned men, the King left Gardiner out of that commission, as the Lord Paget, the King's secretary, testified at the great trial of that Bishop under King Edward. The reason whereof was, he said, because the King thought him wilful in religion, and much bent to the Popish part.

How far he complied with the reformation.

In the beginning of the reign of King Edward VI. great labour was used with this Bishop, to bring him into a com-

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pliance with the government and the reformation intended: and that because he had been an old courtier and privy counsellor, much employed in embassies and affairs of state. And they trained him along a good way. He took the oath of supremacy to King Edward. He declared his approbation of the taking away of ceremonies and images abused. He agreed that monasteries and religious houses were justly dissolved. When by King Edward's injunctions images were taken away, he exhorted the people in his sermons to be contented therewith. He referred it to the arbitrement of politic rulers, the taking away, or transposing of chantries, obits, &c. He liked well the communion book set out by King Edward. The Book of Common Prayer he was content to keep himself, and to cause it to be kept by others. He yielded and granted to all the injunc-
277 tions, statutes, and proclamations, put out by the King and superior powers. This was the sum of the articles brought to him to subscribe from the Privy Council: which he did, but I doubt whether with his free consent; having been subscribed by him after he had lain for some space of time a prisoner in the Tower.

His first troubles.

The first occasion of trouble he met with was for disobedience to the King's royal visitation, in the year 1547, refusing then to receive injunctions and orders; and for observing all the popish superstitions in his church. For which he was sent for to the Council, and laid in the Fleet.

Letters passed between the Archbishop and Winchester.

During his being here, which was not long, there passed some letters between the Archbishop of Canterbury and him: he had urged to the Archbishop the state of religion in King Henry's days; from which he, and the clergy, and the Council did begin so much to vary. Winchester reminded him of the *King's book*, as he called it, established by Parliament. But the Archbishop in his answer told him, that he indeed called it so; and that the King was seduced; and that he, the Archbishop, knew by whom he was compassed in that book. But Winchester sharply replied to him:

Concerning the King's book.

"That the book was acknowledged by the Parliament as "the King's book; and that the Archbishop himself com-

" manded it to be published in his diocese as the King's " book. And that if he thought it not true, he ought to " think his Grace would not for all the princes christened " in the world have yielded unto. And he threatened the " Archbishop, that if he made this matter more public, and " charged the late King with being *seduced*, he would vin- " dicate his master, as one of his old servants." And whereas the Archbishop had advised him to bethink himself of his present condition, lying now in prison; Winchester replied to this with seemingly much satisfaction, " how himself was " arrived to that haven of quietness without loss of any no- " table tackle, as the mariners say, which, he said, was a " great matter as the winds had blown; and with a little " flea-biting conveyed to an easy state. He advised, that " seeing King Henry died so honourably, and so much la- " mented, and was concluded to be received to God's mercy, " the realm should not be troubled during the King's mi- " nority with matters of novelty, there being so many other " things for the King's counsellors to regard."

Concerning the making of homilies.

The Archbishop had persuaded Winchester to spend some of his leisure thoughts in composing some good homilies for the use of the people; which the Archbishop signified he was intent upon. But Winchester knew he should stop the Archbishop in his demand, by giving him a specimen after what manner he should write homilies, drawing into them such doctrine as the other would not approve of: and he gave him an instance how he would proceed, if he were to write *de vita perfecta:* suggesting thereby it would be better for the Archbishop's purpose, that Winchester should be let alone writing homilies. In fine, Winchester wrote his judgment to the Archbishop, " that it were better " to let the people alone without them altogether. For " people went to heaven before without them, and he trusted " they should follow after them, though they had no homi- " lies." And so after this scoffing manner he disapproved of the pious endeavours of Archbishop Cranmer for the bringing the people out of ignorance, and the instructing and edifying them in true religion. 278

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Conference between the Archbishop and Winchester, concerning the homily of Salvation.

And as he conferred with this Bishop by letter, so he did also by speech; who, being at the Dean of St. Paul's house, together with the Bishops of Rochester and Lincoln, Dr. Cox, and some other divines, (in commission, I suppose,) consulting together for the composing some homilies for the use of the Church, sent for the said Bishop of Winchester. There the Archbishop shewed him the homily was then in hand concerning Salvation, wherein was handled the matter of justification; endeavouring to persuade him to allow of it, by reasoning with him concerning it. But Winchester pretended, whatsoever they said could not salve his conscience, and challenged them to shew any old writer that taught as that homily did.

Winchester's letter to the Protector.

Upon the return of the Duke of Somerset, lord protector of the King's person, from his victorious expedition into Scotland, Winchester, being still in the Fleet, wrote letters unto him. In one of them he vindicated himself as to his behaviour in the royal visitation: shewing that he could not in conscience obey several injunctions: as the receiving of Erasmus's Paraphrase, Englished; which was so falsely translated, and such errors also being in the author himself. He objected also against the book of Homilies, which was then finished, and enjoined to be received and used in all churches. He signified to the Protector, that he, understanding such a visitation to be in hand, wrote to the Council to stay it, till the said Protector's return. Which he pretended was intended by him out of the favour and care he had of his Grace, who had hastily allowed of this visitation before his departure to Scotland; whereby, as the Bishop suggested to him, he might incur the danger of breaking an act of Parliament; against which, as Winchester would insinuate, this visitation went. He pretended also these proceedings were against the late King Henry's honour, and the safety of the present Sovereign. He acquainted also the Protector, that in his said letters to the Council he touched lively, but truly, some Acts of Parliament, which, as he would pretend, these proceedings ran counter to. Whereof he gave some instances in a part of the letter which is pub-

Acts and Mon. among Gardiner's letters.

lished elsewhere. These were some transactions relating to him while he lay in the Fleet. CHAP. XXXV.

But he was discharged out of the Fleet, and had his liberty to repair to his diocese upon his promise of conformity. When he was now come to Winchester, he was very busy in setting forth matters that bred greater strife in that city and county, than almost in all the nation beside. It was reported also to the Protector, that he caused his servants to be harnessed. And when certain preachers were sent down from the Council to preach in the cathedral and diocese, he would keep the pulpit, and preach himself; warning the people to fly from such new preachers, and to embrace only the doctrine he preached to them. Anno 1555. The Bishop's doings at Winchester.

Upon this he was sent for again, and upon a second promise the Council set him at liberty; but to remain at London, sequestering him from his diocese for a time. Now again he fell to meddling in matters wherein he had no commission nor authority; part whereof touched the King's Majesty: whereupon he was again admonished by the King and the Lords. Then he offered before them to declare to the world his conformity, and promised to open his mind in sundry articles agreed upon. And then, he said, that as his own conscience was well satisfied with the King's proceedings, so would he utter his conscience abroad to the satisfaction of others. But when he came to preach, (which he did on St. Peter's day before the King,) he spake things contrary to express commandment. And when he came to speak of the articles which were enjoined him to declare, he used such a manner of utterance, that had like to have caused a great tumult. And speaking of certain great matters, presently touching the policy of the realm, shewed himself a very seditious man: as particularly, advising that nothing should be altered during the King's minority. Sent for and sequestered from his diocese. 279 Winchester preacheth.

The reason the Council enjoined him to preach upon such particular subjects, and to forbear to speak of others, was, because before the said sermon was preached, and at the time thereof, (and, as it happened, long after,) there was such controversy and variance in London and many other The people enraged at Winchester's sermon.

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places in the realm, about those matters of religion: and the Council was many times troubled with complaints of that nature. But Winchester, when he came to preach, instead of managing his discourse for the quelling and appeasing these popular jarrings and contests, the contention at the very time of his speaking grew so great, that if the King's Majesty and the Lords of the Council had not been present, the people had plucked the Bishop out of the pulpit, they were so offended with him: as the Earl of Warwick, then present, testified.

Sent to the Tower.

Upon this sermon he was committed to the Tower, and Sir Ralph Sadleir, and Hunnings, clerk of the Council, sealed up certain doors of his house which they thought convenient.

Sir William Peters's wise reply to Winchester.

The Council sent several messages to him, and the most honourable personages thereof often came themselves in person to persuade him to subscribe, and to comply with the King's proceedings. Once among the rest, when the Bishop had said, thinking to enervate the King's doings in his minority, that if the King should pass away things now, which he should see prejudicial afterwards, he might reverse what he had done, and use therein the benefit of his young years: and added, that Mr. Secretary Peters would say as he did, being a learned civilian: Peters wisely replied, the Master of the Horse, the Earl of Warwick, and others then present, "My Lord, I must say, that your saying in a common person is true; but in the person of a king, I never read any such law; and my opinion is, said he, that except a king in his tender and young years be bound to his doings as well as at full man's estate, it would be impossible to have that realm and state well governed." Whereunto the Bishop said little.

Deprived.

These troubles lasted with Winchester till the year 1551, when he was solemnly deprived by a sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the consent and assent of the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, Sir William Petre, Sir James Hale, Leyson and Oliver, doctors of the civil law, Goodrick and Gosnald, esquires, delegates and judges,

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by a commission from the King. And so he continued a prisoner in the tower (and so a stirring busy man laid aside) till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign: when his sun arose again, and appeared brighter than ever it did before. And now he had his opportunities of taking sufficient revenges upon the men and the cause which occasioned his sufferings. And indeed he spared them not.

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Now this Bishop was in his meridian, and all matters of the Church and the State too passed through his hands. The Pope dying the beginning of this year 1555, to declare the devotion of this kingdom now to that chair of Rome; on the 10th of April, our Bishop, now lord chancellor, signified the same by letter to Bonner, bishop of London, and required that there should be solemn obsequies said for him throughout the realm; and also certain prayers, three in number, enclosed in the said letter, to be used at mass times, in all places, during the vacation of the apostolical see: and that he should see it done in his diocese; and to send word to the rest of the bishops to have it done in theirs; and this by the King and Queen's command. This letter and the prayers are extant in the register of the church of Canterbury, but they are also printed in Fox; and therefore I shall not here set them down: only Bishop Bonner's letters missive to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, in pursuance of the Chancellor's letter, I shall, as it is in the foresaid register, being not yet made any where public, as I know.

The Bishop appoints obsequies for the Pope deceased.

Litteræ Missivæ Episcopi Londinensis.

" After my right hartie commendations: I have received " of late from my Lord Chancellor letters of the tenor " here inclosed: and desirous that you should have know- " ledge of the contents of the same, as I was earnestly and " effectually required, I have sent these with the copy there- " of unto you, to th'intent the matter therein expressed " may take that good effect in the diocese of Canterbury, " and the peculiars of the same, the archiepiscopal see being " vacant, which is required and looked for. And thus I

The Bishop of London's letter hereupon.

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" commit you to God most well to fare. At my house in " London, this xi. of April, 1555.

" Your loving frende, Edmond London."

To my loveing frends, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury: and in their absence to their Vicare General, and Deputies in this behalf, yeve this with spede.

Bishop Gardiner bloody.

But the greatest point of all, wherein the Bishop of Winton shewed his zeal to the Pope and Popery, appeared in his furious prosecution to blood, of all such as would not or could not truckle to it: the book of Acts and Monuments is an eternal monument of his cruelties towards abundance of poor innocent men. Nor is all his severities there recorded. A certain bishop, unnamed, was made mention of by Robert Smith the martyr, in one of his examinations
281 before Bonner. " This bishop, he said, had at that time an " innocent man, a professor of the gospel, in his prison, " who, when he overcame the bishop by Scripture, made " him privily to be tied, and his flesh to be torn and pluck- " ed away with a pair of pincers: and after bringing him " out before the people, said, whether in jest or earnest I " cannot tell, *that the rats had eaten him.*" What bishop this was is not mentioned, but I know none more likely to be this tyrant than Winchester.

Reported by writers to be mild and merciful.

Indeed it is strange to observe the brazen foreheads of the Popish writers concerning this man: that notwithstanding he was so notoriously known to be the great instrument of burning and destroying so many professors, yet they represent him as a mild and merciful man, and greatly averse to shedding of blood, and an earnest intercessor with the supreme power, for saving the lives of such as the law con-

Watch-Word, p. 41.

demned. These are Robert Parson's words: " If a man " should ask any good natured Protestant [*and very good* " *natured indeed he must be*] that lived in Queen Mary's " time, and had both wit to judge, and indifference to speak " the truth without passion, he will confess, that no one " great man in that government was further off from blood " and bloodiness, or from cruelty and revenge, than Bishop

" Gardiner: who was known to be a most tender-hearted and " mild man in that behalf: insomuch that it was sometimes, " and by some great personages, objected to him for no small " fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge " that he then bore. Yea, to him it was imputed, that none " of the greatest and most known Protestants in Queen " Mary's reign were ever called to account, or put to trou- " ble for religion." Mark the marvellous confidence of the man, in endeavouring to face out a thing, the contrary to which was most notoriously known, and severely felt. This indeed was one thing that rendered these popish bishops so abominably hated by all; that they not only brought so many to the most cruel death of burning; but besides that, exercised so many tortures and inventions of accurate pains upon them. Some were whipped unmercifully, stretched upon the rack, their hands burnt with candles put under; some set in the stocks, hands and feet, for many days and nights together; some thrown into dark and stinking dungeons; some had their bodies tortured by strange inventions; some pined away and starved in prison: and those that died in prison were denied Christian burial, and thrown out into the fields. And all these cruelties exercised upon them with mirth and sport.

His disease and death.

The Bishop, of whom we have said so much, was cut off by death in the midst of all his worldly pomp and splendour, being taken first ill at dinner, the Duke of Norfolk then his guest. The disease, and the manner of his death, take from a letter wrote out of England to Mr. Bale, then an exile abroad. " That his disease was *hydrops acidus, et prodi-* " *giosa scabies*, (I leave it to physicians to English it,) taken, " as was commonly reported, by drinking or whoredom. " For he had indulged much to both those vices in his life- " time. In his sickness he stunk like a jakes; his breath " not to be endured; his body distended, his eyes distorted " and turned inwards: during his illness he spake little but " blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with " curses in his mouth, in terrible and unexpressible torments. " He died very rich, worth 90,000 crowns." God gave

His eyes distorted and turned inwards.

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him not his desire to outlive Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, his great antagonist, whose death, no question, he would have been glad to have seen.

He encouraged learning in his family.

Yet let me subjoin one or two things to his commendation: he affected learned domestics, and countenanced learning in his family: he would take in young University men, such as were of good parts and great hopes; several of these so entertained by him were afterwards bishops, as White and Brokes, and two were secretaries of state, and advanced to the honour of barons, and employed by the State in great embassies. One of these was Sir William Paget, to whom Leland thus writ;

Sir. W. Paget. Encomia.

Tu Gardineri petiisti tecta diserti,
Eloquii sedem, pieriique chori.

That is, that being young, "he went into learned Gardi-"ner's family, which was the very seat of eloquence and of "the muses." From his family, as he had been of his college of Trinity hall in Cambridge, so he went to study in the University of Paris. And after some stay, returned again into the Bishop's house; and soon after became secretary of state. About this time he married a gentlewoman, named Preston, by whom he had several children. Then he was sent ambassador to France, then to the Emperor; and grew very rich by being Chancellor of the duchy, and enjoying other advantages under King Edward. The other was Sir Thomas Wriothesly: having his grammar learning in London, where he was born, he was removed to Cambridge. I can tell little of his person or features, only by Leland I learn he was red-haired; for he speaks of his *auricomus vertex*. At first he was taken into some office belonging to the Treasury; and now Sir Edmund Peckham, a privy counsellor, took notice of him. And when Gardiner went ambassador, he took him along with him. Afterwards he fell under the observation of Crumwel, who was delighted with his wit and dexterity. Then he went ambassador to Holland and Flanders, to the Emperor's sister, the Queen of Hungary; and after the Lord Audley's death, was advanced

Sir Thomas Wriothesly.

Encomia.

to be Lord Chancellor, and was the root of the noble family of the Earls of Southampton, lately extinct. CHAP. XXXV.

And thus did this Bishop shew his favour to learning, by encouraging it in his own house. And long before, while he was a member of the University of Cambridge, he did a good piece of service to it. For being of some considerable influence there, (perhaps reader of the civil law,) he endeavoured to purge that study; and turned the minds of the students thereof from some of the glossematarians: whereby he ran into the great offence of some, and had great contention about it; as Cheke, in one of his letters to that Bishop in the contest about pronouncing Greek, remembered him; and Leland praised him for, in these words: Anno 1555. Encomia. 283

Tu certe, innumeris locis ad illum
Leges, vel veterem labore grato,
Splendorem revocas: docens vieta
Tot glossemata, (opus recentiorum
Scriptorum,) ingeniis bonis obesse.

To this bloody Bishop, I cannot but add here the mention of his brother in cruelty, Bonner, bishop of London; who therefore was ordinarily called, *the bloody butcher*, and the *common slaughterman:* and bringing so many very innocent holy men and women in London, Colchester, and elsewhere in his diocese unto their ends, by burning, starving, and imprisonment, was most mortally hated by all honest men, as well as the friends and relations of the slain. These would sometimes sharpen their pens, and pelt at him with letters, wherein they freely expressed their minds towards him, and laid him open to himself and to the world. One of these letters, wherein he is not spared, is preserved in Fox's book, being writ by a woman upon his burning of Philpot. Another I have seen in MS. wrote this year, in as sharp a style, between the condemnation and burning of that holy man. Bonner bloody. Pag. 1672.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Memorable notes of things occurring in the Church and State, in the months of December, January, February, and March. Cardinal Pole made archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno 1555. BUT now, by way of journal, we shall set down various events happening from December inclusive to the end of this year.

Cardinal Pole at the abbey of Westminster.

The Lord Cardinal Pole, on the first of December, was received with procession into Westminster abbey: where eighteen bishops met him; and the Archbishop of York ministered with his mitre. And they went a procession about the church and the cloister. Perhaps it was now new founded, and made a monastery again, and celebrated by this venerable presence.

News at Court.

The news now stirring at Court may be understood by a clause or two of a letter, sent, December 4, to the Lord President of the Council in the north, by Gargreve, a parliament-man, and one of the Council.

Epist. Comit. Salop. in Offic. Armor.

" I trust the Parliament will end this week. For now " there the bill for first-fruits and tenths is passed the Com- " mons' house, I trust there is nothing else that will be " any stay. It is said the King returns not until after " Christmas: nor, as yet, I know not where the Queen's " Grace will keep her Christmas. But at the end of the " Parliament, as I hear, she removeth to Greenwich.
284 " My Lord Archbishop of York hath not yet received " his bulls from Rome: and he doth continue president in " Wales, and no other there appointed. It is not yet " known who shall be Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, " Bishop of Canterbury, nor Bishop of Winchester. My " Lord Cardinal lieth much at the Court. It is said, that " here are divers ill books cast by night in the city, that " should be conveyed from beyond the seas. But I have " not seen any of them as yet. And thus trusting shortly " to wait on your Lordship, I humbly take my leave of the " same; beseeching our Lord God long to preserve your

" good Lordship in health, with much increase of honour. CHAP. XXXVI.
" At Hogsdon, this iv. Decemb. 1555.
" Your good Lordship's humbly to command, Anno 1555.
" Tho. Gargreve."
" The commission for the subsidy
" bill comes forth immediately."

On the 9th day was the Parliament dissolved by the Queen at her place at Whitehall: and so she went back through the park to St. James's. Parliament dissolved.

On the 10th, Sir Anthony Kingston, knight-marshal, if I mistake not, and a busy member of the late Parliament, was, upon some suspicion, had to the Tower: and several came after to the Fleet. Sir Anthony Kingston in the Tower.

On the 15th of this month of December, before the sermon at Paul's Cross began, began an old man, a shepherd, to speak certain things against the present religion and government: which being looked upon as railing, he was taken and carried to the Counter for a time. For, notwithstanding all this firing and pillorizing, so disgusted were the people with the present affairs, that they would sometimes utter their minds. One taken at Paul's Cross, and carried away.

The 18th of December was Mr. Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, carried to Smithfield, between eight and nine in the morning, to be burnt there for heresy. Philpot burnt.

The news of filling two great places in the State, that had been vacant some considerable time, was reserved for new-year's-day; namely, that of Lord Chancellor, void by the death of Bishop Gardiner; and that of Lord Privy Seal, by the death of the Earl of Bedford: both conferred by the King; to whom the Queen and Council had sent to nominate persons to succeed them. For nothing seemed now to be done in the English Court without him and his direction, though he were beyond sea. This news did the Earl of Pembroke send to the Earl of Shrewsbury, his brother-in-law, in these words: "These shall be to let you "understand some news that we have had this morning: "which is, that the King's Majesty hath appointed the "Bishop of York lord chancellor, and my Lord Paget A new Lord Chancellor and Lord Privy Seal.

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Anno 1555.

"lord privy seal. Other news here is none, saving we "trust to see the King's Majesty here shortly. From the "Court, this new-year's-day."

Number of officers to be at the execution of those that were burned.

January 14, came a letter from the Queen and Council to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, to give substantial order, that when any be delivered to be burned, there be a good number of officers and others appointed to be at the execution: who may be charged to apprehend, and commit to ward, all such as shall comfort, aid, or praise those that are executed. And to charge all householders, not to suffer any their servants to be abroad then, other than such as they will answer for.

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Seven burnt.

On the 27th day, between seven and eight in the morning, five men and two women went out of Newgate into Smithfield to be burnt for heresy; for now they began to burn them in companies: of the men, one was named Whittle, a priest, formerly living in Essex; and another was named Bartlet Green, a gentleman of the Inner Temple. One of the women was Joan Laishford, or Warne, daughter to a man and a woman formerly burnt. They were all burnt by nine of the clock at three posts. And though there was a commandment given through London over night, in obedience to the late order of Council, that no young folks should come there, yet there appeared at this execution the greatest numbers as had been seen upon such an occasion.

These persecutions beget Protestants.

And indeed by the sight of these burnings, many, who came only out of curiosity to behold, were so wrought upon, by observing how cheerfully and christianly they took their deaths, and that they were generally the best sort of people, that they began to consider more narrowly their tenets and doctrines. And hence, at last, it came to pass, that they not only abhorred such bloodiness, but disliked the religion that practised it, and became better reconciled unto the profession of the gospel: so that many, who in the beginning of Queen Mary's days were Papists, died for the Protestant religion afterwards. Of this sort was Tankerfield, who was burnt the last summer. And it was thought, that

many thousands became embracers of the gospel since the beginning of the persecution, which was not above a year ago. So much out were the Queen's *politicians;* reckoning, by these courses, to suppress the religion: according to what an unknown person wrote to the Bishop of London soon after the execution of Philpot the last month: "That "as for the obtaining of his popish purpose in suppressing "of the truth, he put him out of doubt he should not ob- "tain it so long as he went this way to work. And that "he verily believed they had lost the hearts of twenty thou- "sand that were rank Papists within this twelvemonth."

A priest does penance.

February the 8th, Mr. Peryn, a black friar, preached at Paul's Cross. At whose sermon a priest, named Sir Thomas Sampson, did penance, standing before the preacher with a sheet about him, and a taper in his hand, burning; the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and many other worshipful persons, present. This man's crime was, that he had two wives, and one was enough to make him do penance.

Bishop of Winchester's corpse carried to Winchester.

On the 24th of this month were the obsequies of the Bishop of Winchester, lately deceased; which were celebrated after this manner. In the afternoon began the knell at St. Mary Overy's, and ringing: after that began the dirge: a pall of cloth of gold, and two white branches, and two dozen of staff torches burning, and four great tapers. The Lord Mountague the chief mourner, and the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Sir Robert Rochester, comptroller, and divers others, attendants, in black; and many black gowns and 286
coats. And the morrow-mass of *requiem* and offering done, began the sermon. And so mass being done, all repaired to a dinner at the Lord Mountague's. At the gate the corpse was put into a waggon with four horses, all covered with black. Over the corpse his picture made, with his mitre on his head with his arms, and five gentlemen bearing his five banners: an hundred in gowns and hoods: then two heralds in their coat armour, Mr. Garter and Rouge Cross: then came the men riding, carrying of torches burning, in number sixty, about the corpse all the way: then came the mourners in gowns and coats, to the number of

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two hundred, afore and behind, and censing: and there they had a great torch given them: and so through every parish till they came to Winchester. And as many as came to meet them had money given them. And a dirge and mass at every lodging.

The pretended King Edward executed.

March the 4th, execution was had upon a young man, whose name indeed was Fetherstone, of whom we heard before, giving himself out to be King Edward VI. whose sayings and pretences had occasioned many men and women to be punished. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His head was set upon London-bridge the fifth day, and his quarters buried.

Bishop of Peterborough, his obsequies.

On the 5th day of March were celebrated the obsequies of the Bishop of Peterborough. There buried with a goodly hearse, adorned with arms and pensils; two white branches, and eight dozen of staves, with an herald of arms, and five banners: and an hundred in black gowns and coats, and a great many poor men in gowns; together with the morrow-mass: and after, a great dinner. His name was John Chambers, the last abbot of Peterborough, and the first bishop there.

A blazing star.

On the 7th a blazing star at night appeared. It shot out fire, to the great wonder and astonishment of the people, and continued certain nights. Whatsoever it imported, a great mortality by burning fevers followed, and took off a great number of persons of the best quality in the city and other places: and also a great dearth of provisions, especially of corn; insomuch that many died by famine.

A man doth penance.

On the 8th day, while a doctor preached at the Cross, a man did penance for transgressing Lent, holding two pigs, ready dressed, whereof one was upon his head, having brought them to sell.

One in the pillory.

On the 14th one was set in the pillory for seditious words and rumours, and counsels against the Queen's Majesty.

Many sent to the Tower.

On the 18th were divers gentlemen carried to the Tower by certain of the guard, *viz.* John Throgmorton, Harry Peckham, Bethel, Turner, Hygins, Daniel, Smith, a merchant, Heneage, of the chapel, George, the searcher of

Gravesend, Hodges, Spencer, the two Rawlins's, and Rosey, keeper of the Star-chamber, Dethyck, and divers others of quality; being taken up upon a plot of rising against the Queen, which one of the party, named White, had discovered. CHAP. XXXVI. Anno 1555.

On the 22d of this month of March, at the Gray Friars of Greenwich, was the Lord Cardinal Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by seven bishops, mitred. The ceremony performed here, to fasten the greater honour upon this new founded religious house, which in Henry VIII.'s time had shewed itself so staunch for the Pope and Queen Catharine, the Queen's mother. 287 Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.

For as this year had carried off the great popish prelate, Gardiner, so a few months after it raised another, greater than he. For in the conclusion of the year was Pole, the legate and cardinal, consecrated, as before was said. For though he lived at the palace of Lambeth, and managed, in the supremest station, the matters of the Church, yet was he not archbishop of Canterbury till the day after Archbishop Cranmer was dead. The first instrument exemplified in his register is Pope Paul's, but of provision, for allowance of the cardinal to be archbishop. The next instrument is his consecration; which on Sunday, commonly called Passion Sunday, March the 22d, 1555, in the second and third years of Philip and Mary, was performed in the conventual church of the friars Minors of the Observance of the order of St. Francis of Greenwich, by Nicolas, archbishop of York, primate of England, and legate of the apostolic see, and lord chancellor of England, assisted with these bishops following: Edm. Bonner, bishop of London; Tho. Thurleby, bishop of Ely; Rich. Pates, bishop of Wigorn; John White, bishop of Lincoln; Maurice Griffith, bishop of Roff; Tho. Goldwel, bishop of St. Asaph. Registr. Card. Poli.

"By the authority of the apostolic brief under the seal "of the Fisher, to the most reverend father in Christ, and "Lord Reginald, by the divine miseration, priest, cardinal "of St. Mary in Cosmedin," &c. as the Pope's letter ran. This was read openly by David Pole, LL. D. archdeacon

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of Darby. The said Archbishop took his oath to the Pope in the parlour, Queen Mary being present, and looking on.

Anno 1555.

The Archbishop of York said mass in the said conventual church at the high altar, the Queen hearing: these persons also present; William Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer; Henry Earl of Arundel, lord high steward of the household; William Lord Paget, lord privy seal; William Earl of Pembroke; William [Henry] Earl of Sussex; Robert Rochester, knt. comptroller of the household, privy counsellors; Thomas Lord Fitzwaters; William Cook, LL. D. keeper or commissary of the prerogative court of Canterbury; and in the presence of Anthony Huse, principal register, and other public notaries.

Installed.

Robert Collins, his commissary, and canon of Christ Church, Canterbury, was his proxy, and installed for him.

The Cardinal goes to Bow church.

March 25, being the Annunciation of our blessed Lady, Bow church in London was hanged with cloth of gold and with rich arras, and laid with cushions, for the coming of the Lord Cardinal Pole. There did the Bishop of Worcester sing the mass, mitred: divers bishops present, as the Bishops of Ely, of London, and Lincoln; also the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Edward Hastings, the Master of the horse,
288 and divers other nobles. And after mass done they went to dinner together, as it seems, to the Bishop of London.

The Queen's bounty to the Cardinal.

To qualify the Cardinal the better to live in the port of a cardinal, as well as of an archbishop, besides the revenues of the archbishopric, the Queen gave him these several estates, being her manors and principal farms in Kent, *viz.*

	per annum.
The scite and manor of Charing, which, with the farms and rents of assize, was worth - - - - - -	60 14 2*q.*
Shoram - - - - - -	20 19 3
Wald, alias Penshurst - - -	18 8 4
Chevening - - - - -	13 9 10*ob.q.*
Fee-farm of Wrotham - - -	46 10 6*di.q.*
The scite of the manor of Bexley; divers woods there, &c. - - - -	58 8 6

Divers lands in the isle De Greyne, [an isle lying on the west-end of the isle of Shepey,] and certain lands in the marshes there - - - -	22	6	11
Otford, lands there - - - -			
Fee-farm of Sonrige [Sundridge] -	86	10	3*ob.*
Certain lands in Shoreham, a mill, a park			
Forest of South-Frith, [which forest lieth a mile south of Tunbridge,] with the woods growing as well in the forest as in the postern, North-Frith, Redmore, and Le Trench lands; the rents in all	500	0	0
The rectory of Kemsing and Seal	9	13	4

All these in Kent, besides many other lands and lordships in other counties, given him to uphold his estate; but all these revenues came into the crown under Queen Elizabeth. He is made Chancellor of Oxford.

And that I may here mention together the favours and honours done the Cardinal, in November he became Chancellor of the University of Oxford. For by the direction, as it seems, of the Queen, (who studied to heap upon him all the respects she could,) Sir John Mason in October resigned that office, to make way for Pole to be chosen in his room: who accordingly was so, the instrument thereof being dated November 2, in the house of the congregation of that University. And by his means, now Oxford's Chancellor, I make no doubt it was, that Petrus a Soto, a Spaniard, was nominated to be one of the public professors of divinity, together with another Spaniard called Johannes a Garcia. Petrus a Soto professor there. The Papists made this observation from his name Peter, that he succeeded another Peter, namely, Peter Martyr, (though there was one between them, Dr. Rich. Smith, who succeeded immediately to Martyr,) and that the University was restored to what it had been by Peter a Soto's readings: who was, they said, in the opinion of all, much preferable to his namesake Peter Martyr. This Peter had been confessor to the Emperor Charles V. Afterward was placed at Diling, whither he retired, and was there set over the college of the Cardinal of Ausburgh, to instruct the 289

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German youth in learning and piety. Peter was well known to Cardinal Pole, and by him (when the Pope had sent the said Cardinal into England upon Queen Mary's access to the crown) had been sent to the Emperor, to exhort and desire him, that he would not let the said Cardinal's message (by staying him) lie any longer neglected, which was undertaken by him for the sake of religion and peace.

Anno 1555.

Life of Cardinal Pole, p. 48.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Commissions ecclesiastical: and visitations by the new Archbishop's order. Presentments. Rectories and vicarages vacant.

Anno 1556. AND now we shall take some view of the ecclesiastical proceedings, chiefly under the influence and direction of the new Archbishop.

Commissions for search of heretics. Regist. Card. Poli.

Commissions went out this year from King Philip and Queen Mary, throughout most of the dioceses, if not all, for a diligent search and discovery of heretics. The first commission of this sort seemeth to have been that for the diocese of Canterbury, dated April 26, in the second and third years of the King and Queen. The commission begins with these words; "Forasmuch as divers devilish and "clamorous," &c. The commissioners were, Henry Lord Abergavenny; George Lord Cobham; Tho. Cheny, knight, warden of the five ports, and treasurer of the household; John Baker, knight, chancellor of the exchequer; Richard Thornden, suffragan of Dover; David Pole, clerk, chancellor for the most reverend father Pole; Nicolas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury; Robert Collins, commissary of the diocese of Canterbury; Richard Fawcet, John Warren, clerks; Robert Southwel, knight; Tho. Moyl, Henry Chrispe, knights; William Roper, John Tuck, George Clark, William Oxenden, Cyriac Pettit, John Web, John Driland, esquires: to them, or any three of them. But lest any exception might be taken at these commissions, as though the King and Queen usurped upon the ecclesiastical

power, therefore, in the conclusion thereof, were these words added: CHAP. XXXVII.

" And furthermore, we will, and our intent and meaning Anno 1556.
" is, that the trial, judgment, and determination of heresy,
" and of all other things, which, as well in respect of per-
" sons, as of the matters herein expressed, being mere spi-
" ritual, and determinable by the ecclesiastical laws, shall
" be referred unto the determination of such, to whom in
" that case it shall of right appertain. For we do hereby
" declare, that it is not our intent or meaning, that this our
" commission, or such other like, heretofore granted and
" addressed into all other dioceses of this our said realm,
" should in any wise be prejudicial to any laws or persons
" ecclesiastical, or to the liberties or jurisdictions of the
" same: but that we will, as we are bound, and chiefly
" being thereunto required, extend and impart our kingly
" aid, help, and favour, in the advancement and execution
" of the same, in all things which to the office and duty of 290
" Catholic princes appertain. In witness whereof," &c.

Such a commission was also granted to the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Ely, and to divers other dioceses, February 8, in the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary: which commission may be found at full length in the History of the Reformation; but it wants those words just above cited, extant in the commission for Canterbury diocese. Collect. p. 311.

The new Archbishop soon fell upon his work of constituting officers, and exercising visitations. March 27, he gave commission to David Pole, LL. D. to be his vicar general in spirituals. And another of the same date to the same person, to be auditor of the audience of Canterbury. And another yet, of the same date, to the same person, to be official of his court of Canterbury. And another to be dean of the Arches, dated March 17, 1557. The date I suspect mistaken, for he was bishop before March 17, 1557. And besides all this favour to his namesake, (but not his relation, unless basely,) resolving upon an ordinary visitation of his diocese, he appointed him, being his vicar gene- The Archbishop's commissions and visitations.

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ral, to execute it: having by mandate, dated April 27, inhibited the Archdeacon Harpsfield to visit, rendering him the reason, because he intended to visit himself. He began with his cathedral church, summoning the members thereof to appear on the 18th of May; the Archbishop's citation for this appearance being dated April 27.

Visits his church,

The names of the dean and prebendaries at this visitation were, (according as they are set down in the register,)

Egregius Vir D. Nic. Wotton, decanus.	John Mills.
	Ric. Fawcet.
Reverendus pater D. Ric. Thornedon, Dov. epus.	Tho. Wood.
	Hugh Turnbul.
vice-decanus.	Ro. Collins.
Arthur Sentleger.	Joh. Warren.
Rich. Parkhurst.	W. Darrel.
Hugh Glazier.	Ralph Jackson.

The six preachers were,

Robert Serles.	Thomas Burnel.
Robert Hill.	Ni. Morton.
Richard Turnbul.	Robert Willanton.

May 28, (the visitation being, as it seems, adjourned to that day,) Bishop Thornden said the mass of the Holy Ghost in the choir of the cathedral church, having on his pontificals and mitre. Then Wood, the canon, preached upon this apt text, *Vade et vide, si cuncta sint prospera inter pecora, et renuntia mihi: Go and see if all be well with the flocks, and bring me word again.*

And diocese.

The Cardinal also prepared articles for his diocese, to be inquired of in this his visitation, both for the clergy and the laity; and they were these.

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For the priests.

Reg. Card. Pole. For the priests.

Whether they observe the divine offices in the churches in the fitting hours, days, and times. *Item*, Inquiry to be made concerning the life and manners of the rectors, vicars, and curates. Also, whether they diligently, reverently, and duly minister the sacraments and sacramentals. Also, whether any parishioner depart this life without them, by the fault of their negligence or absence. *Item*, Whether they

frequent taverns, or other places whence infamy or scandal may arise. Also, whether they teach midwives the manner of baptizing in cases of necessity, according to the canons, and expound to them what the canons mean in such cases. Also, they shall expound the laws, which declare what and what kind of things ought to be done, when it happens a woman to die in childbed; who ought not to be buried before the birth be cut off. And the counsel is, that when it happens thus, the woman's mouth be kept open; otherwise, it seems, *prohibitum esse spem animantis.* Also, whether they have not kept a book, wherein are writ the names and surnames of the parishioners that are reconciled. Also, whether there be any clerks, which formerly were naughtily joined with women, which as yet are not reconciled: who they are, declaring their names and their surnames, and the places of their habitations. Also, whether the Ten Commandments and Articles of Faith are recited to the people and youth by the pastors. Also, whether the priests exhibit letters of their orders, and those that are beneficed, their titles of their benefices; and if they obtain more benefices, their patents obtained. Also, whether the sacred canons be in all things observed in matters belonging to divine worship, and to the living well, godly, happily, and christianly. Also, whether the name of St. Thomas the martyr, and our Lord the Pope, formerly abolished, erased, and blotted out, be restored to their ancient volumes and places: and if they are not, that they may be done. Also, whether the whole clergy and people in the churches in divine service, devoutly pray for the happy state of the King and Queen, with commemoration of the former judgments. Whether they said the divine service in the Latin tongue. Whether they went with their crowns and beards shaven. Whether they used unlawful games, as cards and dice. Whether they kept residency and hospitality, &c.

For the laymen.

For the laity.

Imprimis, Whether they believe the articles of the Christian faith, and, as far as human frailty suffereth, keep the commandments of God, and bewailing their faults, open

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declare them to the priest. Whether they maintain any heresy or error contrary to the laws ecclesiastical. Whether they refuse to do reverence to the sacrament of the altar, and affirm that there is not the real, substantial body of Christ present therein. Whether they absented from church. Concerning fornicators, blasphemers, common swearers, perjured, simoniacs. Whether they had a rood in their churches of decent stature, with Mary and John, and the image of the patron of the church. Concerning necromancers. Concerning such as marry within the degrees of affinity. Whether in the time of Easter they were not confessed, nor received the body of Christ. Whether they kept any secret conventicles or lectures. Whether schools be well kept, and the schoolmasters be Catholic men, and diligent in teaching. Whether any depraved the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Whether taverns and alehouses be kept open upon Sundays and holydays; or whether any profaned those days, and the like.

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Eastbridge hospital visited.

The ancient hospital of Eastbridge, or Kingsbridge, in Canterbury, seems now to have been visited. It was founded by Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and called, The Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Eastbridge. An hundred and thirty or forty years after, it fell into that decay, or was so much abused, that John Stratford, another archbishop of Canterbury, made a novel ordination thereof, and a new charter: constituting certain laws, and a form of government for it, to supply the former, which were lost. The charter is set down by Sumner. The said hospital being, it seems, gone into disorder again, (besides what notice the intervening archbishops had taken of it,) Archbishop Pole took cognisance of its state, and appointed for it these orders among others: "That they should be bound to receive "wayfaring or hurt people, and to have eight beds for "men, and four for women, to remain there for one night, "or more, if they were not able to depart. The master of "the hospitals was charged with the burials: and was to "have twenty loads of wood yearly allowed, and 26 shil-"lings a year for drink." This from the diligent and

Antiq. Cant. p. 111.

learned antiquarian Mr. Sumner, who had Eastbridge book, being an old book of that hospital. CHAP. XXXVII.

The matters of the whole visitation were contained in two paper books: one wherein the acts of visitation were writ; and the other, what things were found and detected. This last mentioned, when the visitation was over, was delivered to Harpsfeld and Collins, by the commandment of Pole, with a commission to reform and correct them. Anno 1556. Books taken of this visitation.

Other commissions for visitation, besides that to Dr. Pole, did the Cardinal now give forth: as one, bearing date May 20, to Nicolas Harpsfeld, LL. D. and Robert Collins, LL. B. to visit the deanery of Charing, Sutton, and Limme. Another, bearing date June 1, to John Nowel, [or Newal,] Th. B. to visit the deanery of Bocking. And another of the same date to Thomas Packard, LL. B. to visit the deanery of South Malling, Pagham, and Terring. These were peculiars to the Archbishop: but, besides these commissions, he issued out others for other dioceses. A commission, dated April 15, was given forth to Edmund Stuard, LL. D. dean of the church of Winton; and Thomas Stympe, LL. D. to visit the diocese of Winton, being now void by the death of Bishop Gardiner. A commission, April 18, to William Binsley, LL. B. canon of the church of Peterborough, to visit the said church, upon the death of Chambers, late bishop thereof. A commission, dated September 23, to John Pope, LL. B. upon the removal of John White, 293 bishop of Lincoln, from thence to Winchester. And lastly, a commission, dated October 18, to William Geffrey, LL. D. and some others, to be officials for the diocese of Sarum: void by the death of Capon, late bishop thereof. These were visiting commissions. Other commissions.

There were yet other commissions proceeding from Pole the archbishop. One for making Robert Collins, LL. B. and canon of Canterbury, his commissary general for Calais and the parts adjacent, dated September 2. And, February 27, a commission was signed to Richard Thorneden, bishop of Dover, *ad chrismandum pueros in fronte quorumcunque subditorum, utriusque sexus nostrarum civitatis, et*

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diocesios, &c. *Nec non altaria fixa et portatilia, sive viatica, calices, campanas, vestimenta, et talia ecclesiastica ornamenta, quæcunque benedicend.* &c. A commission for admission of William Mowse, LL. D. for advocate of the court of Canterbury. Therein he is commended for his knowledge of letters, probity of manners, honesty of life, and many other gifts of virtue; but not, I dare say, for his constancy, turning with all winds.

Dr. Mowse.

Lincoln diocese visited.

It is well, if the people of the diocese of Lincoln escaped a double visitation this year. For as there was a commission for it upon the translation of Bishop White, as was said above; so about Easter, before he parted with them, he visited his diocese roundly by authority and commission from the Cardinal: when the King's and Queen's commissioners for heresy were also abroad in the diocese, as I find mentioned in the MS. of this visitation.

When this visitation was finished, a large particular thereof was sent to the Cardinal. I will extract a few of the presentments; whereby may be understood in what state the nation stood as to their morals and religion, and as to their inclinations to the gospel.

Presentments in Lincoln diocese.

One Waller was informed against for dealing with those that used magical arts; having consulted with one Atkinson, of Yardwel in Lincolnshire, and one Tossel, of Baltisham in Cambridgeshire, who were wizards. He confessed, that one of them told him that he should be near hanging the next assizes at Northampton: the other told him that he should escape, but much ado, and with great difficulty. And while this cause was depending at this visitation, Waller was indeed convicted at Northampton assizes of sacrilege, and had hanged for it, but that he made an escape.

One presented for dealing with wizards.

A priest divorced.

One Nix, of Caisho, a priest, was presented, who, having been married and divorced, consorted with his wife after divorce. For which penance was enjoined him, both at Caisho and Bedford; and petitioning to be restored to his ministering, he was admitted.

Some were presented for not receiving the sacrament at

Easter; and being cited to appear at the visitation, fled beyond seas: as, namely, Anthony Meres, esq. and one Mrs. Grantham, who was fled to the Duchess of Suffolk beyond the seas. The Lady Anne, wife of Sir Henry Grey, having stood excommunicate a year, they intended now to take up by a *capias*. Anno 1556.

One Thomas More burnt.

Thomas More, being cited before the visitor at Leicester, did say, "This is my faith, that in the sacrament of the "altar is not the body of Christ, no more than if I myself "should give one a piece of bread, and say, Take, eat, this "is my body, meaning mine own body within my doublet." 294 Against this man they pronounced sentence, and got the writ from the King and Queen *De hæretico comburendo.* And so he was burnt in Leicester in the month of June. See more of this man's condemnation in Fox's Martyrology. P. 1768.

Thomas Armstrong, esquire, and his wife, convicted of heresies, recanted, and did their penances, bearing fagots in the cathedral of Lincoln, in a procession on a Wednesday in Easter-week, and the next Sunday in the church of Grantham.

One shaves the crown of a child.

One in Bedford, in mockery of the rasure of priests, did shave the crown of a child under two years old. The mayor sent to the Bishop of Lincoln, being in his visitation, to know what was to be done to that person who did this thing. And he was ordered public penance in the market at Bedford.

One gives the sacrament without auricular confession.

One Hulcock, curate of All-Saints in Huntington, administered the sacrament to several persons without auricular confession, using only a general confession in the English tongue, such as was accustomed in the time of the schism. He was cast into gaol: then enjoined public penance; and that being performed, he was discharged from ministering any more in the diocese of Lincoln; and so he departed.

A priest lives with his wife.

Sir Oswald Butler, late rector of Woodsall, still lived with his wife. He was never ordained priest, yet ministered all the sacraments in the late schism. He did his penance.

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One spake against the bells.

One Troughton was presented, and convicted to have said, "The bells of the Church be the Devil's trumpets:" and again, "The evil Church did ever persecute the good "Church, as they do now." For which words he was enjoined public recantation.

Several eat flesh in Lent.

Several in Huntington, for eating flesh in Lent without a dispensation, were cast into prison, and enjoined to carry fagots two several days.

One sports at the priest on Palm Sunday.

One Burneby, of Brampton, when the vicar of the church on Palm Sunday opened the doors of the church with the staff of the cross, said in sport, "What a sport have we "towards? Will our vicar run at the quintine with God "Almighty?" He submitted himself, and was enjoined public penance.

A vicar carries his child in his arms.

The vicar of Spaldwick was presented for carrying in his arms his child, which he had in wedlock in the time of the schism, to the scandal of others. He was enjoined to carry it no more, and to make a recantation in the church.

Some that fled recant.

Three of St. Ives, who had fled because of religion, now appearing, submitted themselves, and recanted the heresies which they held: and being absolved from their excommunication, were put into prison, and afterwards carried fagots.

A vicar gives the sacrament to some not confessed.

The vicar of Steukley gave the sacrament to some not confessed, and to some that desired auricular confession he denied it. He was cast into prison, and made a recantation before his parishioners.

Churches to be furnished with altars and rood-lofts.

It was enjoined to the parishioners of St. Neots, to rebuild all the altars that were before the schism in the church; and that they should set up a rood-loft with the images: and this to be done by a parish rate.

Enjoined to the parish of Brampton to re-edify a rood-loft and four stone crosses within that parish.

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Churches belonging to the Cardinal, wanting curates or reparations.

The churchwardens of Dunstable presented, that their town was populous, and that there was neither rector nor vicar perpetual among them; and that he that was hired could not preach: and that the rectory was in the disposal of the Cardinal. This the visitor signified to the Cardinal.

The churchwardens of Harlington presented the chancel

of the church to be very ruinous, and that the rectory pertained to the Cardinal.

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The chancel of Salford church likewise in great need of repair; the rectory belonging to the Cardinal.

Several vicarages, the rectories whereof belonged to the Cardinal, were so small, that they remained void for some years; as Litlington, Dunton, Bedford Pauli, Newport Panel.

The chancels of Potton and Eyworth, Dorney, Risley, and Wutton, ruinous; the churches belonging to the Cardinal: so these matters were referred to him. I suppose these churches abovesaid in Bedfordshire, with their endowments, were given by the Queen to the Cardinal for the maintenance of his dignity.

The chancel and rectory of Ampthil almost down to the ground. The rector thereof appeared, and said, "That the "tithes of the greater part of the parish, and the best land "thereof, were taken away from the rector; namely, the "tithes of those lands which were inclosed into King "Henry's parks; as they were from the other rectors and "vicars of the neighbour parishes; and that hereby they "were so impoverished, that the curates could scarcely live "upon them." This was again thought fit to be referred to the Cardinal.

The chancel and rectory of Ampthil.

Many vicarages void, and that for some years, because of the smallness of the livelihood.

Vicarages void.

The hospital of St. Leonard's in Bedford, and an hospital in the parish of Todington, presented. The former of the yearly value of 16*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and the latter of 8*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* These were violated, and the fruits thereof occupied by laymen for a great while, in the time of the schism.

Hospitals presented.

Newport Paynel in Buckinghamshire was presented for having no vicar, because the stipend was so small. The chancels of Bradwel, Olney, Irnegho, Swanbury, in the same county, ruinous: all belonging to the Cardinal.

More churches void, and chancels ruinous, belonging to the Cardinal.

Prestwold, Kirby-Bellers, Lodington, Ulvestone, in Leicestershire, if I mistake not, had neither vicars nor rectors; and of the Cardinal's patronage.

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In Lincolnshire were one and fifty rectories appropriate, belonging to the Cardinal, whereof the chancels and mansion-houses were ruinous. And four and twenty more belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln, the chancels and mansion-houses whereof wanted reparations: and four and twenty more rectories, belonging to other persons in the same condition. So that there were a matter of an hundred chancels and rectors' houses, besides vicarages and their chancels, in Lincolnshire, now in ruinous cases.

Some marry nuns.

One Otby married Jane Missenden, a nun. She was separated and divorced by the Bishop, *a mensa et a thoro, from his bed and his board.* Two others of Gainsborough married two other nuns; and these were divorced also by the Bishop.

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Some eat flesh in Lent.

Two at Boston ate flesh, against the law of the Catholic Church, and were put to penance of carrying a quarter of lamb about the market of Boston, barelegged and bareheaded.

Fornication presented.

A man and a woman of Lincoln were presented for fornication. The Bishop set her this punishment, that the said woman should ride through the city and market in a cart, and be rung out with basins.

Injunctions and articles.

Many other presentments and detections there were, too long to be here inserted. The whole sum of them, together with the Bishop of Lincoln's injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and certain articles of inquiry to be

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administered this visitation, are cast into the Catalogue, which will have this benefit, that whoso peruseth them may see what extraordinary diligence was used to suppress the religion that had spread in these parts: how roundly they exercised discipline, even upon persons of the best rank and quality: how grateful to the clergy the liberty of marriage was, which was granted in the last reign; appearing hence, that so many married priests were every where met with in this visitation, and how loath they were, even after their forced divorces, to relinquish their wives: also in what miserable state the Church was, and in what deplorable ignorance the poor people lay, while such abundance of parish

churches were wholly void of ministers, and so many chancels and houses for them ready to drop down; and not a few of these churches whose emoluments accrued to the Cardinal, and were under his patronage; a thing that reflected surely not a little blame upon him: how extraordinary rife adulteries and fornications were, so many men and women doing penance therefore, and other matters, may here be observed, not unworthy the observation of such as would take cognisance of these times. CHAP. XXXVII. Anno 1556.

The Archbishop and Cardinal, April 28, sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to give notice through the province of a bull of Pope Paul, dated the 11th of March, in the first year of his pontif. exhorting all Christians to pray for peace between Christian princes, and granting all penitents, that confessed their sins and took the sacrament, the full remission of them. Pope Paul's bull. Regist. Car. Pol.

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Occurrences in the State in the months of April, May, June, and July, briefly noted. A conspiracy. Scotch matters.

WHAT occurred in the beginning of this fourth year of the Queen, we may learn by this diary following.

A plot being now in hand, and several concerned in it seized and taken into custody, the rest were scattered, and fled. Therefore, April 4, a proclamation was made through London against certain gentlemen as traitors, that were fled over the sea. The first was Harry Dudley, and these persons following: Christopher Ashton the elder, and Christopher Ashton the younger, Francis Horsey and Edward Horsey, Edward Cornwal, *alias* Corewel, Richard and Nicolas Tremain, Richard Rith, and Roger Reynolds, John Dale, John Caltham, Hammond, Meverel, and divers others. April. A proclamation against certain traitors.

April 15, at Greenwich, was a nomination of certain new bishops: as Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, to succeed at New bishops.

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Winchester; Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, to be bishop of Lincoln; (for now there was, or was to be, an abbot there, instead of a dean; and so the dean was to be provided for otherwise;) and the dean of Durham to be bishop of Carlisle. But Oglethorp, the dean of Windsor, was at last put into the see; and the said deanery of Windsor fell unto Dr. Weston; and the dean of Durham, Dr. Thomas Watson, was preferred to Lincoln, but not before August the next year, the temporalities of that see being bestowed, as it seems, upon Pole.

Two cast for treason.

April 21, were Throgmorton and Woodall, or Udal, captain of the Isle of Wight, arraigned at the sessions-house in Southwark for a conspiracy against the Queen, and other matters, and cast to be drawn and quartered. The accusers were, Rosse, Bedyl, and Dethick, who were of the party. And on the 28th day they were executed. The accusation was a purpose of robbing the Exchequer, and making a rebellion.

Twelve persons to be burnt.

The 24th, six persons were carried, betimes in the morning, to Smithfield to be burnt; all Essex men; and two of them, Drakes and Tims, ministers. And six more into the country, to be burnt there: most of these of Colchester, where they were burnt.

Lord Chamberlain buried.

On the 25th day, Sir John Gage, lord chamberlain to the Queen, was buried.

On the 29th, were brought to the Tower several gentlemen of the west, for treason; *viz.* Sir William Courtnay, Sir John Perrot, Sir John Pollard, Sir Nic. Arnold, (who was in Wyat's plot, and pardoned,) Sir John Chichester, and divers others.

Abusive interludes.

In this month of April also came a letter from the Privy Council, dated the 30th day, to the Lord President of the north, to forbid interludes, played in those parts, exposing the King and Queen, and Roman religion. Some of these players were the servants of Sir Francis Leke, and wore his badge: who was therefore required to seek for them, and
298 send them unto the Council in the north. And all justices in those quarters were required to take up such persons, and

to punish them as vagabonds. The Council's letter may be read in the Catalogue.

Anno 1556. N°. LII. May. Two men executed.

May the 7th, Harry Peckham, a son of Sir Edm. Peckham, and John Daniel, were arraigned at Guildhall, and cast, and sentenced to die the death of traitors, by hanging, drawing, and quartering: but not executed till July the 7th, when they were hanged on a gallows on Tower-hill, then cut down and headed, and their heads carried to London-bridge, and set up there, and their bodies buried at Allhallows Barkin.

A servant of the Queen's set on the pillory.

May the 9th, one Leyke, an auditor of the Queen's, wore a paper round about Westminster-hall; and after, was set on the pillory. His crime was for deceiving the Queen of her receipts: for this man had received certain sums of money from the Queen's tenants, (for which the tenants had their acquittances under his hand,) and afterwards he avowed he had received none.

Lord Paget.

May the 11th, the Lord Paget having been sent to the King, had his passport signed by him to return into England.

Captain Stanton executed.

On the 12th day was Captain William Staunton arraigned at Guildhall, cast, and sentenced to be drawn from the Tower unto Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, for a conspiracy against the King and Queen, and for other matters. And, accordingly, on the 19th day, execution passed upon him, and his head was set on London-bridge the morrow after.

Sir Richard Dobbs buried.

On the 13th, Sir Richard Dobbs, skinner, late lord mayor and alderman of London, died, between four and five in the morning: and, on the 18th day following, was buried very magnificently, after the old popish fashion, with dirge, and the morrow-mass of *requiem*, and a great dinner.

Two burnt at Bow;

On the 15th day, two tall men were carried in a cart from Newgate unto Stratford Bow to be burnt: the one blind, and the other lame: the one named Hugh Leveroke, a painter, dwelling in St. Swithin's-lane; and the other, that is, the blind man, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle. And

And three at Smithfield.

On the 16th, between nine and ten of the clock afore-

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noon, were three women, who were of Essex, carried unto Smithfield, to end their lives by fire.

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The Lord Dacre's sons commit a murder.

On the 25th of this month of May, West, esquire, with six or eight men in his company, was met beside Redegund, in Yorkshire, by the Lord Dacre's sons, and forty men with them, and by them slain: a barbarous practice, too common in those days.

Now to look a little into the affairs of these northern parts, as they stood about this time.

Captain Drury raises forces in the north.

About ploughing time in April and May, the State were raising men for service, either against the Scots, or upon fears at home: and one Captain Drury had commission to raise certain numbers of men in Yorkshire, to serve under him. But the Court procured hereby many enemies in those parts, by granting this commission to one that was a stranger, and withal proceeded in this work so roughly and unjustly. When as, if the Queen had but sent an order to the Council in the north, for the raising such a number of men, according, as it seems, was wont to be done, all would have passed with more ease and quiet to the country. But this man took men away from the market and the plough, and pressed them for his soldiers; and charged many wealthy merchants, and divers good freeholders, and other husbandmen, to serve him to their undoing. And hereby it came to pass, that men refrained the markets, and neglected their tillage; and the whole country was disquieted.

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Concerning whose abuses the Lord President wrote to the Chancellor. Ex Offic. Armor.

This the careful and prudent Earl of Shrewsbury, the lord president, signified privately with his own hand to the Archbishop of York, lord chancellor, advertising him, "that this Captain Drury had more troubled the country "for those few men he was to raise, than it had been for "the whole former service against Scotland. Adding, how "he had no respect for the town of Hull, being the sea-"coast, but took men thence, that ought to have been re-"served for the strength and safety of that important place, "and for the supply of the shipping there. But that beside "twenty men taken from that town, he had also taken good "merchants and others: that he had also pressed in the

" shire above three or four hundred men more than his " number: and that whereas, if he would have made the " justices and officers privy to his doings, he might assuredly " been well furnished of his number. He sent forth light " men into every part of the shire, who much abused the " inhabitants. And that by bills, which he took upon him " to write, he commanded constables and officers to send " forth such men as he named in his bill. And that he had " oppressed three or four poor men in a village, who before " had been much charged to the furniture of the present " service, with soldiers and carriages, as their abilities would " serve. And lastly, that by other bills of his own hand, " he licensed men to depart after he had pressed them, and " taken of some, twenty shillings, and of others, fifteen shil- " lings the man."

The disorder of the northern people.

These northern people, especially the most northern of them, were at this time too barbarous and rude, and wanted the discipline of good laws: for the marches on both the realms, as the Lord Wharton wrote to the Lord President of the north, were much given to do evil. And the gentlemen in Northumberland addicted themselves to the making parties one against another, and appeared in great bands: which created the said Lord Wharton much pains to make an accord between them. There were many coiners here; who found friends and receivers in these quarters. Such were the family of the Pottes of Riddesdale; who therefore were under sureties, taken of them by Sir Tho. Darcy: but they soon after fled into Scotland.

Apprehensions from the Scots.

The harbouring of these and the like malefactors, and the being furnished with French soldiers that were at Jedburgh, a place upon the very borders, made the English now very jealous of the Scots; especially considering the French were in open hostility with the Spaniard, so nearly allied to England. The Scotch Queen, on the 6th of May, (for what intent was not known,) sent for these soldiers; and so they departed for a time from Jedburgh. This the Lord Wharton thought fit to impart to the Lord President, who acquainted the Court therewith; and soon after, by

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letters from the King and Queen, the Council in the north had command to order watch of beacons for the sea. The Council speedily sent these letters to the Lord Wharton, warden of those marches; who accordingly sent for the justices of the peace of the county of Northumberland to him at the castle of Alnwic, and gave them order in that behalf.

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The order for watching the beacons in the north.

A meeting of Scots and English upon the borders.

May the 12th, being Thursday, was a meeting of the Scots and English at Redingburn, for the making satisfaction of either side, for wrongs done on the borders. For the Scots, was the Earl Bothwel; and for the English, the Lord Wharton: who sent his deputy with instructions signed with his hand for their order that day, which they shewed to the Scots. Whereupon they continued together for two days, until they had filed for the subjects of either realm one and twenty attentates. Then the deputies appointed to meet at the same place, and to make deliverance, the Thursday in Whitsun-week next approaching, and so to continue, until the one and twenty attentates were delivered for on either side. It was there also appointed and agreed, upon the Lord Wharton's said instructions, that a day of march should also be kept at Heppeth-Gait-Head on the second of June. This conclusion that meeting had, though at the beginning things looked angry. The Scots laboured to send more men than the English: for which purpose the Queen sent from her the Lord Cesforth and other gentlemen, to furnish their power. Yet they that attended the Lord Wharton's deputy made a greater power than they. And so they met, with some ceremonies; and the Scots had strange talk in their beginning, but after, they proceeded to the premises.

Friendly letters from the Lord Hume.

And on the 14th of this May, the Lord Wharton received letters from the Lord Hume, tending to the good execution of the treaty with the wardenry. And Monday the 18th, the Lord Wharton's deputies were appointed to meet him or his deputies at Coldstream; shewing themselves now more inclinable to a good understanding than they had shewn two months before, notwithstanding their late brags, wherein

they had been somewhat met withal. But now to come nearer home, and to look into the transactions and events of the month of June. CHAP. XXXVIII. Anno 1556.

June the 2d was Sir Richard Morgan, a judge, and one of the Privy Council to Queen Mary, buried at St. Magnus at Bridge-foot, with an herald at arms bearing his coat armour, and other funeral decencies. And Mr. Chancellor of London, Dr. Darbishire, preached. June. Judge Morgan buried.

The same day were arraigned at Westminster-hall three gentlemen, Mr. Rosey, Mr. Bedyl, and Mr. Dethick, for conspiring the King and Queen's death: and were all three cast, and sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. And on the 9th day they were drawn from the Tower unto Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered. Their members buried, but their heads exalted; Rosey's on London-bridge, Bedyl's over Ludgate, and Dethick's over Aldersgate. Three traitors condemned and executed.

On the 8th was a goodly procession at Whitehall by the Spaniards: the hall being hung with rich cloth. And at the skreen there was an altar made, richly hanged with a canopy, adorned with great basins and candlesticks, clean gilt. In the court, at the four corners, were also set up as many goodly altars, hanged with cloth of gold, and each had a canopy embroidered. There was in the court also a procession-way made, with an hundred young oaks set in the ground, and on every side set hard by the wall with green boughs, (resembling, methinks, the groves where the ancient idolatry used to be committed.) Then came the procession out of the chapel, singing and playing with the regals; and after, the sacrament borne, and over it the richest canopy the Queen had, with six staves, silver, borne by six goodly men. And about the sacrament, an hundred torches burning, some whereof of white wax. And at every altar was singing and censing with sweet odours; all the King's guard carrying partizans, gilt: and after to mass in the chapel, sung by Spaniards. A procession by Spaniards. 301

On the 14th, Father Sydnam, a grey friar of Greenwich, preached at Trinity church; and after, dined with Sir Ro- A friar of Greenwich preaches.

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bert Oxenbridge, knt. now, or soon after, lieutenant of the Tower.

Anno 1556. Another condemned for treason.

On the 15th, Mr. Leckner, or Lewknor, groom porter unto King Edward VI. and Queen Mary, was arraigned at Guildhall for a new conspiracy against the King and Queen, and cast to suffer death. He died a prisoner within the Tower of London, and was buried there the 7th of September.

Lord Sands' son executed.

On the 18th day was a son of the Lord Sands hanged at St. Thomas of Watering, for robbing of a cart, in which were great riches, to the value of some thousands, coming from a fair at Beverlay.

Two more cast for treason.

The same day was Mr. Francis Wray, together with Captain Turner, arraigned at Guildhall, for the same conspiracy as was mentioned before, and cast, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Thirteen burnt.

The 27th of this June, eleven men and two women, thirteen in all, most of them of Essex, rode from Newgate unto Stratford Bow, in three carts, and there, at four posts, were all burnt for heresy. There were present near twenty thousand people, as was thought, to see the execution: whose ends generally in coming there, and to such like executions, were to strengthen themselves in the profession of the gospel, and to exhort and comfort those that were to die.

A meeting of Scotch and English commissioners.

June 28, being Sunday, was a notable meeting of commissioners, both for England and Scotland, at Rydding-burn, a place accustomed. The English practised as much as they could to have the Scots come to a town within the English pale, but it would not be. A great company appeared on both sides, but the English were the greater number, being above two thousand persons. The commissions of both realms were read. Then it was agreed to meet at Norham church the morrow after; and so they did. The result of which meeting was, that to Beckwith, one of the chief commissioners on the English side, the Scots offered, that they were fully minded to make redress of all

attentates done by any Scotchman to England; and they required the same of the English, and said, that they had such commandment of their Queen. This was like to prove a long work; for there were above a thousand bills of attentates within one of the marches of England, done by the Scots: so that if the proceeding should have been as the Scots proposed to do, it would have taken up till Michaelmas before all were ended. But all this seemed but subtile play to amuse the English. They agreed to meet one day at Norham church in England, and another day at the Lady church in Scotland, half a mile from Norham.

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The last day of June, William West, esquire, otherwise called the Lord De la Ware, was led from the Tower unto Guildhall, and there cast for treason, and sentenced to be drawn and quartered. But he was pardoned, and was afterwards in the royal expedition against St. Quintins.

Lord De la Ware condemned.

This last of June had been set as the utmost date of expecting King Philip here in England, since he came not with the Lord Privy Seal, who returned from him some time before. But one Mr. Kemp came from him about the 19th or 20th of this month of June, with the news that he had deferred his coming for two months longer: whereat the Queen was much cast down, and for several days after Kemp's coming, she was not in case to hear any suitors. And this put her upon writing more that day, as it was thought, than she had done since she was Queen. The substance of which writing, it is likely, was to acquaint the King with the more private state of matters in England, and to give him content: whose delay arose from some dissatisfaction, though it was pretended to be the cares of the Low Countries, having been resigned now to him by the Emperor his father some time since, and now the said Emperor being about to resign his kingdom of Spain.

King Philip defers his coming over.

But the Queen being very desirous of the company of King Philip her husband, who had tarried in the Low Countries a deal longer than was expected, the Emperor, to satisfy her impatience in some measure, wrote her a kind letter with his own pen, beginning, *Il y a bien long temps*

The Emperor writes to the Queen, excusing King Philip's absence. Titus, B. ii.

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que l'éstat des affaires eût requis que moy et le Roy mon fils, &c. " That it was a long time that the state of affairs had

Anno 1556. " required the presence of him and the King his son; so " that neither could yet be spared. That he desired to " hasten his coming over as much as possible; but that the " whole was in such terms, that without their affairs should " fall into notable inconvenience, his coming was necessarily " thus deferred for some longer time. He prayed her Ma- " jesty therefore, most affectionately, that the cause of the " King's tarrying might be agreeable to her, and that she " would believe that he would hasten her enjoyment of her " husband's company; and the rather since he saw the con- " tentment which she took in it. But he hoped that in the " mean time she would satisfy herself, since this should be, " if it please God, but for a little time, and all for the best: " for all things otherwise were like to be left in disorder. " And so concluded, assuring her, that he desired her con- " tentment more than his own, *as he who was, and would* " *be ever, her good father, brother, cousin, and ally.*"

Falsifying punished.

One Will. Tesmond, servant to Dockwray, proctor, for razing and falsifying of certain dispensations made by the Cardinal, was this month adjudged by the Star-chamber to have a dozen stripes at the standard in Chepe.

Earl of Pembroke made general.

In this month of June a commission was granted to the Earl of Pembroke; whereby he was made lieutenant and captain general of an army beyond the sea for the defence

303 of Calais, which seemed now to be in danger.

A skirmish between the Earl of Bothwel and the outlaw Scots.

There were certain outlawed Scots, called the Armstrongs, and others, who lived upon pillaging and spoiling upon the borders, with whom the Grimes upon the English border were secret confederates. It was resolved in Scotland to destroy these outlaws and rebels, in pursuit perhaps of

July. the treaty now going on foot with England. So, July the 7th, the Earl of Bothwel, lieutenant of Scotland, and Dunlanrick, warden of the west marches of the same, with a great power, did ride upon the rebels of the said west marches; and beginning at Sandy Armstrong's houses, set the same, with all other the rebels' houses thereabouts,

on fire. But the rebels being together to wait on their doings, procured the Lieutenant's and Warden's company to a charge; and thereby trained them the space of three quarters of a mile, and upon the advantage espied, returned upon them. In the which was slain one Christopher Urwen, of Bonshaw, a principal of the rebels, and his two sons; with divers others in peril of death. And yet, nevertheless, the thing so chanced in the end, that the rebels had the better: for in the same encounter they killed fourteen, and took thirty prisoners. Among whom were taken the Lairds of Lowgheuver and Hempsfield, the tutor of Pencurer, and the captain of Dunbar, the Warden himself being in much danger, not only unhorsed, but also after on foot stricken down, and hardly escaped. Anno 1556.

The Grimes assist the outlaws.

William Lord Dacre, warden of the marches bordering upon them, having intelligence before of their assembly, caused the gentlemen of those west marches, with a part of their powers, to repair to him to Carlisle, and understanding what hour the said Lieutenant, with his power, intended to burn the rebels' habitations, he sent his son Leonard Dacre very early in the morning, with a company of the best borderers, to the waters of Eske; as well to attend that no harm should be done to the subjects of this realm, as also to stop any the said rebels to be received or relieved here: where he tarried all the time of the skirmish, even in the sight of the same. And none of the said rebels entered, nor attempted to seek any relief within the English marches. But the Greyms of Eske, although they were strictly commanded by the Lord Dacres both to give their attendance upon his son, and that they should not by any ways relieve nor take part with the said rebels of Scotland, yet they came not to give their attendance according to the commandment, but the greatest part of them were in company, aiding and assisting the same outlaws in the skirmish; yea, and took the greatest part of the prisoners: a thing that would be sorely complained upon by the Scots.

The outlaws victors a second time.

The rebels, for revenge of the burning of their houses, (for they had not, it seems, taken sufficient revenge yet,) on

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the 22d of July, in the morning, got together to the number of two hundred, purposing some exploit of annoyance to be done to the Earl of Bothwel, lieutenant, now returned again, and lying at Annon town. These sent sixteen horsemen, and seized twelve horses about that town. Whereupon arose a fray; and the lieutenant and his soldiers pursuing
304 to have rescued the horse, followed too far, while they came to the rebels' ambush, who set upon them, and slew one captain of the Frenchmen, and two others, and also hurt divers, to the peril of their lives; the said rebels escaping without any hurt or danger, and winning divers horses, returned home.

The Queen removes to Eltham.

July the 21st the Queen removed from St. James in the Fields, unto Eltham, passing through the park and Whitehall, and took her barge, crossing over to Lambeth, unto my Lord Cardinal's place. And there she took her chariot, and so rid through St. George's-fields unto Newington, and so over the fields towards Eltham at five of the clock afternoon. She was attended on horseback with the Cardinal, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Montague, and divers other lords and knights, ladies and gentlewomen; and a conflux of people to see her Grace, above ten thousand.

A white monk buried.

The 26th of July, a white monk of the charter-house was buried at the Savoy in his monk's weed, with great light made with tapers.

Two set on the pillory.

On the 31st, a man and a woman stood on the pillory in Cheap, who were officers of Bridewell, for favouring the harlots that were brought thither, and conveying away sundry thence: divers of which were afterwards taken again, and brought back thither.

Several ladies die this month.

Infectious burning fevers raged this summer, and took away many persons of quality as well as others; and particularly in the city of London. And in this month of July died three ladies of note there; *viz.* the Lady Seymer, wife of Sir Tho. Seymer, knight, late lord mayor: the Lady Norwich, wife to the Lord Norwich, a judge; which lady was buried in Essex: and the Lady Broke, wife to the Lord Broke, chief baron; who was brought from Canbury

to Islington church to burial, with six long torches, and six tapers of three pounds a piece for six women, and other lights, and a herald of arms, and other solemnities. To these I add Sir William Laxton, knt. of the corporation of grocers, late lord mayor, living in St. Mary Aldermary parish; a man of great eminence in the city, who died the 29th of July, and was very splendidly buried the 9th of the next month in the said parish church. There was a goodly hearse with five principals, and the majesty and the vallans gilded. Eight dozen of pencils, and thirteen dozen of escutcheons and an half; and a standard and four pennons, and two banners of images. The house, church, and street hanged with black and arms; and a coat armour and helmet, target and sword, mantle and crest, being a tiger's head, with a columbine and the slipe. There were two great and goodly white branches, and thirty-four staff-torches, and as many mantle-frieze gowns to poor men; an hundred black gowns: mourners, Mr. Lodge, alderman, chief mourner; Mr. Machyl, [the same that was sheriff last year,] second mourner; Mr. Wanton, third mourner, and divers others: the Lord Mayor, Mr. White, and all the other aldermen, in violet. Then came the women mourners and ladies, and many aldermen's wives and gentlewomen. And after dirge, they retired from church to the place, [that is, Sir William Laxton's house,] to drink. Thither went also the company of grocers, and after, the priests and clerks, and the heralds and the waxchandlers, and the painters, (all which had assisted in adorning the funeral,) also to drink, with many others. And on the morrow, three masses were sung in prick-song, and three *requiems*. At the mass Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield preached. After all was done at church, the company went to the place to dinner: where there was a most splendid entertainment; and there dined many worshipful men and women.

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Sir Will. Laxton's burial.

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This Laxton built a freeschool at Oundle in Northamptonshire, and an almshouse.

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Various matters falling out in the months of August, September, October, November, December, January, February, and part of March. The lamentable fall and end of Sir John Cheke.

Anno 1556. August. Two bishops die in one day, Bp. Day and Bp. Bell.

THESE sickly dying times carried off two bishops in one day, *viz.* the 2d of August, that is to say, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, who was carried down honourably into the country to be buried there; and Dr. Bell, sometime bishop of Worcester, who was buried with due respect, Aug. 13, at Clerkenwell, with a sermon preached by Dr. Harpsfield. He was put into his coffin like a bishop, with the mitre and other *pontificalibus*. His funeral was illuminated with two white branches, two dozen of staff-torches, and four great tapers.

Two women pillorized.

Aug. 13, a woman and her child both set on the pillory; the daughter for whoredom, and the mother for procuring her own child, and bringing her to uncleanness. A just punishment to the mother, but it wanted some further severity.

Month's mind for Sir Will. Laxton.

Aug. 30, was the month's mind of Sir William Laxton, who died the last month; his hearse burning with wax, and the morrow-mass celebrated, and a sermon preached; and after that a great dinner; and after dinner the hearse was taken down.

September. Phil. Denys, esq. dies;

Sept. 6 was Philip Denys, esquire, buried at Barking church in London, a goodly man of arms, and a great juster; who was with King Henry VIII. at Tourney in France.

And Lucas, esquire.

And on the 15th day, another of King Henry VIII.'s servants was buried at St. Peter's the Poor, named ——— Lucas, esquire, one of the masters of his requests.

The Queen removes to St. James's.

On the 19th, the Queen having been sometime at Croydon, the Archbishop's place, removed unto St. James's, her own place, with the Lord Cardinal and others attending.

Rose-pence cried down.

A certain sort of coarse small money, called *rose-pence*,

coined for the use of Ireland, in the exigence of money in England, passed in London and other parts of the realm; whereby the realm of Ireland was the more disfurnished, and other inconveniences accrued to England: which caused the Queen to have this money cried down in England; which she did by a proclamation made in London, September 19, the crier having the Queen's seal, that *rose-pence* should not be taken after the cry was made, but in Ireland only to be taken for pence. But yet, notwithstanding, in the north parts these pieces of money still passed about. Wherefore, Octob. 8, the Queen's Council wrote to the President and Council in the north, to forbid the same, and to cause the proclamation to be published there. The letter was in these words:

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The Council's letter hereupon. Ex Epistol. Com. Salop. in Offic. Armor. vol. c.

" After our hearty commendations to your good Lord-
" ship. The same shall understand, that the Queen's
" Majesty considering that the *rose-pence* that went lately
" abroad here were coined only for the realm of Ireland, and
" never allowed to be current within the realm; and under-
" standing nevertheless, that certain greedy persons, mind-
" ing more their own private lucre than the commonwealth
" of their country, have uttered divers sums of the said
" *rose-pence* here within the realm, whereby the said realm
" of Ireland is presently disfurnished of exchange of money:
" her Highness, being loath her loving subjects either be
" driven to want in Ireland, or be any longer abused in
" England with that coin, thought it good to give them
" warning thereof in time. And therefore caused, on Sa-
" turday the 19th of the last month, proclamation to be
" made at London, for the calling down of the said *rose-*
" *pence:* and albeit it was then thought, that this procla-
" mation, being made in London, should have been a suffi-
" cient warning to the rest of the realm; and therefore it
" should not need to send the same to any other place;
" yet understanding now, that the common people in sun-
" dry parts seem to stand in doubt of the truth of this
" matter, we have thought meet to send the said procla-

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" mation presently unto you; praying your Lordship, in " case you shall perceive that the people stand not yet " clear of doubt of this matter, to cause the same to be " proclaimed within such places of the country, within the " limits of your commission, as you shall think most conve- " nient. And so we bid your Lordship right heartily well " to fare. From St. James's, 8 Octob. 1556.

" Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

" Nico. Ebor. Canc. Arundel.

" Tho. Wharton. Tho. Ely.

Jo. Bourn."

" Forasmuch as this proclamation that is now sent you, " was proclaimed here so long agone, we think it shall " suffice, that you do cause the same to be set in the " market-places of such towns as you shall think con- " venient, without any further proclaiming it."

An uproar in London about the dearth.

September 21, there happened a great uproar in London about the excessive prices of victuals, as in Cheapside, Billingsgate, Leadenhall, Newgate market, among the market-folks and mealmen. So that the Mayor and the two Sheriffs were fain to go into the markets to set people at a stay, and so to mitigate matters; and there caused meal and other provisions to be sold at more reasonable prices.

The Emperor upon the coast of England, writeth to the Queen.

307 The Emperor being dispirited, and broke much with the cares of government, and with the gout, which was extreme upon him, was ready to resign all his dominions unto his son King Philip, and so intended for Spain, to spend the remainder of his days in peace and retirement. In this month of September, I find him on the sea, bending his course for Spain, but put in with his fleet in a port in England: whence he wrote another kind letter to the queen. The substance whereof was, to signify his great desire to see her, being so near her, if it could possibly have been, and to excuse his son King Philip's absence, who was not yet come into England.

The Emperor's letter began, *Je ne vous sçaurois dire la peine*, &c. " That he could not express the pain he felt

" to pass along the coasts of her realm, as he was at present " arrived in one of her ports, without being able to see her. " That there could have been nothing should have hindered " it, had not his own indisposition and the inability of his " limbs been the cause; and that he could not have given " her a visit without much trouble and inconvenience to " herself: adding, that the season also was so far spent, " that he might have lost the benefit of the time. That " nothing would have been a greater pleasure to him, than " to have seen his son the King and her together. He " feared much that she might lay on him the blame of his " so great delay of his return, and so long absence: but, in " truth, that his affairs were such, that it could not possibly " be otherwise. And he trusted that the understanding of " these just causes thereof would make it a reasonable fault; " and that the pain which he endured, *servira pour satisfac-* " *tion de celle que nous vous donnons, et que vous nous tien-* " *dres pour descoulpe de celle si longue demoure*, should " serve to satisfy for that which he had given her, and which " he offered her for the fault of so long absence. But that by " the content which she should have in the King's joyful re- " turn towards her, (which he knew his son would take care " should be soon,) she should forget all that was past." This letter he sent by the Queen's Admiral, (who, it seems, waited upon him while he was upon the English coasts,) whom he had instructed to acquaint her with the cause more particularly. It was dated September 20, and subscribed, *De la main de vôtre bon pere, frere et cousin Charles.*

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Sir Humfrey Forster and Mr. Harris die.

In this month, besides those mentioned before, died two other men of note, *viz.* Sir Humphrey Forster, buried at St. Martin's besides Charing-cross, and Mr. William Harris, a person notably rich in lands and farms, buried at Maldon [or Southminster] in Essex.

October. Sixty condemned at Oxford.

In the next month, *viz.* October 3, being the day of the sessions at Oxford, were sixty persons condemned to die, perhaps most for treasonable practices.

Paul's Cross sermon preached by the Bishop of Winton.

October 18, being St. Luke's day, Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, preached a notable sermon at Paul's Cross.

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Anno 1556. A general delivery out of Lollard's Tower.

On the 20th day were all the heretics delivered out of Lollard's Tower, which had come out of Essex and other places; subscribing and promising in general, to keep themselves good and true to God, and to the King and Queen. This looks as though the state began now to be weary of burning.

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Persons of note deceasing this month.

In this month the fever swept away these persons of note: Sir John Champney, knt. alderman and skinner, and late lord mayor of London, honourably carried down into Kent, and there buried: the Lord Vaux of Northamptonshire: Sir Richard Cotton, knt. comptroller of the household to the late King Edward VI. Sir Henry Hoblethorn, knt. merchant tailor of London, and merchant of the staple of Calais, and late lord mayor, buried at St. Peter's in Cornhill: Sir John Oliff, knt. sometime chirurgeon unto King Henry VIII. and after sheriff of London; and had he lived till the next year, he had been mayor, having already, for that purpose, turned from the company of chirurgeons to that of the grocers; buried at St. Michael at Basinghall: Dr. Man, bishop of Man, who dying at Mr. Witherly's, merchant tailor, was buried at St. Andrew Undershaft; he was first prior of the charter-house at Shene; and afterward, in King Edward's time, made bishop of Man, and was married: Sir Bartholomew Fawl, sometime prior of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, a man much lamented; and his funeral honoured with the fellowship of the drapers, and among the rest, Mr. Chester, alderman and late sheriff, attending him to church: Sir John Gresham, knt. mercer, and merchant of the staple of Calais, and merchant adventurer, late mayor and alderman of London, buried with a very pompous and expensive funeral: he gave two hundred black gowns of fine cloth; the sermon was preached by Harpsfield; and an extraordinary fish dinner, it being a fish day; at which were admitted all that came. Lastly, Mr. Lock, son of Sir William Lock, dying at his father's place in Walbroke, was honourably buried at St. Thomas of Acres, and Doctor Pendleton preached.

These burning agues, so fatal in London and the parts

adjoining, ran as far as the north: for with it was the Lord Dacre seized at the castle of Carlisle, being one of the wardens of the marches against Scotland: the effect of the distemper had in some measure crazed him, and made him unable for the Queen's business, his natural rest and sleep taken away from him: in the mean time he busied himself much with devices and practices of small purpose, as once he had done before in a like ague at London: and yet he had a good memory, and convenient consideration of things needful. This, his son Thomas Dacre signified to the Lord President of the north, trusting however, that his father would soon amend, and not doubting that his office and charge should be well regarded, to the honour of the realm, and the discharge of his duty. But whether the Lord Dacre died in this fit, or recovered, I cannot tell.

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Lord Dacres of the north sick.

The Privy Council, in this month of October, sent a letter and message to the King, then at Gaunt, by the hands of Dr. Martin. The import whereof was twofold, partly relating to the Duke of Savoy, perhaps about his matching with the Lady Elizabeth, who was not inclinable thereto: the other concerning trade with the states of the Low Countries. Dr. Martin having delivered his message to the King, he sent him to the said states to treat with them; and with command, that the whole business might, with all expedition, be decided according to the fairest equity; and that despatched, to return home to the Privy Council. The King also sent a letter at this time to the Council, pleading therein for the merchants of the said states: that whereas an order was made in England, that they should not buy cloths in this realm above 4*l.* price, Philip persuaded, that considering the times, in which the price of all commodities was grown greater, and money become worse, that therefore the said merchants might buy cloth as high as the value of 6*l.* which privilege, since it was not, as he said, denied to other strangers, "the Queen, his dearest wife, "would not deny to his subjects, upon his intercession." And surely this was a sort of command.

Dr. Martin carries letters from the Council to King Philip.

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We proceed to the month of November. On the 5th

November.

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day whereof, as though King Philip were now coming, came through London, from the said King, forty gennets, and sixteen great horses. The gennets were mounted by the pages of honour, otherwise called *the King's henchmen.*

Horses pass through London, from the King.

On the 16th day of November, one Walker, servant to the Lord Denshire, came out of the Tower to be arraigned at Westminster for carrying of letters, and for keeping counsel with them that had died before for treason; and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Condemned to perpetual imprisonment, Walker,

And Smith.

And on the 21st was arraigned at Guildhall for the same fault, Mr. Smith, a merchant; that is, for keeping their counsel that were put to death; and was condemned to perpetual prison.

Fecknam made dean of Westminster.

On the same 21st day was Dr. Feckenham, late dean of St. Paul's, put into the abbey of Westminster, as abbot there, and fourteen monks more shorn. And the morrow after, the Lord Abbot, with his convent, went a procession after the old fashion in their monks' weeds, in coats of black say, with two vergers carrying two silver rods in their hands; and evensong time, the vergers went through the cloisters to the Abbot, and so went into the church afore the high altar, and there my Lord kneeled down, and his convent. And after his prayer made, was brought to the choir with the vergers, and so into his place; and presently he began the evensong, being St. Clement's even.

St. Katharine's procession.

The 24th being St. Katharine's day, [or rather eve,] at six of the clock at night, St. Katharine went about the battlements of St. Paul's church, accompanied with fine singing and great lights: this was St. Katharine's procession.

Pembroke goes to Calais.

On the 25th day the Earl of Pembroke took his barge for Calais.

The Abbot consecrated.

On the 29th day, at Westminster abbey, was the Lord Abbot stalled, and did wear a mitre. The Lord Cardinal was there, and many bishops, and the Lord Treasurer, and a great company; the Lord Chancellor sang mass, and the Abbot made the sermon.

Lady Elizabeth comes to Somerset place.

The day before, *viz.* the 28th, the Lady Elizabeth came riding through Smithfield, the Old Baily, and Fleet-street,

unto Somerset place, with a great company of velvet coats and chains, being her Grace's gentlemen; and after, a great company of her men also in red coats, guarded with a close guard of black velvet and cutts. And there, at her said place, she lodged till the 3d of December; and then removed, and took her way through Smithfield, attended as before, towards Bishop's Hatfield place. Anno 1556. 310

This month was buried, in the parish of St. Olaves in Southwark, Mr. Goodyere, alderman of London, and leather-seller and merchant of the staple of Calais: also now was the Lady Williams of Thame, her funeral, and the wife of Mr. Heys, a mercer, in Aldermanbury, buried honourably; and at her mass preached Dr. Peryn, a black friar. Such as this month deceased.

In the month of December I make these remarks. On the 5th day, being St. Nicolas even, St. Nicolas, that is, a boy habited like a bishop in *pontificalibus*, went abroad in most parts of London, singing after the old fashion; and was received with many ignorant, but well-disposed people into their houses, (thinking, as it seems, that it was lucky, as well as pious,) and had as much good cheer as ever was wont to be had before, at least in many places. December. St. Nicolas.

On the 6th of December the Abbot of Westminster went a procession with his convent; before him went all the sanctuary men, with cross keys upon their garments; and after went three for murder: one whereof was the Lord Dacre's son of the north, who was whipped, with a sheet about him, for killing of one West, esq. dwelling beside the Lord Darcy; of which murder mention was made before. The second was a thief, that belonged to Mr. Comptroller's servants, who killed one Richard Eggleston, the Comptroller's tailor, at the Long-Acre, on the backside of Charing-cross. The third was a boy, who had killed a young fellow that sold papers and printed books in Westminster-hall, with hurling of a stone, which hit him under the eye. And thus was the abbey restored to its pristine privileges. The Abbot of Westminster's procession.

December 16, at the sessions at Newgate, among others, were arraigned one John Boneard, and Gregory, a smith, a Spaniard, [or as Holinshed saith, a Frenchman,] for a A malefactor stabs the evidence in the court.

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robbery that they would have done upon Alexander, the keeper of Newgate; which was, by certain keys Gregory had made, to open the gaol, and let out the prisoners. This Gregory had a knife then about him, which he thrust into the man that gave evidence against them in the sight of the judges. He was afterwards cast; and immediately a gibbet was set up at the Session's Hall, where his right hand was stricken off, and nailed upon the gibbet, and then he was hanged up, hanging all night naked: and Boneard, his fellow, was burnt in the hand.

The Queen goes to the abbey to even song.

December 20, Queen Mary rid in her chariot through the park from St. James's unto the gallery; and so she took her barge unto Westminster, and landed at the palace, and so into the abbey; where she heard evensong, together with the Lord Cardinal, the Lord Mountague, and the Lord Darcy of Essex: which last bore the sword before her Grace, and the other Lord bore up her train.

Removes to Greenwich.

On the 22d she removed from St. James's through the park, and took her barge at Lambeth unto the Lord Cardinal's place; and there her Grace dined with him and divers of the Council; and after dinner she took her journey unto Greenwich, to keep her Christmas there.

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Testerns.

On the 23d, a proclamation was made through London (and so was after to be through the realm) for raising the value of testerns in the present dearth: it imported, that whatever man he were that did refuse testerns, or would not take them at the value of six pence apiece, [though according to the intrinsic value they were not worth so much,] for corn, or victuals, or wares, or any other thing, he should be taken, and brought before the mayor or sheriff, bailiff, justice of peace, constable, or other officer; and they to lay him in prison, there to remain during the Queen's and Council's pleasure, and to stand, both body and goods, at her Grace's disposition.

The great dearth.

The same day was malt sold in Gracechurch-street market for 40*s.* a quarter. And the 31st day it was sold in the same market for 44*s.* a quarter, and after at 46*s.* And a bushel of wheat-meal for 6*s.* and so it continued along the

next year till harvest, when, within eight weeks, it fell from 6*s.* to 16*d.*

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This month of December were, with state, buried the Lord Morley, in Essex: Mr. Robert Downes, master of the company of ironmongers; buried in St. Mary Cole church, in Cheap: he had a tomb made, and in the tomb a coffin of lead; and when he was brought to the grave, his corpse was taken out of the coffin of wood, in which he was carried, and put into that of lead: Sir Richard Bruton, sometime of the privy chamber to King Henry VIII. buried at Islington: and the sister of Mr. Clarentieux, who seemed to be a great woman about the Queen; she was buried at the Savoy, with an hearse made with two stories, and an hundred white candlesticks, and in every candlestick a great quern of half a pound of wax, together with her arms upon the hearse, and other appendages of magnificence.

Buried.

January.

January 4, at night, were certain strange fires seen by many persons in many places near the city of London; as in Finsbury-fields, in Moor-fields, at the Windmill, and at the Dog-house, at Dame Annis Clere, and in certain gardens and other places. Some perhaps might interpret these prodigious appearances of fire, to import God's upbraiding the present cruelties of burning to death so many innocent persons.

Strange appearances of fire.

Lady Chaloner buried.

January 11, the Lady Chaloner, wife of Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the clerks of the Council to King Edward VI. and formerly the wife of Sir Thomas Lee, of Hogston, was buried honourably in Shoreditch church.

The belman.

On the 13th, in alderman Draper's ward, commonly called Cordwainer-street ward, began a belman to go about all night from place to place, ringing a bell at every lane's end, and at the ward end; whose office was to give warning of fire and candlelight, and to help the poor, and pray for the dead. And this seems to be the original of the custom of belmen in London.

Pensioners muster before the Queen.

On the 20th, at Greenwich park, the Queen's pensioners mustered in bright harness, and many barbed horses: every pensioner had three men in green coats, guarded with white;

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so they rode about the park, three in rank, upon horses with spears in their hands, the colours white and green. Afore rode trumpeters blowing; next a man of arms, bearing a standard of red and yellow; in the standard a white heart, and on the one side a black eagle with gilded legs: between two or three of the clock they came down, and mustered before the Queen at the park gate. For there stood the Queen's Grace on high, and the Lord Cardinal, the Lord Admiral, and Lord Mountague, and divers other lords and ladies. Before the pensioners rode many gentlemen on gennets and light horses; one whereof rode upon the finest mule that ever was seen: and so they rode to and fro before her Majesty. Then came a tumbler and played many pretty feats, the Queen and Lord Cardinal looking on; whereat she was observed to laugh heartily. At length the Queen thanked them all for their pains, and so they departed: there were of the pensioners fifty and more, besides their men of arms; and of people above ten thousand.

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Martin Bucer and P. Fagius's bodies burnt.

January 26, commissioners from the Cardinal, *viz.* Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln; Scot, bishop of Chester; and Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester, came to Cambridge; and after a formal process, caused the body of Martin Bucer, late the King's professor of divinity, buried in St. Mary's, to be taken up and burnt: and so also was served the body of Paul Fagius, late the King's professor of Hebrew, buried in St. Michael's church: which was looked upon as barbarous.

L. Sturton had to the Tower.

On the 28th was the Lord Sturton had to the Tower for the death of two gentlemen, father and son, basely, by him and his men, murdered.

February.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen wait on the Queen.

February the 7th, Mr. Offley, the Lord Mayor, and divers aldermen, taking their barge, went unto the Queen to Greenwich: where, after a certain time waiting, they were brought before the Queen. Then she knighted the Lord Mayor and Mr. William Chester, draper, one of the aldermen.

A sanctuary man whipped.

The same day was a sanctuary man whipped afore the cross for murder.

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The Emperor of Russia's ambassador took his journey from Etonbrug [Edenburgh] towards England, the 8th of February; and left behind him in Scotland one Lewis, to solicit for the goods which he had brought with him in the English ship in which he came, which the Scots most inhumanly had purloined, being put in there by stress of weather. But being gone, a great number in that realm were sorry they suffered him to depart, as the Lord Wharton wrote to the Lord President; adding, that he might thank God he was escaped from their cruel covetise with his life.

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The Russian ambassador departs Scotland.

On the 10th day, Sir William Portman, chief justice of England, was buried at St. Dunstan's in the West, with an herald of arms, and a standard of arms and pennon, a coat armour, a target, a shield, and a crest, being a libbard's head, gold, with two snakes coming out of the mouth, with a cross fitch gules: a hearse, with four great gilt candlesticks, with four principals garnished with angels, arms, and pensils; many mourners: and after came six judges and seven sergeants of the coif, and then all the inns of court, two and two together. And on the morrow three goodly masses sung, and a sermon made.

Sir William Portman, chief justice, buried.

On the 17th, the Lord Stourton came from the Tower with one of his men unto Westminster, before the Council and judges; where the evidence was declared before his own face, and he could not deny it. 313

Lord Stourton brought to Westminster.

And on the next day, four of his servants came from the Tower, unto the Lord Privy Seal's, before certain of the Council: and were there examined of the death of Mr. Argyl and his son; and after carried back again.

His servants examined.

On the 26th, the Lord Stourton was arraigned at Westminster-hall, before the judges and divers of the Council: as the Lord Chief Justice Brokes, the Lord Steward, Lord Treasurer, and divers others, lords and knights. It was long ere he would answer, till at last the Lord Chief Justice stood up, and declared to him, that if he would not answer to the charge laid against him, that he was to be pressed to death by the laws of the land. After which, he made his

And he and they condemned.

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answer, and was cast by his own words, and condemned to be hanged, together with his four men: and so to be carried to the Tower again, till they had a further commandment from the Council.

Earl of Sussex buried.

On the same 26th day, Henry Earl of Sussex, (who on the 17th died in Chanon-row,) at afternoon, was buried at St. Laurence Pountney, with a goodly hearse, and other appendages of funeral magnificence. He was knight of the noble order of the Garter, Viscount Fitzwater, Lord Egremont, and Burnel, chief justice, and justice in oyer of all the King and Queen's Majesty's forests, parks, chases, and warrens on this side Trent.

The Russe ambassador enters London.

The 27th day, the Duke of Moscovy's ambassador entered the city of London, accompanied with divers of the merchants of London, English, as well as strangers of all nations; who met him beyond Shoreditch in coats of velvet and of fine cloth, guarded with velvet, and with fringe of silk, and chains of gold: after, met him the Lord Mountacute, and divers other lords, knights, and gentlemen, gorgeously appareled. Then, at Smithfield, the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen in scarlet: the ambassador's garment was of tissue, embroidered with pearls and stones; his cap and his nightcap set with the same: and his men in coarse cloth of gold, down to the calf of the leg, like gowns, and on their heads high coping caps. He was conducted to Mr. Dymock's, the merchant, his place in Fanchurch-street.

March.

Lord Stourton conveyed to Salisbury.

On the 2d of March, the Lord Stourton rode from the Tower with Sir Robert Oxenbridge, the lieutenant, and four of his servants, with certain of the guard, through London towards Salisbury, where he was to be executed. The first night they lay at Hounslow, the morrow after, they came to Stains, thence to Basingstoke, and so to Salisbury, where he suffered the death he well deserved. For his and his men's crimes were heinous, as shall be shewed hereafter. Execution was done upon him March the 6th, in the market-place; and them in the country near the place where the murder was done: this lord made great lamentation at his death for his wilful and impious deed.

March 5, Sir Edward Mountague, late lord chief justice of England, was buried in Northamptonshire, with an hearse of wax, and other decencies suitable to his quality.

And on the 6th, Sir Oliver Leader, knight, was buried in Huntingdonshire, with an hearse of wax.

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Sir Edward Mountague buried; And Sir Oliver Leader.

On the 17th, the Lord Robert Duddley, having been beyond sea with King Philip, came riding unto the Queen at the Court at Greenwich, with letters; and after him Mr. Kemp, of the privy chamber, importing, that the King would be at Calais the 17th day instant.

Lord Robert Duddley comes from King Philip.

The same day Dr. Watson, the new bishop elect of Lincoln, preached before the Queen.

Bishop of Lincoln preaches before the Queen.

On the 18th was celebrated the month's mind of the Earl of Sussex, and his hearse burning with tapers, and standing till dirge and mass done. On the morrow after, it was taken down, Mr. Garter being present to see the standard, the helmet, target, coat, and banner set up over him, with all things belonging thereunto.

Earl of Sussex month's mind.

On the 20th of March, the King came to Greenwich, at five at night. At the same time came a ship up by the tide, and coming against the court gates, discharged sixteen pieces thrice, being very great guns, with a loud cry, *God save the King and Queen!* and the next day the King and Queen went through the gallery unto their closet, where they heard mass; there were two swords borne afore them; the one borne by the Lord Cobham, the other by the Lord Admiral: from their closet they went both to dinner together; there were present the Lord Chancellor, and divers other lords.

King Philip comes to Greenwich.

The same 21st day, in the afternoon, came down a commandment to the Bishop of London, that every church in London should sing *Te Deum laudamus;* and to have ringing all the while, with great praise to God for the King's safe return.

Commandment for Te Deum.

Two days after, *viz.* the 23d, a commandment came to the city, that the King and Queen intending to ride from the Tower-wharf through London, with the nobles of the realm, both lords and ladies, preparation should be made accordingly. Therefore at Tower-wharf the Lord Mayor

Lord Mayor and Aldermen meet the King and Queen.

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met them with the Sheriffs and Aldermen, the Mayor bearing the sword before the King and Queen; all the corporations, in their liveries, standing orderly along the streets, trumpets blowing, and other instruments playing, great shooting off of guns at the Tower, and the waits playing on the leads of St. Peter's in Cheap.

Edward the Confessor taken up.

On the same day the King came to Greenwich, *viz.* the 20th, (whether for a good omen, or accidentally,) the body of King Edward the Confessor was, with the ceremony of an hundred lights, taken up in the same place where his shrine was, and where he laid when the abbey was spoiled and robbed. It was a goodly sight, saith my diarist, to have seen how reverendly he was carried from that place, with goodly singing, and censing, and mass sung: it was the abbot's intent to set up the shrine again, as soon as he could have it done, expecting, no question, great devotions to be paid there, and good presents made.

Many things yet remain to be related, to take a full prospect of this fourth year of the Queen.

315 Cheke recants.

In this year the ingenious, learned, and pious Sir John Cheke, schoolmaster to the late King Edward, and a privy counsellor to him, and all along a most earnest professor of the gospel, partly by the incessant importunity of others, partly by his own fear, made a shameful recantation, once before Cardinal Pole, and again before the Queen and the Court at St. James's.

His preferment to Court.

He was first brought to Court in King Henry VIII.'s time, by Dr. Butts, that King's physician, (who was his great patron, and whom Cheke called *his father*, and styled himself *his son*,) to be tutor to the young Prince. He was one of the greatest lights of learning and true goodness in the University of Cambridge: where he, by his influence, did extraordinarily promote solid learning and piety; and being transplanted to Court, was a great instrument of vindicating and encouraging truth and sobriety, and all human learning there, especially to the young nobility, as well as to the young Prince; to whom he was an happy schoolmaster, by informing his tender youth in excellent manners, and fur-

nishing him with learning beyond his years. He was pardoned with the rest for his tampering in Queen Jane's business, in which he was earnest, as were many other good people, out of fear of the sad times that were like to ensue, if the Lady Mary should obtain the crown of this realm: but when she came to reign, he found that this land, under a papal government, would not be for him, and therefore travelled abroad, (but with leave,) for the safety of his conscience. He took this opportunity to see Rome, and took Basil in his way, and saw the learned men there. Anno 1556.

How taken, brought to the Tower, and dealt with there.

In the latter end of the year 1555, I find him at Strasburgh; for I have seen a letter of his, writ thence in the month of February, to Sir William Cecyl: from hence taking a journey in the spring, to give a visit to two of his old learned friends, the Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, who came into those parts upon public business: in his return from Brussels towards Antwerp, he, with Sir Peter Carew, his companion, by King Philip's secret commandment, was suddenly apprehended in the way by the provost marshal, bound and thrown into a cart, with his legs, arms, and body tied to it, and so conveyed on shipboard, brought a prisoner into England, and clapped up, as some great malefactor, in the Tower of London: and at length was forced to acknowledge and subscribe to the popish doctrines, and recant publicly his former good profession of the gospel, there being no other way to save himself from burning. His allegations of some church writers, with his subscription to the carnal presence in the sacrament, a letter dated July 15th, to Cardinal Pole upon that subscription, and another of the same date to the Queen, mentioning his present mind in religion, with which the Dean of Paul's had acquainted her, with suit to her for his liberty, I have preserved in the Catalogue, as I transcribed them from the originals. N°. LIII, LIV, LV.

After two long recantations were spoken by him, (so much against his conscience and will,) one before the Queen, and another before the Cardinal, he was not yet done with, but was to perform certain penances and satisfactions, which the said Cardinal, Lord Legate, put upon him, and which he

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promised publicly, in his recantation, to submit to, how sore soever they were, suing to be absolved and received into the Church; and so at last he was graciously admitted a member of the Catholic Church.

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Cheke's tears.

This pretended conversion was accompanied, in this miserable gentleman, with abundance of bitter tears secretly by himself, as well as before Dr. Fecknam, the dean of St. Paul's, his ghostly father: and that because, as he told him, he had with Peter denied Christ, and therefore wept bitterly with Peter, as the said doctor hinted in his speech to the Queen: but in whatever sense he and the auditors took it, it was surely his true meaning, that he had so foully denied Christ, by denying that holy and good profession which he had so long and so earnestly stuck unto.

His liberty and death.

Cheke, after all this hard drudgery which they had made him pass through, (and yet he must publicly applaud the mercifulness of his enemies,) he was still kept in prison, and afterward forced to consort with them, and sometimes dined among them, and sat upon the bench with Boner, when he was trying some of the professors; whereby they still made a farther triumph of him. But at length having his liberty, he retired to the house of his old learned friend, Mr. Peter Osborn, living in the parish of St. Alban's, Wood-street, where he fell into exceeding melancholy and trouble of mind, and in great repentances ended his miserable life within less than a year after, and lies buried in the church of the said parish: in the north chapel of the choir of which church there was, before the fire of London, a fair plated gravestone, which lay upon him, with the date of his death, *viz.* Sept. 13, 1557, and a copy of verses: for the preserving the memory of which monument and epitaph we are beholding to Mr. Stow. The verses were;

Survey of London.

Doctrinæ lumen Checus, morumque magister,
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.
Non erat e multis unus, sed is omnibus unus
Profuit, et patriæ lux erat ille suæ.
Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent.

Which verses were composed by his great friend and acquaintance, the elegant Dr. Walter Haddon. CHAP. XXXIX.

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I shall make only one remark more on this gentleman; and that is this, that it was but a little before his captivity, that he wrote a letter from Strasburgh to one who was thought to have made some kind of compliance with the times. It was Sir William Cecyl, his dear friend and brother; wherein he did most earnestly require him to hold fast his religion, and to take heed how he did in the least warp and strain his conscience, by any compliance for his worldly security. And yet, when it came to the pinch, how unable was he to take his own counsel; so that he might say truly with the poet,

Et monitis sum minor ipse meis.

So weak are the most resolved and best men to withstand violent temptations, when they assault them, without the 317
mighty grace of God. This was the contemplation of Archbishop Parker, when he thought of Sir John Cheke's fall: he writing on the margin of his recantation, and letter of submission to the Queen, *Homines sumus; We are but men.*

Those that are minded to know more of this worthy man may read his life, written in the year 1705.

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A match intended for the Lady Elizabeth. The Queen writes to King Philip about it. The beginning of the traffick into Russia. A dearth. Ponet's apology.

IN this year, as near as I can lay it, King Philip being abroad, propounded to his wife Queen Mary, the Duke of Savoy for an husband to the Lady Elizabeth, her sister. It seemed to be done upon some consideration of policy; perhaps to gain the said Duke, or keep him fast on his side against France, with whose king, Philip was now in hostility. This Duke the ensuing year was the King's general

King Philip proposes a match for the Lady Elizabeth.

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at the siege of St. Quintin. The King of Sweden had lately been a suitor to this lady by his ambassador, without acquainting the Queen first with it. The said lady took hold of this absolutely to give an answer of denial, for attempting to move such a thing in such a disorderly manner. Which the Queen, when she was made acquainted with it, did much approve of in her sister, and signified as much to her by her keeper, Sir Thomas Pope; who at that time took occasion, by some intimation, as it seems, from the Queen, to make another motion, to feel how she stood affected to the Duke of Savoy, by saying to her, that he thought few or none would believe, but that her Grace could be right well contented to marry, so it were some honourable marriage offered her by the Queen's Highness, or by her Majesty's assent. To whom she replied, "assuring him, upon her truth "and fidelity, and as God should be merciful unto her, that "she would not change her condition, though she were of-"fered the greatest prince in all Europe." Which answer Pope signified unto the Queen.

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The Queen backward to it.

This, I suppose, was the cause the Queen was backward to press to her the King's desire of her matching with the said Duke. The King had employed some of his friars, and particularly Alphonsus, a Franciscan, and his confessor, to discourse with her about this marriage: but she let them know, that her conscience was not well satisfied in it, and desired it might be deferred for a little while, and thought it proper to be done by Parliament; for she feared, without the consent of a Parliament, in the end, neither his Highness nor the realm would be well served. Her dissatisfaction in point of conscience doth not appear; whether it were, that her sister having declared so resolutely her present aversion to marriage, she could not in conscience force her now upon
318 it; or that she could not answer it to her conscience, to undervalue her sister, in matching her to any under the quality of a crowned head. But Alphonsus (whose office it seems it was to resolve the Queen's conscience in her scruple) asked her several odd questions; as, Who was king in

Adam's time? And said, she was bound to make this marriage by an article of her Creed. Which were such obscure reasonings, that she understood them not; much less could receive satisfaction to her conscience thence, as she signified to the King in a letter, in answer to one from him. Who in a grave, haughty, and not very obliging manner, "bade her examine her own conscience, if it were conformable to truth; and that it might be obstinacy, rather than conscience; adding, that if any Parliament went contrary to this request of his, he would lay the fault upon her."

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Her letter to the King thereupon.

She, in her answer, right humbly beseeched him to appoint some person, whomsoever he pleased, to confer with her, and she would hear them with all her heart, and protested, upon her fidelity to him, that they should not find her obstinate, nor, she hoped, without reason. But she, in all lowliness, prayed him to defer this matter till his return into England, and then he should judge whether she were blameworthy or no: that otherwise she should live in jealousy of his Highness's affection, which would be worse to her than death; of which, as she wrote, she had begun to taste already, to her great regret; and that, in her simple judgment under his Highness's correction, since the Duke of Savoy would be presently in arms, and that some of her council and nobility were abroad with his Highness, the thing could not come to the conclusion he desired, without his own presence, however well her conscience should be satisfied: therefore she prayed him, in as humble manner as was possible for one who was his most loyal and most obedient wife, which she acknowledged herself most obliged to be, and that above all other women, having such an husband as his Highness was, not to speak of the multitude of his kingdoms, for that was not her principal foundation; that they both might make their prayers to God, and put their confidence in him, that they should live, and meet together; and that the same God, who had the hearts of kings in his hands, would, she hoped, without fail, enlighten them in such sort, that the end would tend to God's glory and his content. And in this

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submissive strain did the Queen's letter run, which may be read in the Catalogue. Where it may be observed in what haughtiness King Philip carried himself towards Queen Mary, and with what profound respect and observance she behaved herself towards him; and from both one may conclude, that she had no great matter of joy in her marriage.

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A conjecture concerning the said letter.

But while I weigh well the Queen's letter, it may seem to relate to some more weighty affair than that proposition of marriage for the Lady Elizabeth. And if we may allow the word *marriage* in the letter to be a *jargon*, one might understand it to be a secret phrase used between the King and her for the war, which he laboured to induce her to enter into with France, with which realm as yet she was in league, and against her breaking with that mighty crown tended one of the articles of marriage with the King. Which
319 probably was the cause that she in her letter so much urged her conscience, and so earnestly desired the business might be deferred, and referred to a Parliament. But this must be left to conjecture. It is sure by this means it came about that the Queen, to her cost, proclaimed war with France.

The Russia company incorporated.

The merchant adventurers to Moscovy were the last year incorporated by the Queen into a company, consisting of four consuls and twenty-four assistants. And Sebastian Cabota, born in Bristow, of Genoese parents, who was the chief setter forth of the first voyage into those parts, was constituted the first governor thereof, during his life: for in the year 1553, under King Edward, many of the nobility, as namely, William Marquis of Winchester, lord high treasurer, Henry Earl of Arundel, lord steward of the household, John Earl of Bedford, lord keeper of the privy seal, William Earl of Pembroke, William Lord Howard of Effingham, with many aldermen and merchants of London, as Sir George Barnes, Sir John Gresham, Sir Andrew Judd, Sir Thomas White, Sir John York, William Garret, Anthony Husie, John Southcote, and divers others, (the King also having made them a corporation,) did at their own adventures, costs, and charges, provide, rig, and tackle three ships; one named the Edward Bonadventure, of 160

tons, Richard Chancellor captain and pilot general, a man of a great wit, brought up under Sir Henry Sydney, to discover, descry, and find isles, lands, territories, and dominions unknown, northwards, north-eastwards, and north-westwards: but Sir Hugh Willoughby, a most accomplished gentleman and brave soldier, was the general of the voyage, with command and authority over the rest. He went in the Bona Esperanza, the admiral, of 120 tons. The third ship was called the Confidentia, of 90 tons; a pinnace and a boat belonging to each. In this voyage Sir Hugh Willoughby was froze to death sitting in his cabin. Chancellor alone arrived safe at St. Nicholas port in Russia; and travelling to the Emperor's Court, delivered the King's letters to him. He returned safe home, bringing along with him the Emperor's letters, dated in February 1554, to King Edward, granting free leave of traffick in any parts of his dominions. In the year 1555, Queen Mary sent letters, dated April 1, to the said Emperor or Great Duke, in answer to his writ the year before; and Richard Chancellor was despatched with them upon a second voyage to Russia.

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The Emperor of Moscow sends an ambassador into England.

In this year 1556 the said Emperor sent his ambassador for England, named Osep (or Joseph) Napea Gregoriwich, the Emperor's high officer in the town and country of Vologda. He came on board the Edward Bonadventure, the said Chancellor captain, in company with three other ships, *viz.* the Bona Esperanza, the Philip and Mary, and the Confidentia; but the Bonadventure was forced into a bay in Scotland, and there lost; the ambassador and a few of his men were narrowly saved; Chancellor himself most unhappily drowned. The Queen sent Dr. Laurence Hussey, a civilian, and George Gilpin, into Scotland, to wait upon the ambassador in his distress, and to supply him with what he needed: and by them he was conducted into England, and brought to London with all the state that could be, and thence to the Queen with great honour. Soon after, she sent the Bishop of Ely and Sir William Petre, her secretary, 320 to treat and confer with him. The English merchants found that he was not so conformable to reason, as at first

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they thought he should have been; being very mistrustful, and thinking every man would beguile him: which made them afterwards to advise their factors there, that they should take heed how they had to do with the Russes; to make their bargains plain, and to set them down in writing: for that they were subtile people, and did not always speak the truth, and thought other men to be like themselves. But finally a league was concluded, and articles of amity agreed upon. And Osep being ready to depart, May 1, next year, 1557, the Bishop of Ely and Sir William Petre, on the behalf of the King and Queen, repaired to him, and with the Queen's letters, delivered him noble presents for the Emperor, and gifts to himself: and so he went aboard an English ship called the Primrose, Anthony Jenkinson commander, then admiral of the fleet going for Russia, the John Evangelist, the Ann and Trinity, being the other.

These transactions and navigations into these northern parts may be seen more at large in Hackluit's Navigations, vol. i.

Some die by famine. Stow's Annals.

The last year and this, the realm was afflicted with a pinching dearth of all manner of things, especially of corn, by unseasonable weather. Wheat was sold for four marks the quarter, malt for forty-four shillings the quarter, and peas at forty-six shillings and eight pence the quarter, and beans and rye at forty shillings the quarter: insomuch that the people were fain to eat acorns for their bread, and a great number of poor people died for hunger in many places.

Coop. Chron.

Burning fevers.

Now also began the hot burning fevers, and other strange diseases, that increased more the two years following. These miseries one of the exiles, namely, Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, made to be the effect of God's anger, for the present persecution of good men, and putting out the light of the gospel. For thus he writes in a book made about these times, comparing the dearth in King Edward's days and in Queen Mary's together.

The famine in King Edward's days and Queen

"England hath had many great droughts and dearths, "both in the time of popery and the gospel; but if ye "mark it well, you shall find great diversity between them.

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Anno 1556. Mary's compared. Exposit. upon Aggee.

" In the dearths under the gospel, it was not for want of " things, that God did not send them plenteously, but " through the wickedness of men, which, in so great plenty " and blessings of God, made a needless dearth: for farms " were raised, that farmers might not foorthe [afford] to sell " as they were wont. Many things were gotten into few " men's hands, and they would sell as they list, and not as " things were worth according to charity, being content with " reasonable gains. Corn was carried out of the realm, or " sold through many men's hands or it came to the markets; " and every one would raise the price, and have some part " of gains. Some would feed their hogs with it, or else let " it be foist in their barns, and eaten with mice, rather than " they would bring it to the market to pull down the price. " Men of honour and worship were become sheepmasters " and graziers: tillage was turned into pasture, and towns " into graunges. And all, not to make things cheaper, " which might have been suffered, but dearer, which was 321 " and is devilish.

" But since the Pope was restored," as he proceeded, " ye " have had unseasonable weather: the earth hath not " brought forth her fruit, and strangers have devoured " much of that which ye had. All your Latin processions " and singing of gospels under bushes, nor yet your *Ora pro* " *nobis*, can get you God's blessing, but rather increase his " anger. When were ye compelled to eat acorns for bread, " but in your popery, and falling from God? When was " London full of gallows to bring in strangers, but in po- " pery? When was Calais lost, but in popery? When was " Boloign gotten, and the Scots vanquished so manfully, as " under the gospel? But this was the greatest plague of " all, and least regarded of you, that the heavenly comfort " of God's word was locked up from you, and the comforta- " ble dew of God's favour did not fall upon you; nor your " earthly hearts could bring forth good fruits and works of " repentance. And so the curse was fulfilled on you: as it " is written, *I will send an hunger into the earth; not an* " *hunger of bread, but an hunger to hear the word of God:*

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" *that you shall go from the east unto the west to hear it,* " *and shall not find it.*"

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Ponet's book in answer to Martin.

Dr. Martin having set forth a book against priests' marriage, (mentioned under the year 1554,) and taking upon him, in several chapters thereof, to answer to a book published by Dr. Ponet, or Poinet, about seven years ago, in favour of priests' marriage; the same Ponet this year published a treatise, wherein he learnedly confuted his adversary. This was only the first part of his answer, intending shortly to publish the second. It was entitled, *An Apology, fully answering, by Scriptures and ancient Doctors, a blasphemous book, gathered by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, of late Lord Chancellor, Dr. Smith of Oxford, Pighius, and other Papists, as by their books appeareth; and of late set forth under the name of Tho. Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws, (as of himself he saith,) against the godly Marriage of Priests. Wherein divers other matters, which the Papists defend, be so confuted, that in Martin's overthrow they may see their own impudence and confusion. By John Ponet, D. D. and Bishop of Winchester.* Then is added, that the author desired the reader would content himself with his first book, until he might have leisure to set forth the next; which should be, by God's grace, shortly: but he shortly after died, and so that book remained in MS. till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when, having fallen into the hands of Archbishop Parker, he printed it, concealing the name, with certain large additions of his own.

Some account of it.

The preface to this book now set forth began thus; " The " Lord Jesus help and assist us with his holy Spirit. Where " shall I first begin? or rather, where may I not begin? " Both these questions have some little doubt, good reader. " The number of matters, which Martin in his book (as " one that would seem to know all things) taketh upon him " to determine and discuss, causeth my doubting of the " one; and the multitude of his slights, shifts, and shameful
322 " lies, of the other," &c. I think it not amiss to set down some extracts out of this learned book, being now, in effect, after so long a time, lost to the world.

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And first, Whereas Martin has dedicated his book to Queen Mary, then a virgin, Ponet shewed his uncivil, rude language, unbeseeming the modesty of a virgin to see or hear; reproving him for offending her ears with such ungodly and unchaste beastliness and railing as was in that epistle: as, where he used the terms of *detestable bawdry*, of *stinking lechery*, *beastly lechery*, *common concubines*, and *common strumpets*, *lecherous* and *filthy beasts*; his heathenish, and ruffian-like, and abominable talk, in abusing the word *carnis resurrectionem*, being an article of every Christian's faith; with a number of such like, or more wicked terms. "O Lord," added he, "is honesty so much decayed, "that any man dare be so bold to occupy the chaste ears "of a Christian creature, but chiefly of a Queen, with such "whorish and ethnical talk?" Martin had been the lord of misrule's buffoon, one Christmas, in Oxon. Ponet took advantage hence to tell him sharply, "that in playing the "Christmas lord's minion, in New college in Oxford, in his "fool's coat, he did learn his boldness, and lost his wit, and "began to put off all shame, and to put on all impudence." He told him moreover, "that though the Queen's pleasure "were, that this evil argument against the holy matrimony "of priests should go abroad under her defence, that so the "same, though it were an ill matter, should have as good a "visor put upon it as might be, and that in such sort, as "the world that now is might perceive how by zeal she "was carried to favour superstition; yet that the posterity "which should follow this age might understand she re-"joiced not in such vile and beastly spirits; though lying "[of which that book abounded] were allowed, by reason "of her ignorance." And for this cause he blamed those that were about the Queen, saying, that this book of Martin's should not have been allowed, for avoiding rebuke, that might redound to her Grace hereafter.

He reproves Martin for dedicating his book to the Queen.

And whereas the title of Martin's book was, *A Treatise, declaring, and plainly proving, that the pretended marriage of priests and professed persons is no marriage, but altogether unlawful*, &c. Ponet first confuted the asser-

Confutes his calling priests' marriage no marriage.

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tion, that it was *no marriage*. And here he called him to answer him by his law, if he had any, to this reason: where there is no marriage there needs no divorce; but the proceedings of the Queen and the bishops, and of all the lawyers in England, declared, that a divorce is needful of priests' marriage, before they be again admitted to the ministry, or that the wife may marry again. *Ergo*, the Queen, the bishops, and all the lawyers in England, conclude the priests' marriage is a marriage. My reason, said he, stands upon this ground, *Privatio ante requirit habitum*. The taking away of a thing presupposeth that such a thing there was. And the breaking of a knot proveth that there was a knot, in all men's judgments. And that such a divorce was needful, the lawyers themselves declare, granting that such a solemn act as matrimony is, cannot, without another solemn act, be undone again: whereof the learned
323 lawyers were not ignorant. Secondly, If the marriage of the priests in England were no marriage, then is their divorce no divorce: for divorce supposeth a marriage, and if it be a marriage and a divorce, it followeth, that they be all God's enemies who either move or suffer in England priests' wives to marry again other husbands, seeing the divorce is not for adultery. Thirdly, "If popish heretics say, that "marriage is a sacrament of the New Testament, (though "indeed it were instituted in Paradise before Adam's trans-"gression,) and therewith also you maintain and defend, "that *sacramenta conferunt gratiam ex opere operato, the* "*sacraments confer grace by virtue of the work wrought:* "and upon that ground ye christen bells and churches, &c. "But if this, being, as ye term it, a sacrament of the New "Testament, and ministered by a minister to a priest and "a maiden, be not able to make a marriage, then should "not sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato;* which "among the Papists is a great absurdity and inconveni-"ence. And Optatus, the great, learned, ancient, and holy "writer, whom ye allege as one that maketh for your pur-"pose, (and therefore can you not with honesty refuse "him,) saith in his sixth book against the Donatists, *Si sit*

" *invocatio nominis Dei, sanctificat et quod pollutum esse* " *videbatur.* Which words of Optatus, by you (though in " other matters) approved, shew plainly, that if the mar- " riage of priests were a thing unclean, yet is the same, by " means of the invocation of God's holy name, made clean, " pure, and holy. And Clemens Alexandrinus writes, 'Αγιά- " ζεται γὰρ οὖν καὶ γάμος κατὰ λόγον τελούμενος. *Marriage is* " *made holy, that is concluded by the ministry of God's word.*

Περὶ Στρωμ. lib. 4.

" Fourthly, It appears by the Pope's own decrees, that Pope " Syricius, being our extreme enemy, and one of the first " that forbad the marriage of priests, speaking against the " same marriages as much as he might, calleth the priests' " wives, *suas uxores, their own wives.*" Which thing he would not have done, being their adversary, if he had taken their marriages to be no marriage.

Di. 82. C. Plurimos.

And secondly, Whereas Martin, in the title of his book, had charged these marriages to be *unlawful*, Ponet meets with him here by confronting him with councils, fathers, and acts of Parliament. He shewed him, how one of the first and most ancient councils after the apostles, *viz.* the Nicene Council, called the marriages of priests *legales nuptias, lawful marriages.* When suggestion was made, that priests should not sleep with their wives, they determined, saying, *Legales nuptias a modo valere volumus: We will that lawful marriages from henceforth shall stand in force.* And Epiphanius, speaking of them that had made a vow, and afterwards turned to marriage, said, *Melius est lapsum,* &c. " It is better for him that is fallen in his course," (meaning them that cannot continue the thing that they have vowed,) " to take a wife openly according to the law, " and so to be restored to the Church again, as one that " before hath done evil, as one that hath fallen, and hath " been broken, and hath now need to be bound; and not " daily to be inwardly wounded by secret darts, wherewith " the Devil continually doth assault them." " Lo! here " Epiphanius," saith Ponet, " doth not only allow marriage " of priests, and votaries before priesthood and vowing, but " also after priesthood and vowing; and nameth the mar-

And that they were unlawful.

Contr. Catharos. Hær. 59.

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" riage done in such case *lawful;* and that marriage, after " their vow so broken, is a mean to restore them again to " the Church, if they were fallen from it by breaking of " their vow. And this place of Epiphanius answereth fully " all other places of him, which by Martin and other Pa- " pists be writhed to the contrary." To which he added a testimony out of St. Austin, who, he said, made a plain resolution in this matter, as well against Martin, as against all the rest of the popish rout in Christendom: where, speaking of them that marry after they have vowed, he saith in plain words, *Non ipsæ nuptiæ vel talium damnandæ judicantur;* that is, *The marriage even of such as marry after they have vowed are not to be condemned.* And he made a good note here, how this pregnant place of St. Austin was falsified by Pighius: where, for *vel talium*, he had corruptly put in *velut malum*, whereupon the whole matter standeth. And a little after he bringeth in St. Austin, speaking thus: *Proinde qui talium nuptias dicunt non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, non mihi videntur satis accurate et diligenter considerare, quid dicunt*, &c. That is, " Moreover, they who call such marriages no marriages, " but rather adulteries, seem to me not closely and care- " fully enough to consider what they say. For by means " of this inconsiderate opinion, whereby they think the mar- " riage of such professed women as have forsaken their vow " is no marriage; if they marry, there cometh no small incon- " venience: which inconvenience is this, wives be separate " from their husbands, as though they were whores, and " not wives. And when they will restore the divorced to " sole life, their husbands are compelled to be very adul- " terers, when their own wives, being alive, marry other " husbands."

De bono viduitatis.

Controvers. 15.

Lastly, Ponet argued from a late act of Parliament: " What needed an act of Parliament, in the first year of the " Queen's reign, to repeal the statute made for priests' mar- " riages, if priests' marriage were no marriage? And why " doth that act name it the *marriage of priests*, and not a " *pretensed* marriage, as Martin did? And last of all, If

"priest marriage be no marriage, what cause, I pray you, "had the Queen and the bishops to deprive the married "bishops and priests of England from their benefices? they "were not deprived for ignorance in God's word, neither "for not doing their duty, nor for gluttoning nor swearing, "nor diceing nor hunting, nor buggery nor whoredom, "(for these be common faults among all your priests now-"adays.) Other fault there was none known, but only "that they were married: though for the lawfulness of "their marriage, besides God's plain word, and godly ca-"nons and doctors, they had the consent of the King, and "supreme head, under Christ, of the Church, and of this "Parliament and realm; and that joined with the consent "of the congregations assembled where they were mar-"ried." Anno 1556.

The filthiness of the pretenders to the single life.

Ponet also exposed these sanctimonious pretenders to a single life, by the horrible uncleannesses they were guilty of. "When a strait life," said he, "is joined with a false-"hood, as it is in all the Pope's creatures, and other secta-"ries and heretics, the members of Antichrist, there is no-"thing more perilous than straitness of life. What a le-"cherous life led the holy maid of Lymster, pretending "her food to be nothing else but the mass-cake; as Sir "Thomas More witnesseth in his dialogue. What bawdry 325
"practised the holy, nay, the devilish maid of Kent, with "monks, friars, and priests, under colour of strait nunnish "life, as appeareth partly by the act of Parliament, but "more largely in the book of her life. And within this "eight years, [that is, about the year 1548,] was there not "a holy man, named Master Doctor Boord, a physician, Dr. Boord. "that thrice in the week would drink nothing but water, "such a proctor for the Papists then, as Martin the lawyer "is now, who, under the colour of virginity, and wearing "a shirt of hair, and hanging his shroud and socking, or "burial sheet, at his bedsfeet, and mortifying his body, "and straitness of life, kept three whores at once in his "chamber at Winchester, to serve not only himself, but "to help his virgin-priests about in the country, as it was

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"proved; that they might with more ease, and less pain, "keep their blessed virginity? This thing is so true, and "was so notoriously known, that the matter came to exa- "mination of the justices of peace; of whom divers be yet "living, as Sir John Kingsmill, Sir Henry Semar, &c. and "was before them confessed; and his shroud and shirt of "hair openly shewed; and his harlots, openly in the streets "and great church of Winchester, punished. These be "known stories, which Martin and his Papists cannot deny; "and they know well enough themselves, that there be of "the like thousands, which I omit for briefness."

Martin rebuked for his ill words of marriage,

And therefore our author rebuketh Martin for his ill words so often flung out against the holy state of matrimony, that he could give it no praise or commendation in any kind of people, but termed it sometimes *carnal liberty;* sometimes *the basest state of life* in the Church of God; sometimes, that it is a let for a man to give himself wholly to God; sometimes a *colour of bawdry;* sometimes, that it is a doubling, rather than a taking away the desire of the flesh; making himself therein wiser than God, who gave it for a remedy against the lasciviousness of the flesh, as God witnessed, when he said, *Faciamus ei adjutorium, Let us make Adam a helper.* And in the leaves 121 and 122 of his book, he went about to prove by St. Paul, that all men should avoid marriage; whereby he confirmed the opinion of Montanus, Tatianus, and such other abominable heretics.

And for his slandering King Edward's preachers,

Ponet took notice of those false charges and accusations Martin laid upon the ministers of King Edward. "The "new superintendency," said Martin, [meaning the gospel-bishops and preachers,] "in blessed King Edward the "Sixth's days, taught all one doctrine with Jovinian: "which was," as Martin alleged, "*Fast seldom, but marry* "*often: for ye cannot consummate the work of matrimony,* "*unless ye eat and drink delicately.*" But Ponet told him, that hence his ignorance appeared; for those were none of Jovinian's words, but feigned by St. Hierom, and only ironically objected to him, as agreeable to his doctrine. And

then, for the vindication of the ministers and doctrine under King Edward, thus did he bespeak his antagonist: "I "pray thee, Martin, how canst thou justify this was the "doctrine of the preachers in England, whom thou contu- "meliously callest *superintendents?* Our whole doctrine, "wherein we consented, touching fasting, prayer, and mar- "riage, is plainly and fully set forth in the Book of Com- "mon Prayers, the Homilies, the Catechisms, and the Arti- "cles, whereupon the whole realm concluded: if thou canst "find in these books any such doctrine, then thou mayest "say, that we agree with Jovinian. If thou canst not find "this doctrine, then we may boldly say, that thou beliest "us. Our doctrine was not kept so secret, but that it was "not only preached, but also printed; and so printed, that "it hath the testimony of the whole realm, and is safely "enough preserved out of the hands of the proudest of "you.——And touching your lies, that ye charge us, as "teachers of carnal liberty, there were sundry special ho- "milies, which shall be a witness that thou and thy fellows "be liars, as long as thy book shall continue; yea, as long "as the world shall continue, though ye slander, rail, and "rage, until your bellies burst in pieces: yea, and burn "that book as fast as ye will, [and burn them they did, as "many as they could get,] there will be copies enough left "to print a thousand in a month."

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Besides all this, Ponet vindicated Martin Luther against a common falsehood raised of him, and which Martin thrust into his book; namely, that Luther had writ in his book, De Captivitate Babylonica, *Si uxor non possit, aut non vult, ancilla venito;* that is, *If the wife cannot, or will not, let the maid come.* Whereupon thus our author accosts Martin: "Speak again, Martin, where saith Luther these "words? Thou sayest, In his book *De Captiv. Babylonica.* "The selfsame lie maketh Pighius of Luther. Take that "book in thy hand, good reader, and read it over, and "when thou findest there as Martin doth report, let it be "said, that I have slandered Martin: if not, conclude with "me, that he is a lying witness, and one of those doctors

And Luther.

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"whom St. Paul calleth *pseudo-prophetas in populo, et "falsos doctores, qui clam inducent sectas perniciosas.* I "assure thee, good reader, that this is a foul lie, that Mar- "tin the liar, and Pighius, his fellow, maketh of Luther: "for that saying, which they allege in Latin, as though it "had been so by Luther penned, is not in all that book, "where Martin most shamefully avoucheth the same to be. "——I will not hide from thee, good reader, Luther's "judgment in that book concerning that matter. In one "place there, speaking of the impediments of matrimony, "he saith, that if the man be such an one by nature, that "it is impossible for him to do the duty of an husband, "then his contract with a woman shall not bind her to be "his wife. And this is the reason, *Quia error et ignoran- "tia virilis impotentiæ hic impedit matrimonium.* Which "saying, if you Papists condemn, ye condemn the doctrine "of your own father, the Pope himself. For Gregory, "bishop of Rome, writing to the Bishop of Ravenna, saith "on this wise; *Vir et mulier si se conjunxerint*, &c. *If a "man and a woman be married together, and the woman "afterwards say, that the man can have no carnal know- "ledge of her, and can bring forth lawful proof thereof, "let her take another.* And the selfsame doctrine is largely "set forth by the Master of the Sentences.——If Martin "were not shameless, I could not but marvel why he "should so report of Luther, concerning his doctrine of "matrimony in that book: for he is there so wary in his "words, and so circumspect with his pen, in that point, that
327 "he will define nothing; as by the very last words there, "intreating upon matrimony, it is most evident."

And King Henry.

Martin had railed against the famous prince King Henry VIII. father to the present Queen, under the name of the Emperor Michael Paleologus, and his uncle; comparing King Henry with him that had lost the empire to the Turk. This Emperor, as Martin hinted, fell into great troubles, after a contention he had with Pope Nicolas, for a pleasure the said Emperor shewed to his uncle, in putting away of his lawful wife, and marrying his daughter-in-law.

And then that author wished, that the like had not been practised elsewhere; meaning King Henry, in divorcing his queen Katharine, and marrying Ann Bolen. And that aforesaid story Martin pretended to have out of a Greek author. But Ponet shewed, that this could not be true of Michael Paleologus; for between the time of this Emperor and Pope Nicolas was the space of above four hundred years. For as there were several emperors named Michael, so the seventh and last only was surnamed Paleologus. Martin also, in this place, imputed the breach and contention between the Greek and Latin Church, and the overthrow both of the Grecian church and kingdom, to the lecherous life of the uncle of Michael Paleologus. But Ponet at large proved, that the Pope, the author of all mischief in the Church of God, was the only match that kindled this fire: for the Cardinal Bessarion, patriarch of Constantinople, and archbishop of Nicea, in his oration for the unity of the Greek and Latin Church, shewed that the Bishop of Rome, when he had called a general council, took upon him, upon his own private authority, to add this parcel, *i. e.* of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, to the common Creed, without the consent of the rest of the bishops there assembled. So that it was the rash and temerarious boldness of the Bishop of Rome that caused this dissension; who of his own authority would do that tumultuously, which he might have done with the consent of others quietly. And that was it, saith our author, that caused all the dissension that ensued, and also the later ruin, mischief, and destruction of the Turkish captivity.

Martin's error in history and chronology.

This book ends with the names of a number of old heretics condemned in the Church of God; out of whose heresies, opinions, and errors in doctrine, and strange behaviour in manners, diet, vesture, and life, the Papists have gathered their opinions and rules; whereby they had framed and couched together the whole body of their popish and heretical learning: as it was sufficiently proved by the testimony of old doctors and ancient writers in a part of his book: where their sundry opinions and behaviour, and the

The charge of heresy retorted upon Papists.

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opinions and behaviour of the popish sect, were so compared and joined together, that the reader might easily perceive how Popery is one most pestilent heresy, as the author said, mingled and made up of a multitude of other perilous and blasphemous heresies. This task Ponet undertook, because his adversary had been so liberal in calling the professors of the gospel *heretics*, and speaking much how heresy and lechery went together: therefore had Ponet spent one long chapter in his book, in joining with Martin and all the rest of his sect, for trial, as he said, whether of the two were

328 most worthy of the name of heretic. Having notably performed this, at the conclusion of his book, by way of a table, he sets down the names of some of the old heretics, of whom he charged the Papists to have gathered their opinions, and the years of our Lord when they lived; and the references to the pages, where the reader might find their agreement with the Papists. The list of these heretics is as follows:

Simon Magus.	Carpocrates.	Valentinus.
Ebion.	Saturninus.	Secundus, &c.
Basilides.	Gnostici.	

And so he proceeded, naming no less than one and fifty heretics; reaching to the heretics in the fifth century, *viz.* to the year 449. And then this conclusion he sets down at the end: "That Church which the Papists say is of Catho-"lics, is proved by the doctors a flock of heretics."

I may perhaps be thought to have been too tedious in the relation of the contents of this book: but it will be forgiven me by him that well considereth how very material the passages alleged are, to give some knowledge of this learned Bishop of King Edward's, and of the history of those times. And I hold it just, to retrieve such remarkable writings from utter oblivion, into which they are sinking, after such a revolution of years.

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Books published. Abjurations. Arians. Readers at Frankford. John Knox sent for to Scotland.

NEAR about this time also, and this year, was another book of the said Dr. Ponet's published, entitled, *A Treatise of Political Power, and of the true obedience which Subjects owe to Kings, and other civil Governors; being an answer to seven questions*, viz. Anno 1556. Ponet's book of Politic Power.

I. Whereof politic power groweth; whereof it was ordained, and the right use and duty of the same.

II. Whether kings, princes, and other governors, have an absolute power and authority over their subjects.

III. Whether kings, princes, and other politic governors, be subject to God's laws, and the positive laws of their country.

IV. In what things, and how far, subjects are bound to obey their princes and governors.

V. Whether all the subjects' goods be the Emperor's or King's own, and that they may lawfully take them as their own.

VI. Whether it be lawful to depose an evil governor, and kill a tyrant.

VII. What confidence is to be given to princes and potentates.

This book was not over favourable to princes. Their rigours and persecutions, and the arbitrary proceedings with their peaceable subjects in these times, put them upon examining the extent of their power, which some were willing to curtail and straiten as much as they could. 329

The printer, it seems, had got this book in manuscript into his hands, and printed it without the leave of the author, not knowing whether he was dead or no. In the epistle to the reader it is said, "The gravity of the work, the "soberness of the style, and the equity of the cause, joined "with substantial proofs, shewed a mighty zeal and a fer- "vent care of the author for his country." And the publisher addeth, "He put forth the work, to the intent the Printed after his death.

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" travail of the doer might not be lost, neither true English " hearts frustrate of so worthy an instruction." But, I suppose, if the author had been alive, (as he died this year,) he would not have permitted this his discourse upon so tender a subject, and so apt to be abused, to have gone abroad in all hands. This book was printed again in the year 1642, to serve the turn of those times.

A book comes forth of the Unity of the Church.

Another book appeared also abroad now, entitled, *Of the Unity of the Church;* dedicated, by the author unnamed, to Cardinal Pole, under this title, *To the most holy and godly Prince, Reginald Pole, Cardinal and Legate, honour, virtue, and grace from our Lord Jesus Christ.* Herein he hath these words: " That Christ's Church was never so " miserably tossed and turmoiled, especially within this " realm of England, with sects and divisions, as it hath " been of late years: whereas it hath not been only counted " lawful for the wicked to excogitate, to teach, to profess, " to maintain and defend errors and heretics without re- " straint; but also he that most vilely could defile his mo- " ther the Church, Christ's spouse, was best regarded, was " taken and accepted as the most honest, most excellent, " most worthy man, and best learned. Such were thought " most meet to examine causes, and bear rule in the com- " monwealth.——In other times, we read here of one he- " resy, and there of another; but in this season, which, " good Lord! what heresy, though long ago condemned " by Christ's Church, have they not stirred up again; and, " under the cloak and colour of Christian liberty, defended " the same, seeking still innovation, alteration, and utter " destruction of all godliness; still crying, *The primitive* " *Church, The primitive Church:* as though a child should " continue a child in the state of infancy, and never increase " further: not marking, that the truth was first sought, " then found, after believed, observed, and followed; and " is still of the faithful sort, from time to time to be kept, " without turning back. But they turned back from all " godliness, from all virtue, honesty, and grace; being far " unmeet therefore for the kingdom of God.——When we

" once fled forth of Peter's ship, we fell straightway headlong " into all licentious liberty. Then we forsaked utterly all " general councils, all ordinances from the beginning kept " in Christ's Church, all judgments upon Scripture, save " our own. Then of singularity we did select and choose " a new faith; every day changing and altering. And no " marvel, after that our noble Prince, through counsel of " some wicked men about him, took that in hand, which " never true Catholic king did usurp before him; that is to " say, to sit in Peter's chair. Since what time, O good " Lord, what miseries have we fallen into, as well bodily as " ghostly! But now, thanks be to Jesus Christ, which " through his mercy hath brought us again unto our mo- " ther the Catholic Church, even unto Peter's ship; and " Jesus long preserve her among us, by whose means we " were brought again into it." Thus did this author shew his zeal for Popery, and thought himself very dexterous in describing and disclaiming against the religion practised under King Edward.

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This was the sum of the epistle. The book consisted of sundry probations; whereof some did set forth St. Peter's pre-eminency above the other Apostles; some declared the most high authority and power given by Christ to him and his successors, to be above all others, both spiritual and temporal; and some did manifestly shew, (at least, as he pretended,) that no temporal magistrate, king, or emperor, could be head of the Church.

The Book of Statutes printed.

To these books I add the Statutes, this year also printed together, by Richard Totil, stationer. The book is but a little volume in octavo, however big the Statute-book since is swollen. Berthelet indeed had printed the statutes in a larger volume in English: but Totil now published them exactly according to the rolls of Parliament, in old Latin and French. And many faults in other printed books were here rectified and amended; the light of pointing adjoined; the chapters of the statutes truly divided, and noted with their due numbers; and in sundry places much added out of books of good credit. This Totil was a diligent and ju-

Totil the printer.

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dicious printer of law books: he was the first that printed the year books, and other books of the law, more correctly and methodically; which books were imperfect before, and very scarce to be had, which had caused the prices of them to be excessively high, the most part also of them marvellously mangled, and no small parts of them nowhere to be gotten. These imperfections and wants were supplied by him, and the prices of them eased, and the print much pleasanter to the eye in the books of years than any before; and the paper good, and margin fair. And no small number by him set forth, which were scarce to be found in writing before. He procured also learned helps, to print them the more correct from the ancient copies he made use of.

Langdale's book.

Langdale, who was one of the disputants upon the question of transubstantiation, when Ridley bishop of Rochester, and some others, visited the University of Cambridge in June 1549, the said Ridley then determining, did this year set forth a book to confute the determination of that pious father, and now martyr. It was entitled, *Albani Langdal. Confutatio Determinationis Nic. Ridlei.* Printed at Paris, in quarto. Which learned determination of Ridley is preserved in Fox's Martyrology, under the reign of King Edward.

P. 1261.

A Lasco's form of prayer printed.

The form of prayer and religious service used lately in the church of strangers in London, whereof A Lasco had been superintendent, was this year printed in French, entitled, *Toute la Forme et Manière du Ministère Ecclésiastique en l'Eglise des Estrangers, dressée à Londres en Angleterre, par le Prince très-fidèle dudit Pais, le Roy Edward VI. de ce nom.* 1550. *Par Jean à Lasco, Baron de Polonie: traduit de Latin en Francois.*

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And that of the English at Geneva.

The same year, the English exiles at Geneva printed their form of prayers in Latin, by them publicly used, entitled, *Ratio et Forma publice orandi Deum, atque administrandi Sacramenta, &c. in Anglorum Ecclesia, quæ Genevæ colligitur, recepta cum judicio et approbatione J. Calvini.* Printed at Geneva, in octavo.

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Several did now abjure and recant, not having strength enough to die for their holy profession. I shall mention some of these abjurations, performed in the dioceses of Norwich and Canterbury, as I meet with them in some fragment MSS. of John Fox's; and the rather, because he hath not inserted them in his Martyrology. Michael Donning, LL. D. was now chancellor to Hopton, bishop of Norwich. Under him was John Husband, of Mulberton, abjured for saying, "that the Pope was not head of the Church," and, "that the ceremonies used in the Church, though they could "do him no hurt, could not do him good;" and further, "that the blessed sacrament of the altar was but a remem- "brance of Christ's death and passion." Part of his abjuration ran thus: "The said errors, and all other heresies, "false doctrines, and damnable opinions in general, con- "trary and repugnant to the faith of Christ's holy Church, "I utterly abjure, forsake, and purely renounce before you "the said Chancellor and this Christian congregation here "assembled. And, over this, I swear by these Evangelists, "by me here bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall "never hold, teach, or believe the said errors, heresies, and "damnable opinions above rehearsed; nor any other again, "contrary and repugnant to the holy faith of Christ's "Church. In witness whereof, to this my present abjura- "tion and recantation, I have, with mine own hand, volun- "tarily subscribed my name, being the mark of a +."

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Some abjure.

John Husband.

Then the Chancellor enjoined him, as part of his penance, that he should pay to the Bishop 4*l.* for the erecting of a new school, to be founded beneath the precincts of the cathedral church; and should hire a preacher, to be provided by the Bishop, but at his charge, to preach on festivals or Sundays, in the church of Mulberton, against all the errors, heresies, and schism he had abjured.

Aynsworth's confession.

George Aynsworth, being in orders, and somewhat distracted in his mind, made this acknowledgment, October 2, before Hopton the bishop, and Sir Edward Walgrave, as it is recorded: "That G. A. being examined the day afore-

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" said, hath taken his oath, that he took upon him minis-
" tration most compelled and constrained, and forced there-
" unto, being a serving man under Sir Thomas Griffin in
" Northamptonshire: and was sent for to London by Mr.
" Poley, and there unwarily, contrary to his mind, was
" brought into bonds, being a simple man without expe-
" rience: so that he must either take upon him ministration,
" or else to prison. So that the violence or compulsion done
" unto him, in that he was drawn unto it contrary to his
" mind, hath so wrought in him, that he could never be his
" own since; his conscience always giving him, that he nei-
" ther was at that time, nor yet is no minister, but a mere
332 " layman. And whereas he sought means always to have
" given over his benefice, he was so bound that he could
" not, until such time as he was removed by reason of mar-
" riage. Desiring that he may live as a layman, like as
" his conscience doth bear him witness that he is, and as he
" hath taken his oath. And that he may thus do under
" obedience, and submission under all good order and laws
" of the realm: his wits failing him at certain times of the
" year: being more known than I am able to express." It was sometimes practised in these times by covetous patrons, to make their serving men take orders, thereby to qualify them to take their livings, to which they presented them, to keep the tithes to themselves, allowing some small salary to those they thus presented. And this might be Aynsworth's case.

An Arian abjured.

In Kent, was one William Powting, a sawyer of Thornham, an Arian, abjured. His confession, taken before certain of the Queen's commissioners and justices of the peace, was to this tenor:

I. William Powling confesseth, that before his imprisonment he refused to come to the church, because the service is in a tongue that doth not edify. And he thinketh it contrary to God's word; and saith, that there are certain things used contrary to the Testament, both Old and New.

II. And saith, that he doth not believe that there is in

the real natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ the form of bread; and that it is no article of our faith: and therefore refuseth to come to church. CHAP. XLI. Anno 1556.

III. And saith further, that it is no article of our faith, that there is one God and three Persons, but one God Almighty: in whom he believeth, and saith, that Christ is not almighty of himself, but received all power from his Father, and is made God over all things unto us. And saith, that he was not God of the same substance of God from the beginning.

IV. And as for the Holy Ghost, he saith, that he believeth he is not God, but believeth he is the Spirit of God the Father only, given to the Son, and not God of himself. To which is William Powting's name by himself subscribed, and the names of these as witnesses and commissioners: Nic. Harpsfield, who was archdeacon of Canterbury, Warham Saint Leger, Tho. Roydon, George Clerk, and Tho. Hendle.

Another of these Arians, now brought into process, was John Simms, of the parish of Brenchley, who had these articles charged against him: "That they that did not understand the Latin tongue should not have the service of "the Church in the same tongue, because it doth not edify. "That those that were lately burned were saved. That "there is not the real body of our Saviour Jesus Christ "under the form of bread. That it is against Scripture to "burn heretics, because of the parable of the man that did "sow cockle among the good seed. And lastly, that he did "not believe that Christ is consubstantial, that is to say, "God from the beginning, and of one substance with the 333 "Father; and that there is one God, and three Persons. "But he believeth the Father, the Word, and the Holy "Ghost is one God, but not three Persons." Another Arian's tenets.

Another Arian now detected was Robert King, of Petham. He was articled, that he was against the Latin service, that he did not believe the natural presence. *Item*, That if any man can shew him in Scripture the word *consubstantial*, then he will believe that Christ is *consubstan-* Another.

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tial, and of one substance with the Father, or else not. *Item*, he saith, That if any man can shew him this word *per-*

Anno 1556. *son* in the Scripture, in the same sense, that then he will believe that there are three Persons and one God, or else not. *Item*, he saith, He doubted whether it can be proved by Scripture, that the Holy Ghost is God, or no. *Item*, he saith, That it is not lawful to put a man to death for his conscience sake. Witnesses, Nic. Harpsfield, Tho. Hendle, Hen. Bourchier, Tho. Taylor, John Raynold, Walter Herender.

John Fishcock.

To these I add one more, of the diocese of Canterbury, named John Fishcock, whose case was something different from the rest; for he had formerly recanted, and said, "Whereas heretofore in my examination I said, that Christ "gave to his disciples bread, I say, that he did give to his "disciples his very body and blood." This he afterwards revoked, or seemed so to do: for it was asked him, whether he did confess those words that he had said before; and he answered, that he desired to be respited, because he humbly desired to be ascertained, what my Lord Cardinal's Grace's conscience and faith is in the said blessed sacrament; saying, that he doth believe, assuredly, that his Grace knoweth the truth; and thereupon did faithfully promise to receive my Lord's Grace's judgment in good part; and that he will believe it accordingly as his Grace, by his letter or writings, shall advise him in this respect. To which is subscribed by Fishcock himself, "I will abide by my Lord's Grace's "judgment in the sacrament, as is above written, John "Fishcock."

This was a high compliment, to resolve his faith into the judgment of the Cardinal, when he doubted to do it into the authority of the Church, which is pretended to hold and enjoin that doctrine. But perhaps Fishcock had in his mind, what was commonly held by many, that whatever the Cardinal outwardly pretended, he was indeed inwardly a Protestant, and believed as they did in the doctrine of the sacrament.

As for the English exiles, after the separation of a part

CHAP. XLI.

of the congregation at Frankford, which departed and settled, some at Basil, and some at Geneva, those that remained, who were for the observation of the English book used under King Edward, began to set up an university there for the maintenance of learning: wherein the readers constituted were, Dr. Horn, late dean of Durham, for Hebrew; Dr. Mullins, for Greek; and Dr. Bartholomew Traherne, or Traheron, late dean of Chichester, for the divinity lecture. This last, among his other readings, read upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel, designedly against the Arians, who began much to increase in these times, (especially among Protestants,) and upon the fourth chapter of the Revelations, which led him to treat of the providence of God. The reason he chose to read upon this subject was, to comfort himself and others by the consideration of the divine providence in their present afflicted condition. But a certain learned person, who had been his auditor, impugned some part of what he had spoken, urging that he had used irreverend speech, in saying, that it was in God's will and ordinance that Adam should sin, making God the author of sin. But by the means of Mr. Roger Parker, a person of eminent quality, and an exile there with his family, Trahern and he met; and after some debate, they agreed upon the chief points that before seemed to be in controversy between them: yet afterwards it liked this objector to shew certain reasons against Traheron's affirmation, either perhaps for exercise of learning, or because he would be better confirmed in the truth. This occasioned Traheron to read one lecture on purpose to satisfy this gentleman's and others' scruples, and in vindication of what he had read before, concerning God's decreeing sin; wherein he disclaimed and abhorred any unbecoming speech of the good and gracious God: beginning thus:

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Learned readers at Frankford.

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Some accuse the divinity reader.

"My conscience beareth me witness, that through God's "grace and goodness I have taught you the truth in this "place, and that I have spoken reverently of God and his "works. I am charged indeed with unreverend speech: "but, alas! what should move me to speak unreverently of

He vindicates himself;

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"Him who made me, when I was nothing; who saved me, "when I was lost; who restored me to life, when I was "dead; who quitted me, when I was to be damned; who "raised me up to heaven, when I was to be cast down to "hell; who hath fed me from my cradle, and then most "plenteously, when I was an orphan; who also, I am sure, "hath delivered me out of many dangers, the avoiding "whereof to procure, I had neither counsel, nor purpose, "nor thought: in whom now, being chased out of my "country, and banished from mine acquaintance and known "friends, I find sweet comfort, and great plenty of joys, "even in the midst of tears," &c.

And publisheth his readings.

These readings aforesaid, upon the fourth of the Revelations, Traheron soon after printed, because the matter was of great weight and importance, and yet somewhat scrupulous in the weakness of men's capacities, and subject to the reprehensions and cavillations of licentious heads; and lest any thing should be bruited otherwise than he spake; that all men might know what his meaning was, "not by re-"hearsal sermons," as he expressed it in his prefatory epistle, "but by his own writing." And this also he was encou-

Gilb. Barklay.

raged to do by the counsel of Gilbert Barklay, whom he had in reverence for his great gravity and singular integrity of life. These lectures, being three in number, he dedicated

Rog. Parker.

to the aforesaid Parker, together with his wife Anne, because it was by his procurement that Traheron and his opponent met so friendly together, and because of their own good deserts, the bellies of the saints having been (and as they daily were) refreshed by them, and to render this testimony of their singular godliness.

335 Knox was now at Geneva, minister to the English exiles

Proceedings of religion in Scotland.

there, having the year before departed from Frankford, upon the contentions there. But in his native country of Scotland were many professors of the gospel; and, however persecuted, religion went on. But they wanted such a stout-spirited, bold man as Knox: and therefore the Earl of Glencarn sent for him the latter end of this year, and so did divers others of the head Protestants from Sterling, to come

to them, and to be their preacher again. Their letters were dated from thence, March 10, and John Simms was sent with them. In May following, an. 1557, they were delivered him. And he consulted hereupon with Calvin, and other godly ministers there; who, with one consent, said, that he should not refuse the vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto God, and unmerciful to his country. And so in the end of next September he departed from Geneva, and came to Diep, in France, where there met him contrary letters: whereupon he wrote a letter to Scotland from Diep, October 27, and so came back to Geneva again. The Scotch Protestants again wrote a letter to Calvin, craving of him, that by his authority he would command Knox once again to visit them. And these letters were delivered by John Grey in the month of November. And this was Knox's third vocation. But this belongeth to the next year. But let us again turn our eyes homewards.

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CHAP. XLII.

A conspiracy. The Lady Elizabeth's name used therein. Courtney, Earl of Devon, dies. Proceedings against heretics.

GREAT were the dissatisfactions of the people at this time; every one being much discontented with the government, in respect of the blood that was shed of the Queen's innocent, quiet, and godly subjects, and the prospect of much more: for, in effect, an inquisition was now set up; the Spaniard domineered, and nosed the nobility and gentry of the nation; and a slavery was coming apace upon this freeborn people. This, Dr. Ponet, in one of his books, hath a few words of: "*Inquisitio hæreticæ pravitatis* is now "entered into England, and likewise the Spaniard, to de- "stroy the liberty of the English nation; whereby, no "doubt, shortly the noses of the nobility shall be holden to "the grindstone, and the necks of the commons tied under

The people dissatisfied.

Answer to Martin.

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"the priests' girdles. From which misery, I beseech Jesus "Christ save so many as favour, from the bottom of their "hearts, Christ and the whole realm of England. Amen."

A new plot.

So that this realm was seldom quiet without insurrection, or attempts that way. Wyat's rebellion was before spoken of. This year happened another, or rather two, but nipped in the bud: for a conspiracy was made this spring, but soon discovered and quashed. And stirrings there were again in June: for one Dudly Ashton, and divers others of the Eng-
336 lish nation, lurking in France, endeavoured again to raise disturbances here, and to make their rising in the farther parts of Essex and Suffolk: and for that purpose had dispersed divers letters and proclamations thereabouts. And in those quarters, I suppose, the rather, because they were so replenished with Protestants, and the Queen there rendered so odious, by reason of the many executions of honest men and women for religion, belonging to those countries. But notwithstanding, such was the loyalty of that people, and such obedient subjects they were, as immediately upon understanding this enterprise, they did of themselves, without any commandment, apprehend as many of the attempters of this practice as they could come by. These conspirators, for the better furthering their design, had sent over a bold man, and once condemned, called Cleyberye or Clayberd, who gave himself out to be the Earl of Devon; and the Lady Elizabeth's name they made use of also. This man was afterwards taken in high Suffolk, and executed at Bury.

The Council acquainted the Lady Elizabeth thereof.

With this the Queen's Council thought fit the said lady should be acquainted; and sent a letter to Mr. Pope, (one placed with her by the Queen's order,) dated July the 30th, from Eltham, whom they ordered to let her know this, and to open unto her the whole circumstances of the cause; "that it might appear how little these men stood at false-"hood and untruth to compass their purpose, and how for "that intent they had abused her Grace's name." This letter is printed in the Collections to the History of the Reformation, (where Cleyberdo is misread for Cleyberye.)

Vol. ii. p. 314.

Queen Mary also wrote herself to her sister, then at Hatfield, concerning this practice; and how they had made use of her name, as though she were privy, and a party concerned. Anno 1556.

Whereat she wrote a well-penned letter, dated in the beginning of August, utterly detesting and disclaiming it, and declaiming against the actors in this rebellion. And she thought it concerned her to clear herself of this slander, having suffered so dearly for a slander of the same nature in Wyat's business. And having her original letter by me, I will not think much to transcribe it in this place.

The Lady Elizabeth to Queen Mary, clearing herself. MSS. penes me.

"Whan I revolve in mynde (most noble Quene) the "old love of painims to ther prince, and the reverent fere "of Romains to ther senate, I can but muse for my parte, "and blusche for thers, to se the rebellious hartes and de-"villish intentes of Christians in names, but Jues indede, "toward their oincted king: which, methinks, if they had "feared God, thogh they could not have loved the state, "they shuld for drede of ther own plage have refrained "that wikkednes, which ther bounden duty to your Ma-"gistie hath not restrained.

"But whan I call to remembrance, that the Devel *tan-*"*quam leo rugiens circumit, quærens quem devorare potest,* "I do the les marveille, though he have gotten such novices "into his professed house, as vessels (without God's grace) "more apt to serve his palace, than mete to inhabit Inglische "land. I am the bolder to call them his impes, for that "Saint Poule sayeth, *seditiosi filii sunt Diaboli.* And sins "I have so good a bucklar, I fere the les to enter into ther "jugement. Of this I assure your Majestie, though it be "my part above the rest to bewaille such things, though "my name had not been in them; yet it vexeth me too 337
"muche, that the Devel owen me such a hate, as to put me "in any part of thes michevous instigations: whom, as I "profes him my foe, that is, all Christians enemie, so wische "I he had some other way invented to spite me. But sins "it hath peased God thus to bewray ther malice afore they

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" finische ther purpose, I most humbly thank him, both for " that he had ever thus preserved your Majestie throw his " ayde, much like a lamb from the hornes of thes Basan " bulls; and also sturs up the hartes of your lovinge sub- " iects to resist them, and deliver you, to his honor and ther " shame. The intelligence of which proceding from your " Majestie, deserveth more humble thanks than with my " pen I can render: which, as infinite, I will leve to num- " ber.

" And among erthely things, I chiefly wische this one, " that ther wer as good surgeons for making anatomies of " hartes, that might shew my thoghts to your Majestie, as " ther ar expert fysitians of the bodies, able to expres the " inward greves of ther maladies to ther patient. For than, " I doute not, but know well, that whatsoever other shulde " sugject by malice, yet your Majestie shulde be sure by " knowlege; so that the more such misty cloudes offuscate " the clere light of my truith, the more my tried thoghts " shulde glistar to the dimming of ther hidden malice. But " sins wisches ar in vain, and desiars oft fail, I must crave " that my dedes may supply that my thoghts can not de- " clare, and that they be not misdeamed, ther as the facts " have bene so well tried. And like as I have bene your " faithful subject from the beginning of your raigne, so " shall no wicked parsons cause me to change to the end of " my lief. And thus I commit your Majestie to God's " tuition, whom I beseche long time to preserve; ending " with the new remembrance of my old sute, more for that " it shulde not be forgotten, than for that I think it not re- " membred. From Hatfelde, this present Sonday, the se- " cond day of August.

" Your Majesties
" obedient subject,
" and humble sistar,
" Elizabeth."

Special commissioners for

For the examination of this conspiracy, and to look more narrowly into it, peculiar commissioners were appointed by

the Queen, and such as she might most of all confide in; who should have the hearing of all such persons and matters touching it. And these were Mr. Comptroller, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Edward Waldgrave, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir Edward Hastings, and the Solicitor. And as for all other nobles, they meddled nothing. And if any suitors spake to them, they would wish them good speed, but said, they meddled not in those matters, and willed them to resort unto the commissioners. Of these traitors, were these three, about the middle of June, arraigned and condemned at Guildhall; Lewkner, Wray, and Turner: and within a few days after, was another great arraignment of others at the same place. 338

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this conspiracy.

Of these plotters, the Lord Bray was accused for one; a loose man and needy, and an unkind husband to a good wife. He was taken up in this month of June, and committed a close prisoner to the Fleet; and a few days following removed to the Tower, and there remained in close restraint: and his condition so low, that his friends were fain, upon sufferance, to relieve him with meat and drink, which was delivered at the court gate to one of the gaolers, as they called them, appointed to serve and attend upon the prisoners there. And yet this meat and drink, afforded by his friends, was so slender, that some of his men applied to the Countess of Shrewsbury, related, as it seems, to him, to beg some piece of meat for him: for neither did his friends much care for him. This lord, I say, was one of these supposed traitors; but he stood much upon his truth, and desired his accusers might be brought before his face: which was granted him; and two of them, named Francis Verney and Edmund Verney, touched on him very sore. He was to be indicted at Westminster, and after arraigned, and was in danger of his life, unless the interest of the Earl of Shrewsbury and his wife might prevail with the Queen to spare him.

Lord Bray committed.

The Lady Bray's condition was much pitied by the Queen herself, she being a virtuous woman, and evilly used by him; and in this present matter so handled herself in her

The Lady Bray petitioned.

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suits, as well to the gentlemen as to the ladies of the Court, that she was more commended and lamented than all other suitors were: insomuch, that the Queen, upon the report which she had of her, gave her great praise, and earnestly said, that God sent oftentimes to good women bad husbands. The Earl of Pembroke was a suitor unto the Queen for her. This said Lady Bray delivered to Mrs. Styrley, of the privy chamber, a token, with hearty commendations, from the Earl of Shrewsbury: by reason whereof she shewed herself a very faithful friend unto the said lady. Mrs. Clarentieux, another much about the Queen, gave her very good words; and further, caused her to dine with her, and so led her by the hand through the Court into her chamber: but that was thought to be by the Queen's special commandment. By these passages she succeeded in procuring favour for her Lord, how little soever he deserved it. And the next year he was at the battle of St. Quintin's, and died not long after.

The Earl of Devon dies at Padua.

This year died, of a double tertian, a very hopeful gentleman, at the age of thirty, at Padua, namely, Edward, the last Earl of Devon, of the family of the Courtneys. He was the grandson of William, who, for the ancient nobility of his stock, married Katharin, the younger daughter of King Edward IV. by whom he had Henry, who, in the right of his wife, bare the white rose in his coat of arms, the mark of the family of York; and so was brother-in-law to King Henry VII. who married the other and eldest daughter of the said King Edward. He was the father of this Edward, who, upon the unhappy end of his said father, cut off by King Henry VIII. though a very excellent, well deserving
339 gentleman, was kept a prisoner in the Tower for fourteen years; that is, from twelve years old till he was six and twenty; when Queen Mary coming to the crown, set him at liberty. There was a speech of his matching with the Lady Elizabeth, King Henry VIIIth's daughter. And some there were, who were concerned in the rising of Wyat, that would have brought in this noble Earl into the practice. But he, like a wary man, and an honest, grateful sub-

ject, refused. But, however, he was under some cloud upon this: and some such accusation Wyat had laid upon him and the Lady Elizabeth: so that they were both clapped up in the Tower. Anno 1556.

Yet he, after some time, recovered a seemingly perfect favour with the Queen: and then he was allowed, or rather sent, to travel in Italy; fearing some stirs might arise by means of him. To prevent which, when he was there, it was thought he was made away by poison. In his travels, he was allowed by the King and Queen to repair to Brussels, the Emperor's Court, to wait upon the Emperor Charles, to declare there his innocency and loyalty: where he was graciously received, and, for his princely and excellent endowments, much esteemed. Thence being to travel into Italy, King Philip, being then at Brussels, wrote divers letters commendatory, to carry along with him, to the Italian estates and princes. Wheresoever he came, he was received with all respect, and had intended to travel through Italy; but on a sudden he was cropped off at Padua, to the great loss of England: for he was very studious, and well learned. He understood mathematics well; he could paint excellently; he played absolutely well on musical instruments; he spake Spanish, French, and Italian accurately; and, which was the crown of all, he was a man of great piety, and placed the chief good in virtue. He was buried very honourably at Padua, and Dr. Thomas Wylson (he who was afterwards secretary of state, being then there, and perhaps his tutor) made a very eloquent oration at his funeral in St. Anthony's church. The reader will pardon me for inserting this, somewhat beside my purpose, as not relating to the Church; but I thought so eminent a person, and the last of so illustrious a family, deserved a small memorial. The oration beforesaid may be seen in the Repository. No. LVII.

He is allowed to travel.

Coop. Chron.

His accomplishments.

Prosecutions still went on vigorously against the gospellers, and executions were daily done upon them, though Winchester was dead. And these severities the Council, now altogether popish, directed, as may be seen by these

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two orders following, extracted out of the Council-Book, as I suppose, and found among the Foxian MSS.

Anno 1556. Order for apprehending such in Harwich as met at secret conventicles.

"August 23. A letter to the Lord Darcy of Chiche, of "thanks for his searching for, and apprehending of certain "persons, who use secret conventicles and readings, about "Harwich and Dovercourt. He is willed to bind them, "and all other detected by examinations, by him sent to "the Lords, in good bands for their good abearing and "forthcoming, when he shall call for them: and also to "cause them to be indicted for their unlawful assemblies; "and thereupon to fine them at his discretion, and accord-"ing to the qualities of the persons. And, that done, to "bind them to appear personally before the Bishop of "London."

340 Orders to Bonner concerning them.

"Another letter to Boner, that when they shall appear "before him, he shall travail to reduce them to the Church, "or else order them according to the laws in those cases "provided."

Orders to him to proceed with others.

"November 17. A letter to Bishop Boner, sending him "therewith, by a servant of the Lord Darcy's, one Rauf "Allerton, a companion of Trudgovers; requiring him to "examine him, and order him according to the laws. And "further, to take order, that William Bonger and Ellen "Urynge, of Colchester, be likewise proceeded withal: who "being before indicted for religion, and also returned home "again, as persons discharged by his Lordship, are now "eftsones worse than they were before." These were soon after burned.

A commission against Lollards.

The Lord Darcy, before mentioned, I find to have been now in a bloody commission, and, as it seems, zealous in the prosecution of it: for, for the more effectual extirpating heresy, this year a commission went out from the King and Queen to certain of her Council, bishops and others, to inquire after and punish all Lollards, and to impose an oath upon whomsoever they would call, to make discovery of them; a kind of inquisition. But besides this general commission, there were particular commissions, to make inquisition into particular counties and places. Thus a commission

A commission for Essex.

was sent down into Essex, directed to the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Darcy, Sir Henry Tyrrel, Anthony Brown, William Benlowes, sergeants at law; Edmund Tyrrel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, esquires. Here, by the way, I will insert one passage of one of these commissioners, *viz.* Anthony Brown. He, in open sessions, said, (I suppose in the very beginning of Queen Mary's reign, or the latter end of King Edward's,) "that the mass was abominable, and "all their trumpery besides; wishing, and earnestly exhort-"ing, that none should believe them; and that our belief "should be only in Christ: and that whosoever should "bring in a strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and "not to be suffered." This, Watts the martyr told him openly before the Court, where were the Lord Rich and many other justices sitting at Chelmesford, and affirmed, that he, among others, heard him use these words. But this man came so sheer about now, that he became one of the chiefest persecutors in Essex.

A note concerning one of these commissioners.

But to return to the commission. These commissioners before mentioned had orders to seize the lands, tenements, and goods of such as fled away from their houses to avoid persecution: so that the true owners should not have the use nor commodity thereof; and by inventories taken, they were to remain in safe keeping.

Lands and goods of such as fled, to be seized.

The popish ornaments in Colchester and the hundreds thereabouts had been taken away, and wanting in abundance of parish churches: so the Queen sent a warrant for the restitution of the church goods. This was read by the commissioners; and all the parishes were called, and summoned, and ordered, by such a set time, to certify Kingston, the Bishop of London's commissary here, concerning the ornaments to their respective churches belonging; and until they had certified, to make their appearance from time to time at the sessions of the justices; which must needs have been an excessive trouble and charge to the country, for such numbers of them to neglect so often their trades, business, and husbandry, besides the expenses of courts, and of

Inquiry after popish ornaments taken from churches.

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travel to Colchester and elsewhere, where the commissioners should sit.

Anno 1556.

Great numbers taken up.

By virtue of their commission they had taken up a great number of poor men and women, under the name of heretics and Lollards; and many more there were, that by forcing oaths upon men, were discovered, but could not be taken; but their names they took in writing, and gave them in as persons indicted for treason, or fugitives, or disobedient to laws.

Colchester searched.

For in Colchester, and the parts thereabouts especially, the Protestants were so plentiful, that this year Justice Brown, before mentioned, that dwelt beside Brentford, came down hither, and there played the Devil by the counsel of Mr. Tyrril and Mr. Cossin, of the same city, and one Gylbart, a lawyer: who caused divers honest men to be sent for before the said justice, and sworn upon a book to bring in the names of all those that were suspected of heresy, as he termed it. Now strict charge was given unto the officers, that from time to time diligent search should be made in every house for all strangers; and that such should be taken and brought before a justice. For this place, said Brown, is an harbour for all the heretics, and ever was. So when he had bound them all in recognizances, he willed them to depart every man to his house. This being known, divers that were concealing themselves there, speedily conveyed themselves away.

Two-and-twenty brought together through Essex.

But notwithstanding all these several courses, religion still prevailed greatly; as appeared by the compassion, countenance, and encouragement that was given to two-and-twenty at once, sent up by the commissioners from Colchester, as they passed through the country, tied and driven along like sheep to the shambles. And at Stratford Bow companies of good men met them, as it were, to conduct them honourably to London, comforting and heartening these poor prisoners of Jesus Christ. And still the nearer they came to London, the compassionate crowds increased about them; so that by the time they came through the

city to Fulham, where the Bishop was, there were above a thousand people. The Bishop, surprised at this, told Sir John Gresham, being then with him, that he should let the mayor and sheriffs know that this was not well ordered of the city

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But besides these commissioners aforesaid, that the country might be well scoured, the Lord Legate was now sending down others by a commission from himself.

The Legate sends his commissioners.

A commission was also given out for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, that were as much infected with the pretended heresy as Essex, before mentioned. To these commissioners, (whose names I meet not with,) they who were like to feel their severity most, made an earnest and well-penned supplication, which was printed, entitled, *A Supplication made by certain godly persons, and unfeigned favourers of Christ's Gospel, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: and by them exhibited to the Queen's Commissioners, sent thither for the subverting and abolishing of God's holy Word and true Religion; and instead thereof, to place and advance the Romish Blindness and blasphemous Superstition. Anno Dom.* MDLVI. Herein, "they "first professed to continue, as they had ever hitherto done, 342 "in all Christian obedience unto the end; and to these "commissioners, now having a commandment, as though it "were from the Queen, with all humble obedience due to "the regal power and authority, ordained of God, (which "they acknowledged to stand whole and perfectly in her "Grace,) and with due reverence unto her commissioners, "they beseeched them with patience and pity to receive their "answer, *viz.* that weighing the commandment given to "them, concerning the restitution of the late abolished La-"tin service, to dissent and disagree from God's word, and "to command manifest impiety, and to overthrow true god-"liness and religion, and to import a subversion of the re-"gal power of this their native country and realm of Eng-"land, with the bringing in of the Romish Bishop's supre-"macy, with all errors, superstition, and idolatry, wasting "of their goods and bodies, destroying of their souls;

A commission for Norfolk and Suffolk.

A supplication by certain godly persons there.

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" bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God; " which they already felt, and feared lest the same should " be more hot: therefore they humbly protested, they " could not be persuaded, that the same *wicked* command- " ment (as they called it) should come from the Queen's Ma- " jesty, but rather from some other that abused the Queen's " goodness and favour, and studied to work some feat " against the Queen, her crown, and the realm; to please " with it the Roman Bishop. They thought the Queen's " gentle heart to be abused by some who sought them- " selves, and their own vainglory, by procuring such com- " mandments as were against the glory of God. For they " could not have so ill an opinion of her Majesty, that she " would subvert that most godly and holy religion, set forth " by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent King Edward, " her brother, except she were wonderfully abused. That " the religion set forth by the same King was such, in their " consciences, as every Christian was bound to confess to " be the truth of God, and every member of Christ's Church " here in England must needs embrace the same in heart, " and confess it with mouth; and, if need require, lose and " forsake, not only house, land, and possessions, riches, wife, " children, and friends, but also, if God so call them, gladly " to suffer all manner of persecution, and to lose their lives " in defence of God's word and truth, set out among them."

And afterwards, towards the conclusion, they add, " that " they had humbly opened unto the commissioners their " consciences, sore wounded and grieved by this command- " ment: and they meekly prayed and beseeched the Queen's " Majesty, for the precious death and bloodshed of Jesus " Christ, to have mercy and pity upon them, her Grace's " poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the " same body politic, whereof her Grace was supreme head. " That all their bodies, goods, lands, and lives were ready " to do her Grace faithful, obedient, and true service, in all " commandments that were not against God and his word. " But in these things, that imported a denial of Christ, and " a refusal of his word and holy communion, they could not

" consent nor agree unto it. For they had bound them-
" selves in baptism to be Christ's disciples, and to keep his
" holy word and ordinances. And if they denied him be-
" fore men, he would deny them before his heavenly Fa-343
" ther, and his holy angels, in the day of judgment. Which
" they trusted her benign Grace would not require of them.
" They humbly beseeched, that they might not be forced
" unto it: but, as they served her Grace with body and
" goods, and due obedience according to God's command-
" ment; so that they might be permitted freely to serve
" God and Christ, and keep unto him their souls, which he
" had with his precious blood redeemed. That if persecu-
" tion ensued, with which they were threatened, they de-
" sired the heavenly Father, according to his promise, to
" look from heaven, to hear their cry, and to judge between
" them and their adversaries, and give them faith, strength,
" and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to
" shorten these evil days for his chosen sake. And so they
" faithfully believed he would. Notwithstanding, they
" trusted the Queen's gracious and merciful heart would
" not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, inno-
" cent, faithful subjects."

Finally, " They heartily prayed the commissioners to be
" means unto the Queen's Highness and her Council, that
" their humble suit might be favourably tendered and gra-
" ciously heard: and so subscribed themselves,

" Your poor suppliants, and lovers of Christ's
" true religion, in Norfolk and Suffolk."

This whole supplication Mr. Fox hath preserved in his Acts and Monuments. But I think it had little effect, the Queen and Council being so vigorously bent to severity against all that opposed their proceedings, and so resolved upon the establishment of the old religion.

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Preparations in the north. Matters with Scotland. The Earl of Cumberland complained of.

Anno 1556. Fear of stirs in the north.

THERE was now, in the month of January, a great apprehension of an invasion or rebellion in the north parts: which occasioned the Queen to send her letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury, for the putting in a readiness the able men within the counties of York and Darby. On the 24th of January, he signified back his care in fulfilling the Queen's command, with as much expedition as he might. But the Queen again willed her Council, (such was her fear,) that they should again remind the said Lord of her former command, and to use such diligence therein, as her Highness might understand what he had done in that behalf, with all convenient speed. But in truth, those northern parts were at present in a great want of money, victuals, ammunition, and other things. Of which the said Earl, being lord president of the north, gave them notice, and desired a supply, in case a necessity of service should happen.

Supplies sent into the north.

The Lord Treasurer therefore took such order, as he wrote to the Earl, that the office of the ordnance in the north was sufficiently furnished with munition, ordnance, powder, and all other things necessary; which the Lord Wharton, who was keeper of the town and castle of Barwick, and master of the ordnance there, would inform them. And as for money, the Queen's Council sent word, that when the Queen should have occasion to use the service of those men that should be put into a readiness there, she would take order for the furniture thereof, as need should require. And as for victuals and provender, they thought, as far as they could understand, that there was as good store of those things in those parts, as in any other place of the realm, the scarcity being general at that time.

Orders to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant of some of those northern countries, being intended chief of that army that was preparing in those parts, had desired a special

commission for that service. In answer to which, the Council signified, that his commission of lieutenancy, if the same stood still in force, were sufficient for the two causes of rebellion or invasion, was as much as needed to answer the Queen's meaning at that time. And they added, that they doubted not but he would be always in such readiness, as if any preparation should be made by any foreign enemy, for the invasion of the borders, they might be ready to meet there within time, according to the trust in him. This was writ the last day of January, from Greenwich, and signed by the Lord Chancellor, Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, the Earl of Arundel, Lord William Howard, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Sir William Petre, John Bourne, and John Boxal, secretaries.

The Queen also wrote letters at this time to the same import, that is, to be all united and in a readiness, to the other lieutenants, *viz.* the Earls of Westmorland and Cumberland; also to the Lord Coniers, the Lord Evers, the Lord Scroop, and the Lord Darcy. 353

And other Earls and Lords in the north.

Command was also sent to take a diligent account of all the marches, west, east, and middle; to know what strength was to be expected there, and to put things in a readiness, which had of late gone very much into neglect and disorder.

That which was done in the east and middle marches, the Lord Wharton, lord warden thereof, signified to the Lord President, together with a declaration of the warden-court, which he had called; which warden-court began at Alnwic castle the 3d of February, and continued till Monday the 8th. The order whereof, and what was done, he sent the Lord President in a schedule, *viz.*

The condition of the east and middle marches.

" A brief declaration of the warden-court, held at Alnwic, for the King and Queen's Majesties' east and middle marches of England, in the time of six days continuing the same court, *viz.* beginning the 3d of February instant, and ending the 8th of the same. Wherein is mentioned, as well the number of offenders, at one instant brought to the bar by the Lord Wharton, his deputies and

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" servants, for suspicion of march-treasons by them com-
" mitted, as also the numbers of juries chosen, and pur-
" posely tried forth of all places within the said marches, to
" pass of inquiry and delivery, and for matters of contro-
" versy between party and party; and what number of the
" said march-traitors, as before, were indicted, and con-
" demned to die."

At the bar in one instant, in number five score and one.	Causes between party and party ordered, seventy five.	Quests of gentlemen for inquiry, in number five.	Quests of gentlemen for delivery, in number three.	Indicted for the march-treasons, in number sixty eight.	Cast and condemned to die for march-treasons, in number five. All Scotchmen.

Their strength.

Before the end of the court, he called the gentlemen and freeholders, and declared to them the Queen's commandment for their service and readiness upon an hour's warning: and having their own certificates of musters, he demanded of every man severally, if their power with horse, armour, and weapon were ready, according to their said certificate: who said every one openly, after their name and number read, that they would stand to the same. Thereupon he commanded, in their Majesties' names, to see their furniture immediately after their repair unto their houses. They confessed eight hundred and twenty horsemen, and eleven hundred forty-nine footmen. Notwithstanding which, he set forth gentlemen to muster the country in several parts. Of which he afterwards certified the Lord President.

The Lord Wharton's deserts.

This was the care of the Lord Wharton, warden of the east and middle marches; which had gone of late years much into disorder, and were of great extent. This gentleman seemed to deserve well in this office; the weight of which he was very apprehensive of telling the Lord Presi-
354 dent, " that it was a charge over great, and too much for
" so unmeet a subject as he was, to rule so great a country,
" which had been so long suffered in disorder: but that he
" was glad that he was commanded for the future to cer-
" tify to the said President, from time to time, the occur-

" rences of those marches: and prayed him, that he would " favour him and the service under his charge to his com- " fort." This for the east and middle marches. CHAP. XLIII. Anno 1556.

As for the west marches, the Lord William Dacre had also received letters from the Council, to take a particular account of the strength of the west wardenry, and to certify them thereof: which he finished by the middle of February. And accordingly sent this certificate unto the Council: The state of the west marches.

A certificate of the musters taken within the precinct of the west marches of England, Febr. — 1556.

In Cumberland, able men 4227. Whereof

Furnished.	Light horsemen	262
	Archers . .	258
	Billmen . .	2003
Unfurnished.	. . . . .	1604

In Westmorland, able men 1178. Whereof

Furnished.	Light horsemen	67
	Archers . .	188
	Billmen . .	526
Unfurnished.	. . . . .	398

The Lord Dacre then gave the Lord President account of the state of his borders, and the order taken by the commissioners for redress of attentates on both sides. The effect whereof was, that all such attentates committed since the said commissioners' meetings, being about the 26th of July last, should be sworn, and first redressed before any other were answered. According to the tenor whereof, he

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received sundry letters from the Lords of the Council to proceed indelayedly to the accomplishment of the premises, conform to the law of marches and conservation of the amity. But upon some politic and partial considerations, he deferred the execution of these commands; namely, that the sum of 3000*l.* were filed on the Gremes, or Grymes, and already sworn: which the Scots had to demand, for mis-
355 chiefs and spoils taken from them by that family; and not passing an 100*l.* to be asked of the Scots by the English. Therefore, as he reckoned it, for the honour of the realm, and commonwealth of those borders, and partly for the said Gremes' sakes, who were men of good service, he had protracted the time by all the means he could devise, and did as much as possible he might to see them undelivered; and intended still so to order and moderate the delivery, to be done at sundry times, that thereby the easier the friends of such as should be delivered might find remedy for their redemption and enlargement. Although he were much pressed, and earnestly called upon by the Lord Fleming, lieutenant of Scotland, to proceed and deliver for all at one time and meeting, according to the commissioners' order.

The Grames.

This favour was shewn to these Gremes, or Grames, who, living upon the borders, were a warlike people; and did great damage and spoil to the Scots in time of war. But they were lawless, and made inroads upon the English too sometimes, and assisted the outlaw Scots. The Lord Warden, though he shewed them much friendship, had but a hard hand with them: so that the Lord President had given them admonition to use themselves obediently towards the Warden; yet when he sent for one, called Little Thom. Grame, George's son, and Will. and George, Rich's son, (who had played some of their tricks,) they would not come at him, and persisted in disobedience. And so stood these matters.

One oppressed by the Earl of Cumberland.

Archbishop Hethe, lord chancellor, in the month of March, *anno exeunte*, wrote to the Lord President of the north, and the Council, to take cognizance of a con-

troversy between the Earl of Cumberland and Gabriel Proctor, esq. the occasion may appear from a supplication made to the said Lord Chancellor by the said Proctor. The import whereof was, that whereas there had lately and of long time depended matter in controversy, in the court of the duchy of Lancaster between these two, touching the farm of the manors of Winterborn, Hetton, Ashton, Flasby, and Ayreton, in the county of York, whereof Proctor was the farmer, bailiff, and receiver: so it was, that notwithstanding a decree, and divers injunctions and writs, awarded against the said Earl, his servants, and tenants, in Proctor's behalf; the Earl and they did not only from time to time disturb, vex, and trouble him, his wife, servants, and tenants, in the quiet occupation of the premises; but also divers malefactors had been, and still were, maintained and aided by the said Earl against the said Proctor, his wife, servants, and tenants: whereby they were daily put in danger and fear of their lives; that is to say, one Lancelot Knowells and Rafe Harrison, his servants, for murdering Proctor's servant at his foot, and leaving him for dead. The Earl gave the former a tan-house, and keepership of one of his games, and appointed the latter to be a yeoman usher in his hall. And did so remain at that present, to the ill example of others, and manifest contempt of the King's and Queen's laws, with divers others of the said Earl's servants, who were aiders and abettors of the said murder. Since which time, his wife, his eldest son, and servants, had been sore beaten, hurt, and wounded, by certain of the servants and tenants of the said Earl and others hereafter named. And 356
by them divers and many great routs and unlawful acts had been done.

For the reformation of which misdemeanours, it pleased the Queen, by her bill signed, to grant her letters of commandment to the sheriff and justices of peace of the county of York, and all other her ministers there, to aid and assist Proctor, in the quiet occupation and enjoying of the said premises, according to the said decree, and a lease granted

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to him by the late King Edward VI. under the seal of the said duchy.

Anno 1556. His complaint to the Lord Chancellor.

In consideration of the premises, and that for fear of the malice of the said Earl, his servants, tenants, and others by his procurement, and for fear of the loss of his life, Proctor repaired home to his mansion-house and country. Where he dared not to go about to put the Queen's letters in execution, and attend about his necessary business; therefore he petitioned the Lord Chancellor for remedy thereof: and in way of charity, (for that the Earl was in that country a man of great power, and still maintained his servants, tenants, and others against Proctor,) to grant him their Majesties writ of special *supplicavit*, to be delivered to the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord president of the north, and the rest of the Council there, and to the sheriffs and justices of the peace of the said county, and of all Lancashire, authorizing them thereby, not only to call before them the said Earl of Cumberland, Lancelot Knowells, and Rafe Harrison, Lancelot Neffield, Christopher Muncton, Thomas Clifford, bastard brother to the said Earl, Thomas Clifford Aspertyne, and thirteen more, who were principal offenders herein, (the three last not being servants unto the Earl, had wounded Proctor's wife, whereupon afterward she died,) but also Christopher Martin, John Green, and five more: and to bind them all with sufficient sureties to keep the King and Queen's peace, and to be of good behaviour towards this orator, his present wife, children, servants, and tenants, and especially for the safeguard of the body of this orator. Who had, in the last Lord Chancellor's time, divers writs of special *supplicavit*, and of like effect directed to the sheriffs and justices of peace; who either durst not or would not put any of them in execution, for fear of displeasure of the Earl. The lack of which execution had been the chief occasion of most of the misdemeanours, and was like to breed greater mischiefs and inconveniences, to the utter undoing of the said gentleman, his wife, children, and the rest that belonged to him.

This Earl of Cumberland had but this year obtained a licence from the Queen to retain an hundred men: and this domineering over honest men, and oppressing whom he pleased, in affront of good laws and the Queen's peace, was some of the good fruits of it.

Anno 1556.

The Earl retains an hundred men.

The Lord Chancellor, taking the reasonableness of Proctor's petition into his consideration, March 14, sent it to the Lord President and Council, and, according to his request, appointed them to see justice done, and the person and family of Proctor secured and defended from danger, in case they should find matters according to the complaint. For thus did the Chancellor write:

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The Lord Chancellor's letter in Proctor's behalf. Ex Epistol. D. Comit. Salop.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good "Lordship; We send unto you here enclosed a bill of com- "plaint exhibited to us by one Gabriel Proctor: wherein he "doth as well complain and shew, how that through divers "the misdemeanours and assaults made upon him by certain "of the Earl of Cumberland's servants, whose names are "contained in the said bill of complaint, he hath and doth "stand in much danger and fear of his life: as also requireth "for his safeguard special writs of *supplicavit*, to be directed "to your Lordship in this behalf. And because we are "loath, without some further understanding of the special- "ties and truth of this matter, to grant the said writs of "*supplicavit*, and yet mind not to leave the party destitute "of all remedy, where the same in any case should be re- "quisite; we have therefore thought good to refer this "whole matter, and the ordering thereof, to your Lordship: "praying you, upon the receipt of these our letters, together "with the said supplication, to call the parties, or so many "of them as ye shall think convenient, before you; and to "proceed, either to the binding of them to the peace, or in "some greater and straiter bond, as the behaviour of the "parties and the cause shall to your Lordship's discre- "tion seem to require. Whereby the party complainant "may be relieved of this fear, which he seemeth now to

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" stand in. And so we bid your Lordship right heartily " well to fare.

" Your good Lordship's
" assured loving friend.
" Nico. Ebor. Cane."

From the Court the 14th of March, 1556.

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A plot for betraying Guisnes to the French: managed by Dudley, and other English. Discovered by a spy. French matters.

English rebels harboured in France.

SEVERAL of the malecontents, that had combined against the Queen the last summer in a conspiracy, but defeated, (as was shewn before,) were fled into France, where they received shelter and favour. The chief of these were Dudley and Ashton. Others also there were among them, as Offly and Chidley, who refrained any further doings against their native country, but rather, by discovery of new attempts, laboured to obtain their pardons for their former disloyalties. The French King, hoping to make his benefit of these English that thus harboured in his country, afforded several of them pensions, and that chiefly according to the advice of Dudley, with whom the King himself vouchsafed sometimes to hold communication. These seditious men's minds were still hatching mischief against the Queen: and towards the latter end of the year, Dudley, the master-contriver, was laying a method for betraying of Guisnes and Hammes, two important places in France, under the English dominion, unto the French. Within which places were some with whom Dudley had an understanding.

A spy upon them.

The English state was privy to these Englishmen that were thus harboured, to plot and devise against the realm, and made complaint to the French King of them, but without redress. The Queen therefore planted among them certain espials, to watch their motions, and to give intelligence thereof from time to time. Among these, there was one at

Roan; who perhaps might have been engaged in the last summer's practices. For Dudley much confided in him, and made use of him to send him between Roan and Guisnes, for the carrying on of the design. By which means he became privy to all their matters; who, as he had intelligence, privily imparted it to a certain officer of the Queen's in those parts, and, as it seems, resident in Calais. And he retained a trusty servant, whom he employed in this business. This servant he sent to the Court in England, in the latter end of March, to give information of such things as the spy in Roan had communicated secretly by word of mouth unto the said servant; whose information, as was taken from his mouth by secretary Petre, (whose hand it seems to be,) was to this import.

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Cott. Libr. Titus, B. 2.

Who reveals Dudley's treasons.

"That on the 11th day of the said month of March, his "master receiving letters from Offly, despatched him, the "said servant, in post to Roan, to hear and confer with N. "(under which letter was meant the spy,) having, imme- "diately after his departure, received letters also from "Chidley concerning the same matter. And arriving at "Roan, he met and had discourse with N. who declared "unto him, that Dudley had intelligence with divers men "to deliver the said places, or at least one of them, to the "French King. That seven weeks past, Dudley had prac- "tised with the said King, and the Constable of France, 359
"about the matter, who liked it, and would have Dudley to "proceed therein; and for that purpose had rewarded him, "and such as were about him, with great gifts. That since "that time, Dudley had sent down N. to Guisneys and "Hammes, who had, in a secret place nigh thereunto, con- "ferred with the said conspirators of those pieces, and found "them in the mind of betraying them: that Dudley knew, "that there was not victuals in Guisnes for twenty days, "nor three hundred men; and therefore trusted the easier "to achieve the enterprise. That N. was to come thither "again very shortly, to confer the second time with them, "and then to get of them not only letters to Dudley, of "their proceedings in this matter, but also other articles for

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" this N.'s instructions how to work: which bill of articles " he intended to get signed with their hands, and then find " the means to deliver the same unto this informer's mas- " ter, or to some trusty men of his appointment; whereby it " should evidently appear to be true what he (*i. e.* N.) had " said. That he would by no means name any of them, " till he had gotten such proof as he had spoken of. This " informer also added, that N. had said, that he had divers " letters and writings, as well written from the late Earl of " Devon, as from Dudley and others; which being of im- " portance, he would find the means to deliver to this in- " former's master. That on the 16th of the month above- " said, the drums beat at Roan and other places thereabouts, " and good numbers of men were levied, and came down " towards Abbevyle, Monstreul, Rue, &c. That there were " divers carts, heavy loaden with ammunition, harness, pike, " &c. and the same drawn through Paris in the night, and " so straight to Roan. That in case N. could conveniently, " he would speak with this informer's master, ere he went " down to Guisnes, or else at his return from thence would " not fail to do it: but if indeed he could not come to him, " then he would write to his said master, whether he should " send some trusty servant of his, to receive the same bill " of names, and such other intelligences as he should know. " Moreover, that this practised enterprise should be put in " execution within a month. That the French King would " be at Roan secretly within twelve days. That these men " were such as were well able to do this feat, and were of " such number and strength, that without great policy they " would not be taken. Which policy would be to watch " when the chiefest of them were abroad, and then secretly " to cut off the passage betwixt them and home, and so to " take them."

Lastly, " N. shewed the informer, how Dudley sent re- " commendations to Sir Rauf Bagnal, [who seemed to be " now in Calais, and this recommendation gave a jealousy " of him.] That Dudley had authority [from the French " King] to continue and put in whom he listed into the

" pensions granted to Englishmen there [at Roan] except " the Ashtons and the Horseys. That he had already put " out Colby, and in his place came one Gittins a soldier. " That Chidley continued a suitor to this informer's master, " and seemed to bear a good affection to his country, and " sought nothing but the wealth thereof." Anno 1556.

This servant having heard all this of N. returned back again in post from Roan to his master: to whom he declared the whole matter. And thereupon he despatched him into England to the Queen, to whom or to her Council he related, in order, all that is above said; and, finally, advised that order might be taken for the victualling and manning of the said pieces, within three weeks at the farthest. All this favour shewed by the French to the Queen's seditious subjects, was afterwards declared to be the cause of her proclaiming war with that crown. 360

News from France.

The French and the Spaniard were now in very angry hostility against each other. The latter had brought his armies to Italy, and the French opposed him, and had the Pope on their side. In March therefore, or thereabouts, departed in post toward Italy from the French Court, the Duke of Guise, the Prince of Ferrara, the Duke D'Aumale, the Duke of Nemours, the Marquis Delbeuf, Monsieur Dampville. Of whom the Duke of Guise and the Prince of Ferrara were ready to depart the 16th of the abovesaid month. That the French bands assembled at Lyons the 15th or 16th of the same, being, as men judged, 20,000 footmen, (comprehending the Switzers already departing,) and 4000 or 5000 horsemen. The ambassador of Ferrara was looked for to be shortly at the French Court: who, as it was said, brought very good news. The Count of Araynes band was to assemble at Roan very shortly. The Queen of Scots, now in France, was sick of a quartan, and, as it was surely thought, was in a consumption. The Dauphin was sick again.

The French have an ill opinion of King Philip.

The French had an ill opinion of King Philip, especially in four points: *viz.* that he warred against the Pope, contrary to his promise. That he took and kept some of his towns against his promise. That Ruy Gomez

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came not to treat, as was promised. And the suspicion they had that the Duke of Boloign was poisoned; and that the King was privy to it. For that they compelled his wife and son to be bound for the payment of the rest of his ransom, whether the Duke lived or died. That he was found by his physicians to have been poisoned.

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Some passages of Shaxton, sometime bishop of Salisbury. Hullier burned at Cambridge. An oath to be taken by such as took degrees in Cambridge.

Shaxton, with others, condemneth Hullier at Cambridge.

I WILL under this year put in a few notes of Dr. Nicolas Shaxton; this year, in April, being the last time I meet with him in history; and then we find him ill-favouredly employed, embruing his hands in the blood of John Hullier, an excellent, devout man, and zealous preacher of the gospel, in the dioceses of Norwich and Ely. For having been cited to appear at St. Mary's in Cambridge, before a great rout of popish doctors, as Yong, Sedgwick, Scot, and especially, as chiefest, Dr. Shaxton, then the Bishop of Ely's suffragan, and by him sent to Cambridge for this purpose; he was on Palm Sunday condemned to the fire: which cruel judgment was executed upon him the Thursday following, or Maundy Thursday, on Jesus Green.

Some account of Shaxton.

This Shaxton was one that began well, and held on well for the most part of his life, (as hath been shewn,) but fell off at last, and made an ill conclusion. He was zealous for the gospel, when he was at Cambridge, and studied in Gonvile hall, a house noted for men affecting religion, about 1530. By means of Crumwel he was preferred to Queen Ann's service, and after, to be Bishop of Sarum, about 1535, at the same time that Latimer was preferred to Worcester: and within four years after, stood against the six articles, and with him was then imprisoned, and with him resigned. But about seven years after, *viz.* 1546, he fell off from the good profession, and recanted, out of fear of his life, and

soon after, more publicly and scandalously, did it in Smithfield, at the burning of Ann Askue in June, when he again revoked thirteen articles: which revocation or recantation was confuted in a book made by Rob. Crowley soon after. Anno 1556.

Upon his compliance with Popery, he became master of the hospital of St. Giles in Norwich, to which Rugge the bishop was patron. Which bishop, and Shaxton the master, by their deed acknowledged and enrolled, bearing date March the 6th, *an.* 1 *reg.* Edward VI. did give and grant to the King the said hospital, and the possessions and hereditaments belonging to the same. He lived obscurely under the rest of the reign of King Edward, our histories making no mention of him. But under Queen Mary he was heard of again, being often among such as were commissioned to examine and condemn the gospellers. He is master of St. Giles's hospital. Cok. Institut. P. iv. p. 256.

He that is minded to know more of him, how testy, and passionate, and hot he was in his temper, and of the occasion of his recantation, may have recourse to Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. And in the Collections is placed a notable letter of the Lord Crumwel to him, while he was Bishop, taken out of the Cotton library; and the thirteen popish articles to which he subscribed, taken out of Bishop Boner's register. Vol. i. p. 240 and 340. Book iii. N°. 8. and N°. 29.

I shall here represent his good zeal for religion in his younger days, and also when he was a member of the University. About the time of Bilney's troubles, which was in the years 1530 and 1531, Shaxton was taken notice of for his fervent preaching against superstitions, and suffered much. He preached at Westacre on St. Thomas's day: blind Bishop Nix of Norwich, a zealous man for Popery, heard of the sermon, and diligently inquired of the Prior of Westacre and of the Prior of Penteney concerning it. And they, probably men well affected to him and his doctrine, shewed the Bishop, that it was a good sermon, and that there was no heresy in it. But this information did not satisfy the Bishop, who had received another character of Shaxton, living now, it seems, in his diocese: wherefore he sent an order from Hoxne, to one that officiated as the Shaxton in trouble from the Bishop of Norwich. 354 Let. of Bishop Nix, extant in Fox, first edit. p. 481.

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Bishop's chancellor at a visitation in Norwich, (in the room of Pells, then absent,) that he should give the Prior of Westacre his oath upon a book; and upon that oath to inquire, whether Shaxton had taught to any of his brethren, that is, the friars, any erroneous opinion, or not. The said Bishop likewise bade one Ralph Cantrel, lately at Cambridge, to inquire of the Vice-Chancellor, and of others, of the demeanour of Shaxton: which Cantrel reported to the Bishop, that he was sore suspected of many; and that he had made a sermon *ad clerum* on Ash-Wednesday 1531, where the Vice-Chancellor took him in two points.

The first was, *Quod malum et periculosum est publice asserere aut prædicare* purgatorium *non esse. Credere tamen* purgatorium *non esse nullo pacto est damnabile.* That is, "That it is evil and dangerous publicly to assert or "preach, that there is no *purgatory*. Yet to believe there "is no *purgatory*, is by no means damnable."

The second was, *Impossibile est hominem* [se] *continere, aut castum esse*, &c. That is, "That it is impossible for a "man to be continent, or chaste, although he mortify him-"self with fasting, is diligent in his prayers, and abstain "and refrain from company, sight, and thoughts, unless "God give [grace.]" Another saying he then had, "That "in his daily celebration of mass, he offered continual "prayers to God, that celibacy should be wholly taken "away from the clergy, and that wedlock might be granted "and permitted them."

And from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

For these passages in his *clerum*, he was convented before the heads, but he stood in them steadfastly. So that Mr. Vice-Chancellor Dr. Watson, with the assistance of Dr. Wilson and Edmunds, had much ado to bring him to forsake them; which, at length, he did at their persuasion, and to avoid open abjuration. And upon this, the Vice-Chancellor drew up an oath for him especially; but which not only he, but all others, that that year proceeded, did openly and solemnly swear. The which oath was as followeth:

An oath imposed upon all

"You shall swear by the holy contents of this book, "that you shall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at any

" time during your life, any opinion erroneous, or error of " Wickliff, Hus, Luther, or any other condemned of he- " resy: and that ye shall keep, hold, maintain, and defend " generally and especially, all such articles and points as " the Catholic Church of Rome believeth, holdeth, or main- " taineth at this time: and that ye shall allow and accept, " maintain and defend, for their power, all traditions, in- " stitutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable customs, as the " said Church of Rome taketh them, and alloweth them, " and approveth them: and that you shall namely and 355 " specially hold as the said Catholic Church holdeth in all " these articles, wherein lately hath been controversy, dis- " sension, and error: as concerning faith and works, grace " and free-will, of sin in a good work, of the sacrifice of the " New Testament, of the priesthood, of the new law, of " communion under both kinds, of baptism and Christian " liberty, of monastic vows, of fasting and choice of meats, " of the single life of priests, of the Church, of the canoni- " cal books, of the firm holding of matters not expressed in " the Scriptures, of the inerrability of general councils in " faith and manners, of the power of the Church to make " laws, of the Church's sacraments and their efficacy, of the " power of excommunication conferred upon the Church, of " punishing heretics, of the sacrifice of the mass, of purga- " tory, of worshipping saints and praying to them, of worship- " ping the images of saints, of pilgrimages, of evangelical " precepts and councils. And likewise of all other articles, " wherein controversy or dissension hath been in the Church " before this day." This oath was an effectual bar for keeping out all from commencing in divinity, but such as were round Papists. But I suppose it lasted but this year, and was not required the next, when Simon Heyns was Vice-Chancellor, a man of other principles. But thus was Shaxton then hampered, when he stood for his degree of doctor.

Anno 1556. that commenced degrees of divinity in that University.

It was soon after this that he had bought certain good books, and, for the better promoting of the knowledge of true religion, had conveyed and dispersed them in the diocese of Norwich: (where now it seems he lived, either as a

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friar or a curate:) for which, especially hearing the former report of him, the Bishop took him up, and kept him a prisoner; and gave commandment to Richard Hill, the Bishop's gaoler, to keep him sure, resolving that he should abjure before he departed. This was in June 1531. And so jealous was he of Shaxton, that he swore by God's mother, that he feared he had burned Abel, meaning Bilney, and let Cain go. But these depressions and sufferings of Shaxton made way for him not long after to preferment, being made master of Gonwel and Caius college, of which house he was Queen Anne's chaplain, and a prebendary of Sarum, and soon after Bishop of the said church.

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But leaving Shaxton, I shall proceed to make some remarks upon another person in these times, that remained more steady and constant in his profession.

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Palmer a martyr. Some story of him. Thackham's concern therein. Boulton's sufferings. A relation of the taking of Palmer.

Palmer's learning and writings.

AMONG those many good men that suffered fire this year for the sake of pure religion, one was Julins, or Julius Palmer, a young man, once of Magdalen college, Oxon, lately schoolmaster of Reading. He writ a poem, entitled, *Epicedium*, (for he was a man of florid learning,) against one Morwin, who had made verses in praise of the Bishop of Winchester, deceased. He wrote also certain English rhymes, by way of satire, against some persecutors unnamed. Also arguments, both in Latin and English, against the popish proceedings, and especially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny. Some that pretended to be his friends and favourers of the gospel, and had entered into a familiar acquaintance with him, proved false, and dealt Judas-like with him in his absence; having rifled his study, and these and other his writings. And being minded to settle a friend of theirs, whose name was Thomas Thackham, in this

Betrayed.

school, threatened him, that unless he would depart, and leave the school, they would shew his writings to the Council. Whereupon he fled, leaving in their hands his stuff, and one quarter's stipend for teaching unpaid, as appeared by a letter of his, writ but eight days before his death. Afterwards, coming to Reading, he was seized there, and burnt at Newbery not long after. Anno 1556. Burnt.

Thackham vindicates himself, being charged with treachery towards Palmer.

It was also charged upon this Thackham, that he, with Cox, Downer, and Gately, made one Hampton an instrument, by whose practice they might the sooner bring their mischievous purposes to pass. The said Thackham, that succeeded him in the school, was charged deeply with treachery towards him in Fox's first edition; who, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being then a minister in Northampton, was exceedingly offended herewith, and did endeavour to clear himself by a writing published. He came also to Mr. Fox, and deposed with deep oaths and protestations, appealing to God and to his judgment upon his soul, if it were not false that was informed against him. This made Fox, in his second edition of Acts and Monuments, to be more sparing of Thackham's name; yet seeming to make doubt of his integrity; and therefore left the information to stand as it did before. But the information remaining in the new edition, much whereof was known to reflect upon him, he wrote an answer in the year 1572, which he styled, "An answer to a slander, untruly reported by "Mr. Fox, in a certain book, entitled, *The second volume* "*of the Ecclesiastical History, containing the Acts and* "*Monuments of Martyrs;* which was brought unto him, "as it may be supposed, by some uncharitable and ma- "licious slanderer against Thomas Thackham, minister; "whereby it will appear unto the gentle reader, both how "much the writer of the history hath been abused, and how "wrongfully the said Tho. Thackham hath been slandered." Thackham's book.

This book received a reply, entitled, *A Reply to an un-* 357
discreet Answer made by one T. Thackham, sometime of The reply thereto.
Reading, against the story of Julius Palmer, Martyr. Thackham, in his book, did endeavour to disprove several

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circumstances in Fox's relation concerning Palmer. As, that he was not taken at the Cardinal's Hat, but in another place: not in his house at night, but in the afternoon; not in a chamber, but taken climbing over a wall, and such like:

Thackham faulty.

but Thackham's credit went but a little way, being a scandalous man, (a maid being with child by him,) and one that shrunk back from religion in Queen Mary's days, though in the beginning of her reign, he professed in the pulpit, that he would seal his doctrine with his blood, and stand unto it even to death. Having renounced religion, he said, he would never be minister again; yet, in that Queen's reign, he brought into the Church certain leaves of the old popish service, and he, with others, did help to patch together the books, and to sing the first Latin evensong in the church of St. Laurence. And those circumstances before mentioned, concerning Mr. Palmer, which Thackham would so confidently prove to be false, were, upon examination of the woman and hostler, that lived at the Cardinal's Hat, and others in Reading, attested and avowed to be true. And this for the credit of Fox's history.

Thackham harboured the good Lady Vane.

Yet not to defraud Thackham of his praise, if we may take his own word for it. In the time of persecution, he kept secretly with him, one and twenty weeks, the Lady Vane: who for her zeal, virtue, religion, godly life, and especially bountifulness towards the poor brethren, deserved as great commendation as any one man or woman living at that time. For whose cause, immediately after her departure, at the commandment of Sir Francis Inglefield, one of the Queen's Privy Council, and master of the Wards and Liveries, his study was broken up, and his books taken away by one Clement Burdet, parson of Inglefield; and he put in close prison ten days at Inglefield, and after sent prisoner to Reading, to the mayor's house, where neither wife nor any other might speak with him. He was a friend also to one John Bolton, sometime of Reading, who, lying in gaol here for religion, grew mad, and in his raving fits railed upon Queen Mary; who thereupon was cruelly tormented in the said prison. Which Bolton becoming sober, and of a better

John Bolton mad, imprisoned.

mind, Thackham took pity upon the man, because he seemed to be of good religion, and besought Mr. Edmunds, then mayor, that he would stand his good master, and take some charitable way for his deliverance: which, after a long suit, was granted, upon condition he would put in two sureties beside himself, that should be bound in five pounds apiece, that he should appear the next sessions. But when, by reason of the times, his very friends durst not become sureties for such a traitor and rank heretic, as Bolton was then thought to be, he desired the mayor to take him alone with Bolton, which the mayor gently granted. And so this poor man was set at liberty, and departed. But when the sessions came, Bolton left Thackham to pay the forfeiture. Something more of the story of this Bolton, and how he affected to have his sufferings recorded in print, may be read in a letter written by John Moyar, in the Catalogue. And these merits Thackham urged in his own behalf.

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However, I will not here omit to recite the manner of seizing of Palmer, as it is related by Thackham in his book, though different from what came to Fox's hands from his informers, as written by him.

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Thackham's relation of the taking of Palmer.

Upon the first edition of Fox's book, which, I think, was about the year 1565 or 1566, Thackham and others being severely made mention of, as betrayers of Palmer, Thackham, then a minister in Northampton, Sir Robert Lane, and Mr. Yelverton, a counsellor of the law, and recorder of that city, often had told him, and divers of his friends sent him word, that they marvelled that he would neither confess his fault, nor answer it, if he were innocent. Some gave him counsel to have an action of law against Mr. Fox, for slandering him. Some said Mr. Fox was not in fault, but that Thackham should answer the slanderer: whereunto he agreed. So, making a preface of honour and great respect for Fox, "Blessed be God," saith he, "for him, I reve-
"rence him as a most excellent jewel of our age, and account
"of him, as of a principal pillar of religion;" he proceeds to give this account of this matter:

"Palmer had the free-school of Reading, of one Sir John

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" Moor, vicar of St. Giles, in Queen Mary's time, which he " taught diligently; behaved himself honestly; came to " church many Sundays and holydays with his scholars, " and sat in St. John's chapel; lived so quietly among " them, that, I dare swear, he had not one enemy in the " town. This Palmer taught a son of one John Ridges, " the Queen's servant, and one of the stable; which boy, " either for his negligence in learning, either for some " shrewd turn, he beat in the school. Ridges thinking he " had given his son more correction than he deserved, in " great rage came into the school, and boxed Palmer about " the ears, and so departed. Palmer taking this grievously, " that he had so much misused him, took a pitchfork of his " hostess, and lay three or four days in wait in the vasterne, " beneath one John Ryder's garden, to have done him some " displeasure as he went to a close that Ridges had toward " Causam bridge, but could at no time meet with him. " After that he had thus watched Ridges, he told me how " he had done, and what he had purposed. I told him, " that Ridges was too good for him, willing him not to seek " to be revenged of him, but to tell the mayor and the " masters of the town. No, said Palmer, for by that means " I shall never prevail; for he can make mo friends than I. " One fortnight after, Palmer came to me and said, that he " would give up his school, if he might have reasonably for " the patent, which hung but upon the life of one old man, " called Cox. I told Palmer, that since Queen Mary came " to the crown, I was put from my vicarage there, and was " constrained to labour sore for my living. For, as it is " well known, I went every week fourscore miles save four " on foot to buy yarn, and sell it again at Reading. Of which " tedious journies and painful travail, I waxed weary.

" Wherefore I said, that if in time to come he were dis- " posed to leave the school, so that I could get the good- " will of the town to keep it again, I would give him with " reason for the patent. Palmer said, that he was content " that I should have it before another, if he did yield it up, " and so we parted for that time.

" A month after, he came to me again, and said, that " he was come to be as good as his promise, which was, to " grant me his good-will to have the school before any man. " I thanked him, and demanded of him what he would re- 359 " quire for the patent. He said, I should do three things " for him. The one was, that I should give him forty " shillings in his purse; the other was, that I should give " him four pounds to buy him apparel, or else be surety for " as much apparel as came to four pounds; the third was, " that I should provide him some place where he might " teach a gentleman's child, and live to his conscience. I " answered him again, that I must require likewise three " things at his hands. First, That I might procure the good- " wills of the worshipful of the town to become the school- " master again. Secondarily, That I might have a time to " procure such a place for him, where he might live safely, " quietly, and to his conscience. Thirdly, That he would " take forty shillings in hand, and the residue at two con- " venient times, and therewith buy that he lacked himself. " Which Palmer granted with good-will.

" Then rode I first to Horsington in Buckinghamshire, " to one Mr. Rafe Lee, which had one son, whom I had " taught before, and told him, that if he would have a " schoolmaster with him to teach his son Edward Lee, I " could provide him of an honest, quiet, sober, and learned " young man. Whereof Master Lee was glad, and requested " me so to do; and he would compound with him for such " a stipend as he should reasonably require. I returned to " Reading, and told Palmer what I had done, and how I " had sped; wherewith Palmer was content. Then we " appointed a day to repair to the gentleman, and to bar- " gain for his stipend: and so we did, whom Master Lee " and his wife liked very well. Then after we were re- " turned unto Reading again, I went unto Mr. Edmunds, " Mr. Edward Butler, Mr. Thomas Turner, Mr. Aldworth, " my very friends, declaring to them, that Palmer would " leave the school, and dwell with a gentleman; and desired " them that I might have their good-wills to teach it again;

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" for I was weary of playing the packman, and of my " tedious journies to Salisbury weekly. Who answered, " that they thought no less, and that I should have their " good-wills to keep the school.

" This done, Palmer and I came both to Mr. Edmunds, " steward of Reading, to have our writings made. And " when it was agreed that I should pay Palmer forty shil- " lings in hand, and enter into bands to pay him the other " four pounds at two other times, by even portions, and if " the said sums were not answered according to covenants, " that then it should be lawful for Palmer to resume his " patent, and enjoy the same, as in his former estate. It was " also agreed upon, that Mr. Edmunds should keep the " patent and resignation, and all other writings, until the last " forty shillings were paid.

" And thus I entered to keep the school, and Palmer " went to Mr. Lee's to dwell, and there continued. And " after Palmer had received his last payment, Mr. Edmunds " delivered me the patent, resignation, and all other writ- " ings. But albeit Palmer was well, and where he might " have lived quietly, yet (as it is well known) he could not
360 " tarry ten days from his hostess, but often resorted unto " her, so that he grew to be evil thought of; and her hus- " band began to mistrust him, albeit, I think, he gave never " any such cause. But so often resorted Palmer from Hor- " sington to his hostess, that her husband began to suspect " him. Then was a letter intercepted, which she wrote to " him; which being seen, her husband kept. And at Pal- " mer's next return to Reading, (as it was told me,) by the " cook's means, his hostess's husband, Palmer was brought " before the mayor, and committed to the cage. At which " time whatsoever the slanderer hath said of me, I was not " at home, neither knew I any thing thereof until five days " after it was done, God I take to record. Then was Pal- " mer brought forth of the cage, and warned by the mayor " to come no more at his hostess; and was let return again " to Horsington, where he dwelled with Mr. Lee: whether " his master knew of his trouble, or not, I cannot tell. Not-

" withstanding this punishment and warning given him by " the mayor, to come no more to his hostess, Palmer came " to his hostess again on Tuesday, as I think, about ten of " the clock in the forenoon. And as I sat at dinner, he " sent his hostess's sister, a little wench, for me to come and " speak with him. By twelve of the clock I came to him. " And when I was come, he said unto me, Mr. Thackham, " I think ye have heard how I have been used here of late " by the means of my host, who, as I think, is persuaded " that I resort to his house for some evil purpose. I have " a letter here, which I have written to Mr. Edmunds, " wherein I have declared how I have been abused, and " wherein. And have therein so cleared myself, that when " he hath read it, I doubt not but he will think better of " me than at this present he doth. Which letter I beseech " you to deliver for me unto him.

" I answered, Mr. Palmer, I think it better that ye de- " liver it yourself. Nay, said Palmer, he so reviled me " when I was here last, that I know he cannot abide me. " But by your means, and at your request, he will receive " my letter, and read it. Herein you shall do me a great " pleasure. Mr. Palmer, said I, if the delivery of your " letter may stand you in stead, I will carry it unto the " mayor, and further do you what pleasure I can. So I " took the letter, being fast sealed with the superscription, " *To Mr. Edmunds.* He sat in his study, writing an obli- " gation: to whom I said, that Mr. Palmer had requested " me to bring a letter, beseeching him to read the same, " wherein he should perceive how innocent he was of all " that his host or any other had laid to his charge. Well, " said Mr. Edmunds, lay it down, and I will look upon it " anon; and so I departed. Within one half hour Mr. " Edmunds sent for me again. When I came, he said, Mr. " Thackham, Palmer hath writ here no such matter as ye " told me of, but doth rail at the Queen and her laws: I " am her Majesty's officer, and may not conceal, neither " will. Sir, said I, if he have overshot himself in any thing, " I beseech you take him not at the worst. Well, said Mr.

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" Edmunds, go your way, I may not conceal it, neither will " I. And as I was departing out of his wicket, he whistled, " as his manner was, for one of his sergeants. I went home " to my school, where I walked, marvelling what would " come of it. So soon as I was gone, the mayor, Mr. Ed-
361 " munds, commanded the sergeant to go to the cook's house, " and call Palmer to him. When the sergeant knocked at the " cook's door, his hostess's sister espied him, and told Palmer " who was at the door. Palmer, hearing that an officer was " come for him, conveyed himself out of the kitchen door " into the backside, and so into his hostess's garden. The " sergeant at the door saw him go that way, and thrust open " the door, and followed him, and took him at the end of " his hostess's garden, about to leap over a wall, and brought " him to the mayor.

" It happened that very same day, there sat at the Bear " in Reading, Dr. Jeffrey, the parson of Inglefield, with " divers other commissioners. When the sergeant was come " with Palmer, the mayor commanded him to go with " him: when Palmer followed, not knowing, as I think, " whither he would bring him. The mayor went straight- " way to the Bear, where the commissioners were in a par- " lour upon the right-hand, as ye come into the inn. When " the mayor was come to the commissioners, he declared " unto them how the man whom he brought had sent " him a letter, wherein was contained matter which he " would not conceal, and so he delivered the letter to them. " And then the commissioners willed him to sit down at " the table's end, which is next to the street. And when " the mayor was sat down, they asked who brought him the " letter. The mayor answered, One Mr. Thackham, their " schoolmaster. I pray you, Mr. Mayor, saith Dr. Jeffrey, " let him be sent for. So the mayor commanded his ser- " geant to go for me. When the sergeant came for me, I " was walking in the school. The sergeant said, that the " commissioners commanded me to come to them. I went " with him. When I came before them, Dr. Jeffrey, as I " think, or some other of them, asked me, whether I deli-

" vered the letter to the mayor, or not. I said, that I did
" deliver the letter to him. They asked me, whether Pal-
" mer and I did devise it, and which of us wrote it. I
" answered, that it is to be thought, that I would answer
" that I did neither write it, nor know of the writing
" thereof. But, Sir, said I, I will not answer the question;
" let this man, meaning Palmer, that stood by me, answer
" how it was.

" Palmer then immediately answered, Sir, I wrote it, and
" I will stand to it. And as for this man, he neither wrote
" it, neither knew what was in it; but delivered it to Mr.
" Mayor at my request. Then said the parson of Ingle-
" field to me, Mr. Thackham, I wish that ye teach *gram-*
" *mar*, and let divinity alone.

" By this time was Welch, the keeper of the prison, come
" into the parlour, and I was bid depart. Where I left
" Palmer talking with them stoutly. But when I was
" against one Mr. Barn's door, I looked back, and saw Pal-
" mer coming with the keeper of the prison. The same day
" Palmer was committed, the keeper came to me, and much
" lamented Palmer's trouble, and said, that he, as he was
" much bound to him for teaching his son, when he was
" schoolmaster, so he would now be glad to shew him all
" the favour he might. But, saith he, Mr. Thackham, you
" heard what charge I had to keep him so close that no-
" body should come at him. I prayed him to shew him all
" the favour he might: which he promised to do. And 362
" I gave the keeper three shillings to give him. And at
" three sundry times besides, I sent him three shillings at a
" time. And after that day, when I looked back, and saw
" him coming with the keeper, I never saw Palmer, neither
" came he out of prison, so far as I know, any more, before
" he was sent to Newbery, where he was arraigned, con-
" demned, and burnt.

" He that had Palmer to Newbery was a weaver, with a
" black beard; who became a sumner, and went after to
" dwell at Salisbury: he told my wife, that Palmer being
" at the stake, requested this sumner to have him com-

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" mended to Mr. Thackham, and to pray him to forgive " him the twelve shillings that he owed him, which I lent " him when he lay in prison: for in consideration that I " had a benefit at his hand, I thought it my duty the rather " to help him in that extremity. Thus hast thou heard, gen- " tle reader, how I dealt with Palmer, how his trouble be- " gan, how he was used, and by what occasions. Which " if you compare with that the railer hath caused Mr. Fox " to write, thou shalt not find one sentence true.

" From Northampton, the xxxth of January, the year " of our salvation 1572.

" By me Thomas Thackham."

This relation of the occasion and story of Palmer's troubles was put by Thackham into Fox's hands for his own vindication; and Fox sent it to one Thomas Perry, a grave minister in Gloucestershire; desiring him to inquire diligently into the truth of this matter. Who returned Fox this answer, which I do insert, to shew what little opinion good men had of Thackham, and withal to shew Fox's commendable diligence and inquiry into truth.

" Right reverend and beloved in the Lord,

" I have received your letters, together with Thackham's " answer; which I perceive you have well perused, and do " understand his crafty and ungodly dealing therein, that I " may not say, fond and foolish. For he doth not deny " the substance of the story, but only seeketh to take advan- " tage by some circumstances of the time and place; " wherein yet may be ther was an oversight, for lack of per- " fect instructions, or good remembrance at the begynning. " He confesseth that he delivered a letter of Palmer's own " hand to the maior of Reading, which was the occasion " of his imprisonment and death: only he excuseth himself " by transferring the crime *a seipso in martyrem*. Briefly, " his whole end and purpose is to give the world to under- " stand, that the martyr was guilty, as well of incontinency, " as also of wilful casting away of himself. O impudent

" man! The wise and godly reader may easily smell his " stinking heart. He careth not, though he outface the " godly martyr, and the whole volume of martyrs, to save " (as he thinketh) his own honesty and good name. How- " beit I cannot, but God will confound him to his utter " shame, and reveal his cloked hypocrisy to the defence of " his blessed martyr, and the whole story. Though many " of them be dead, that gave instructions in times past, and " now could have born witness, yet, thanks be to God, ther " want not alyve, that can and wyl testify the trueth herein " to his confusion. No dylygence shall be spared in the 363 " matter, as shortly, I trust, you shall understand. In the " mean while Thackham nede not be importunate for an " answer. He reporteth himself to the whole town of Read- " ing; therefore he must geve us some space. The God of " truth defend you, and all other that maintain his truth, " from the venomous poyson of lyars. *Vale in Christo, qui* " *Ecclesiæ suæ te diu servet incolumen.* From Beverton " in Glocestershire, May vi.

" Yours in the Lord,

" Thomas Perrye, minister.

" To the right reverend in God, Mr. John Fox, preacher " of the gospel in London, be thes dd. at Mr. Daies " the printer, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath S. " Martins."

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I have been too long upon this matter. But I have done it for the vindication of Mr. Fox's excellent history, and for the further clearing of the informations which he received and believed, so as to induce him to commit them into his book. Upon inquiries made at Reading, and examinations of matters relating to Palmer's business, and Thackham's book, it appeared, that he was defective of truth, and Fox's account, for the main, true. A writing of this inquisition I place in the Catalogue, for a farewell of this matter. No. XLIX.

CHAP. XLVII.

Various sects among the professors of religion. John Clement, prisoner for religion. Protestants' confessions of faith. Care taken of the prisoners. Parish priests.

Anno 1556. THERE were now abundance of sects and dangerous doctrines: whose maintainers shrouded themselves under the professors of the gospel. Some denied the Godhead of Christ; some denied his manhood; others denied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, original sin, the doctrine of predestination and free election, the descent of Christ into hell, (which the Protestants here generally held,) the baptism of infants. Some condemned the use of all indifferent things in religion: others held free will, man's righteousness, and justification by works, doctrines which the Protestants in the times of King Edward for the most part disowned. By these opinions a scandal was raised upon the true professors. Therefore it was thought fit now by the orthodox, to write and publish summary confessions of their faith, to leave behind them when they were dead: wherein they should disclaim these doctrines, as well as all popish doctrines whatsoever.

Difference of opinions among professors.

This was done by one John Clement this year, lying a prisoner in the King's Bench for religion, entitled, *A Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith.* In which it appears, the Protestants thought fit, notwithstanding the
364 condemnation and burning of Cranmer, Ridley, Latymer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford, for heretics, to own their doctrine as agreeable to the word of God, and them as such as sealed the same with their own blood. This confession may be looked upon as an account of the belief of the professors in those days; and to such as desire to be acquainted with such things, not unacceptable. Transcriptions and copies thereof were taken, and so dispersed for the use of good men; one whereof is in my hands. This person also wrote a pious epistle, out of the King's Bench, March 25, 1556, expecting death every day, to his neighbours among whom he chiefly conversed, namely, those that dwelt

The Protestant confession of J. Clement.

His epistle.

in Nutfield, Merstham, Chaldon, and thereabout, in the county of Surrey. Wherein he reproved those that were present at the idolatrous mass, and thought themselves faultless, doing it out of civil policy: and exhorted them to hold fast their profession, and to use no other means to avoid the violence of the persecutors but by flight: which he recommended to them. I have put this epistle, with the foresaid confession, into the Catalogue. Fox saith little of this person, but that he died in the prison of the King's Bench, and was a wheelwright.

No. LX, LXI.

Laymen read and exhort in the private assemblies.

This Clement I esteem to be one of that sort of laymen, that, in the private assemblies of the professors, in these hard times, did perform the office of ministers among them. For when the learned preachers and ministers were most of them burnt or fled, (as they were by the middle of this reign,) and the flocks left destitute of their faithful pastors, some of the laity, tradesmen, or others, endued with parts and some learning, used, in that distress, to read the Scriptures to the rest in their meetings, and the letters of the martyrs and prisoners, and other good books; also to pray with them, and exhort them to stand fast, and to comfort and establish them in the confession of Christ to the death. Such an one was that excellent, pious man and confessor, John Careless, who was a weaver, of Coventry, and this Clement, a wheelwright. Who, in his epistle, styles himself, *an unprofitable servant of the Lord.* And, speaking of the warnings of the preachers that were then dead, and had confirmed their sayings with their blood, saith thus of himself: "I myself, when I was with you, did, with my simple "learning and knowledge, the best I could, to call you "from those things that will surely bring the wrath of God "upon you, except ye repent in time, and turn to the Lord "with your whole heart; but how the preacher's warnings "and my poor admonitions have been and be regarded, "God and you do know." Clement's burning was prevented by his death in prison, being buried in the backside of the King's Bench in a dunghill, June the 25th; where two days before was one Adheral buried, who likewise died

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in the same prison, and in the same cause. And in the same prison and cause, five days after, died John Careless, and was contumeliously buried where the two others were.

Anno 1556.

Another confession signed by thirteen martyrs.

Thirteen persons were this year burnt together at Stratford Bow; who also subscribed a confession. The occasion whereof was this. Feckenham, dean of St. Paul's, had publicly in the pulpit at Paul's Cross, the Sunday after they were condemned, defamed them; by declaring, "that he "had talked with them, and that they were all of different "opinions. That there were sixteen of them, and that they
365 "were of sixteen sundry opinions." For this was one of the matters the Romanists used to boast of then, as well as of latter times, namely, their unity in doctrine, and the dissensions of Protestants. In vindication therefore of themselves, these good men, before their death, made a declaration of their faith, which is printed in Fox, and signed by sixteen. For so many were condemned by Bonner to be burnt. But Cardinal Pole sent his dispensation for the saving the lives of three of them, who had, it seems, recanted, and promised to submit to penance. Which dispensation being worth observing, is in the Catalogue. But besides this confession signed by the sixteen, there was another signed by those thirteen that were burnt; which being not printed in Fox's book, I have from a MS. transmitted into the same place; which agrees much with Clement's confession beforesaid.

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No. LXII, LXIII.

The professors slandered for their different judgments.

A report also was spread of divers honest professors that were in the Bishop's coal-house, that they were all of different opinions, but it was false. And one of them, named Stephen Cotton, wrote a letter to his brother John Cotton, to rectify that lie invented of them, in these words: "Al-

Mart. letters.

"beit I do perceive by the letter, you are informed, that "as we are divers persons in number, so are we of con-"trary sects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to that good "opinion you had of us at your last being with us in New-"gate. Be you most assured, good brother in the Lord "Jesus, that we are all of one mind, one faith, one assured "hope in our Lord Jesus. Whom, I trust, we altogether,

" with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily pray unto for
" mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance
" of our former lives; and by whose precious bloodshed-
" ding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means.
" Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing
" these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent
" to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, do
" go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not,
" and never let their wicked sayings once enter into your
" mind." Thus Cotton. Thus we see how industriously they disowned all Arians, Anabaptists, and such like; who being not of the Roman faith, the Papists would fain have joined them all with the Protestants, to disgrace and disparage the holy profession.

Care taken for the prisoners of Christ, by well disposed persons.

Those that were now in durance for their consciences were many, and the prisons and counters were replenished with them, and the hunger, cold, pain, and hardships they endured, were very deplorable; insomuch that many died in prison, notwithstanding the great care that was taken for the imprisoned and condemned, by sending oftentimes to them provisions and things needful; and likewise pious men came to strengthen and comfort them by their counsel and discourses, and prayers, and alms. One, and the chief indeed of these charitable visitors, was Augustin Bernher, a servant and friend of old Latimer, that was extraordinary diligent in this office, in conveying letters and relief from and to the prisoners, to his great danger. For the adversaries having had notice of him, laid diligent wait to take him. So that John Careless, being one of those now in prison, wrote to him to be circumspect of himself. " That
" he did not disallow, but praised and commended his hearty 366
" boldness in putting himself in press, when any one of God's
" people needed his help in any point: but yet he would
" not have him thrust himself in danger [which his zeal and
" charity made him do] when he could do them no good,
" or at least when they might well enough spare that good
" he would do for them. For if he should then chance
" to be taken, he should not only be no comfort unto them,

Augustin Bernher, a great visitor of them.

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"but also a great discomfort, adding sorrow unto their sor-
"row. He persuaded him not, he said, to absent himself
"from any place where his presence of necessity was re-
"quired. For in all such places he knew God would pre-
"serve him, as he had hitherto wonderfully done. Or if
"it should please him to permit him in any such place to
"be taken, he knew God would sweetly comfort his con-
"science with this consideration, that it was his very provi-
"dence and appointment, that he should be taken up for a
"witness of God's truth. But he could not allow, he said,
"nor be contented, that he should rashly or negligently
"thrust himself into the place where his wicked enemies
"continually haunted and laid wait for him, for no neces-
"sity of himself, nor of God's people required. And that
"if any needed his godly counsel, he might write unto them
"that which he thought good. And that now and then a
"godly letter would do as much good as his company."
Such visitors had these poor prisoners, who did not only bring them relief in their needs, but came and sat with them when they were in their stocks and dungeons, and by holy discourse administered comfort to them there.

Parish priests and curates.

It was now about the middle of the Queen's reign, and Popery was completely settled again, and the mass celebrated every where, and the mass-singers, who boggled at the work at first, went currently and jollily on with it in their several parish churches, and became great enemies and informers against those that frequented it not. For the popish priests and curates, in the change of religion, went generally along with the stream, how little soever they liked to see the English liturgy changed for a Latin mass, and a reasonable service thrown by for a superstitious unintelligible worship. For most of them knew the truth well enough, and upon their first conformity with the old religion, would privately, among their friends, freely confess it. But after some time had passed over their heads, and a year or two's use of the mass had made it familiar to them, they were very well reconciled to it, and even zealous in its behalf. Which occasioned Clement, before mentioned, in his epistle to his

friends and neighbours in Surrey, to give them this warning of their priests: "Beware of them that should be the shepherds and pastors, for they deceive you, and are become very wolves. They knew the truth, and privily would confess it. But now see if they wax not worse and worse. And this is the just judgment of God; because that when they knew God, they glorifyed him not as God, neither were they thankful; and therefore hath God given them up to their own hearts' lusts. But it is a just plague of God to them, that had the truth offered them, and regarded it not, to send them strong delusions, to believe lies; that they all may be damned that believed not the truth. Dear friends, follow not their examples."

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Presentations to vacant churches, made by the King and Queen this year, were to the number of one hundred and nine; and again the same year twenty-one more: again the same year seventy-eight more; as they are particularly set down by Mr. Rymer, in his extracts from the records of those times. And of these in the city of London, the parishes following had these clerks presented to them.

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Presentations to vacant churches.

Rymer p. 437.

To Richard Papeworth was granted the rectory of St. Mary de Axe.

Vacant livings in London.

To William Marrel was granted the rectory of St. Lawrence.

To William Collingwood, the rectory of St. Margaret Moyses; to Richard Archebald, the rectory of St. Laurence Pounteney, with the church of All Saints Minori.

To Rob. Rógers, the rectory of St. Nicholas Cold Abby.

To Will. Williams, the rectory of All Saints in Muro.

To Edward Stevenson, the rectory of St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane.

To Henry Atkinson, the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's.

To Clement Erington, the vicarage of St. John's, Walbrook.

To which let me add, in the year 1554: To William Chedsey, the church of Alhallows, Bread-street: whose former incumbent was Sampson, a learned divine and zealous Protestant: who was glad to fly; and after ards writ a very Christian and pastoral letter to his flock there.

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To John Brabant, St. Michael's, Crooked-lane.

Besides, in the year before, *viz.* 1553, the first year of the Anno 1556. Queen's reign, were two hundred and six presentations made by her to livings; the former incumbents being either turned out for being married men, or not complying with the introduced popish religion; or having fled away for the fear of their lives, or of acting contrary to their consciences.

CHAP. XLVIII.

A barbarous murder committed by the Lord Stourton.

Lord Stourton hanged. IN the latter end of this year, in the month of March, was Charles Lord Stourton hanged at Salisbury, with four of his servants, in other places, for a barbarous murder of Mr. Hartgil and his son, two gentlemen of Kilmington in Somersetshire. They had been, out of a shew of kindness, and of making an end of a long quarrel, invited to meet that lord. And so were set upon by a great many of his servants, bound, knocked on the head, their throats cut, and buried fifteen foot deep in his house. Our historians do not relate more of this murder; but it hath so many circumstances of baseness in it, and other matters worthy taking notice of, that I shall give a more particular account of the first original, and the progress of it, from an authentic MS. written about the time.

The occasion of his quarrel with Hartgyl. Foxii MSS. 368

" In the time of King Edward VI. William Lord Stour-
" ton, having charge of one of the King's pieces nigh Bulloyn,
" died. Shortly after whose death, Charles Lord Stourton,
" son and heir of the said Lord William Stourton, came to
" Kylmington, in the county of Somerset, to the house of
" one William Hartgyll, esquire, where dame Elizabeth,
" late wife to the said Lord William Stourton, and mother
" to the said Lord Charles Stourton, did sojourn; and
" then and there was earnestly in hand with the said Wil-
" liam Hartgyl, to be a mean unto the said dame Elizabeth,
" that she should enter into bond to him the said Lord

" Charles, in a great sum of money, that she should never " marry: which the said William Hartgyl refused to do, " unless the said Lord Charles Stourton would assign out " some good yearly portion for his said mother to live upon. " In discoursing of this matter, the said Lord Charles " Stourton fell utterly out with the said William Hartgyll.

He and his men beset Hartgyl's house.

" And shortly after, upon the Whit-sunday in the morn- " ing, the said Lord Charles Stourton came to Kylmington " church, with a great many men with bows and guns. " And when he came almost to the church door, John " Hartgyll, son of the said William Hartgyll, being a tall " lusty gentleman, being told of the said Lord Stourton's " coming, went out of the church, and drew his sword, and " ran to his father's house, adjoining fast to the church- " yard side. Divers arrows were shot at him in his passing, " but he was not hurt. His father, the said William Hart- " gyll, and his wife, being old folks, were driven to go up " into the tower of the church, with two or three of their " servants, for safeguard of their lives. When the said " John Hartgyll was come into his father's house, he took " his long bow and arrows, and bent a crossbow, and " charged a gun, and caused a woman to carry the cross- " bow and gun after him, and himself with his long bow

Hartgyl's son drives them all a-way.

" came forth, and drave away the said Lord Charles and all " his men from the house, and from about the church, so " not one of all the company tarried, saving half a score " that were entered into the church, amongst whom one was " hurt with hailshot in the shoulder, by the said John " Hartgyl. And when all that were abroad were fled, the " said John Hartgyl asked his father, what he should do.

Hartgil's son goes up to the Council of King Ed-ward.

" Unto whom his father answered and said, 'Take your " horse, and ride up to the Court, and tell the honourable " Council how I am used.' Whereupon, when the said " John Hartgyl had taken order to provide meat and drink " to be pulled up into the tower of the church, to relieve " them that were there, he rode away. And the Monday, " towards evening, he told the honourable Council how " his father was dealt withal. Whereupon they sent down

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" Sir Thomas Speake, kt. the high sheriff of Somerset, not " only to deliver the said captives, but also to bring up " with him the said Lord Charles Stourton: whom when " he came, the said honourable Council committed to the " Fleet; where he tarried not long.

In his absence they come again.

" It is to be remembered, that as soon as John Hartgyl " was ridden toward London, to the honourable Council, " the Lord Stourton's men returned to the church of Kyl- " mington, and about Hartgyl's house again: and so con- " tinued until the coming down of the said sheriff, which " was the Wednesday in the Whitsun-week, during all which " time the said William Hartgyl and his men were kept in
369 " the church tower. Mary, the said Hartgyl's wife, was
Their outrages. " permitted to go home the Whit-sunday towards night. In " the mean time the said Lord Stourton's men went to a " pasture of the said Hartgyl's, and there took up his own " riding gelding, being then well worth eight pounds, and " carried him to Stourton park pale, and there shot him in " with a crossbow, and killed the gelding: noising abroad " that the said William Hartgyl had that night been hunt- " ing in the said park upon the gelding. Thus the said " Lord Stourton continued his malice still, during all King " Edward's reign, and with violence and force took from " the said William Hartgyl all the corn and cattle that he " could any way come by, which were the said Hartgyl's.

Hartgyl complains to Queen Mary's Council.

" When King Edward was dead, the said William Hart- " gyl, and John his son, made humble suit to Queen Mary " her honourable Council for some redress, her Majesty ly- " ing then at Basing-end in Hampshire. Which said Coun- " cil called the said Lord Stourton and the said William " Hartgyl before them. And there the said Lord Stourton " promised, that if the said William Hartgyl and his son " would come home to his house, and desire his good-will, " they should not only have it, but also be restored to their " goods and chattels that he had of theirs.

A treacherous act.

" Whereupon they, trusting his faithful promise made be- " fore such presence, took one John Dackcombe, esquire, " with them, to be a witness of their submission. And

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" when they came nigh Stourton house, in a lane, half a " dozen of the Lord Stourton's men rushed forth, and let- " ting Mr. Dackcombe and the said William Hartgyl pass " them, stepped before the said John Hartgyl, and when he " turned his horse to have ridden away homeward again, " six other of the said lord's men were there with weapons " to stay him. And so being beset both before and behind, " they strake at him, and before he could draw his sword " and get from his horse, they had wounded him in three " or four places. Then he got his back to a hedge, and " there defended himself as well as he could, albeit they " wounded him in the hand, the body, and the legs, and " left him for dead. Nevertheless, when he had lain so almost " half an hour, he came to himself again, and by the help of " a cook of the said Lord Stourton's, who took pity upon " him, he got upon his horse, and so rode to the house of " one Richard Mumpesson, of Maiden Bradley, gent."

Lord Stourton fined and imprisoned by the Star-chamber.

This at last became a Star-chamber business; and in fine, the matter appeared so heinously base on the Lord Stourton's side, that he was fined in a certain sum to be paid to the Hartgyls, and was imprisoned in the Fleet. From whence he obtained licence, upon some pretence, to retire for a while into his house in the country: where he took his opportunity to murder both these gentlemen in a most horrible manner. For this, having been arraigned and condemned at Westminster, he was sent down to Salisbury, and there hanged in a silken halter: which halter was hung up and shewn in the cathedral church of Salisbury, till of late years. This lord thought to bear out himself, because he was a Papist, and the Hartgyls favourers of the gospel. " But the Queen and Council," saith Cooper in his Chronicle, " were much displeased with this " act; and therefore fearing lest the example might take " place in others, willed process and judgment to proceed " against him."

Cooper's Chronicle.

But I will now relate more particularly the treacherous, false, and inhuman proceedings of this lord, with these poor gentlemen, as I transcribe them out of my papers. 370

The Lord Sturton

" Being licensed a little before Christmas, for certain con-

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" siderations, to repair into his country upon bonds of two " thousand pounds, to render himself prisoner again in the " Fleet the first day of the term, promising faithfully, in " the mean time, to pay unto the Hartgyls such sums of " money as he was condemned to pay them; he devised " within three or four days after his arrival at his house of " Sturton Caundel, to send certain personages to the said " Hartgyls, to declare unto them, that he was ready to pay " unto them the said sums of money, according as it was or- " dered in the Star-chamber, and to commune with them " also for a further ending and quieting of all matters be- " tween them. For the which purpose, he desired a place " and time to be appointed of meeting together. The two " Hartgyls received this errand with much contentation. " And albeit they stood in some fear, that my Lord meant " not altogether as he had caused to be declared unto them; " and therefore stood in much doubt to adventure them- " selves; yet were they, in the end, content to meet with " him at Kilmington church the Monday after the twelfth " day. At which day, being the eleventh of January, about " ten of the clock, the said Lord Sturton came to Kilming- " ton, accompanied with fifteen or sixteen of his own ser- " vants, and sundry of his tenants, and some gentlemen and " justices, to the number of sixty persons in all.

" The Hartgyls attending at the place appointed, seeing " my said Lord Sturton to be at hand, and to come with so " great a company, began very much to dread. My Lord " came not to the church, but went to the church-house, " being forty passes distant from the churchyard. From " thence he sent word to the Hartgyls, who yet were in " the church, that the church was no place to talk of " worldly matters; and therefore he thought the church- " house to be a fitter place. The Hartgyls came out of " the church, and being within twenty passes of my Lord, " old Hartgyl, after due salutation, said, 'My Lord, I " see many enemies of mine about your Lordship, and " therefore I am very much afraid to come any nearer.' " My Lord assured him first himself, and after him Sir " James Fitzjames, Chaffyn, and others, emboldened him

" as much as they could, saying, 'they durst be bound in " all they had, they should have no bodily hurt.' Upon " this comfort he approached to my Lord's person. And " then my Lord told him he was come to pay them money, " which he had brought with him, and would have had " them to go into the church-house to receive it; but the " Hartgyls fearing ill to be meant unto them, refused to " enter into any covered place, the church excepted.

Lord Sturton arrests them of felony.

" Whereupon some being present thought good, that a " table should be set upon the open green; which was done " accordingly. My Lord laid thereupon a capcase and a " purse, as though he had intended to make payment; " and calling near unto him the said two Hartgyls, said " unto them, that the Council had ordered him to pay unto " them a certain sum of money, which they should have " every penny. *Marry, he would first know them to be* " *true men.* This was the watchword that he gave to " his men, as he came by the way thitherward. And there- 371
" with he laid hands on them both, saying, 'I arrest you of " felony.' And therewith his men, which to the number of " ten or twelve stood purposely round about him, laid " hold on them, and with all cruelness strait took them " both, and by violence thrust and drew them into the " church-house: where, with his own hands, he took from " them their purses. Of the which one of them falling from " him, was by a servant of his, named Upham, taken up, and " afterwards brought by him to Stourton; where my Lord " received it. And finding a turquoise therein, he made " thereof a present unto my lady. And then the said Lord " Sturton having in a readiness two blue bands of inkle, " which that morning he had purposely brought with him " from Sturton, delivered them to his men to bind the said " Hartgyls withal in the said church-house. And whilst " they were a binding, he gave the said Upham, being one " of his men, two great blows, because he went about to " pinion them, and did not tie their hands behind them. " And to the younger of the Hartgyls, being bound, he " gave a great blow in the face, for that he said, the cruelty " shewed unto them was too much.

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And carrieth them away with him bound.

"And coming out of the house with his naked sword, "finding at the door the said young Hartgyl's wife, first "spurned at her, and kicked at her as with his spurs, he "rent a great piece of one of her hosen from her leg, and "finally, he gave her, with his said sword, such a stroke "between the neck and the head, as she fell therewith to "the ground as dead; so as in three hours the company "had much ado to keep life in her. Of the which stroke "she keepeth yet her bed, and lieth in such case as God "knoweth what will become of her.

"From thence being fast bound, he caused them to be "conveyed to the parsonage of Kilmington: where all that "day they were kept, their arms being bound behind them, "without meat or drink. On the which place, had he not "been otherwise persuaded by one of his men, they had that "night have been murdered.

Conveyed to his house.

"About one or two of the clock in the morning, they "were from thence conveyed to a house of his, called Bon-"ham, two miles off, within a quarter of a mile of Sturton, "where my Lord himself lay. Where arriving the Tues-"day about three of the clock in the morning, they were "laid fast bound in two several places without meat or "drink, fire, or any thing to lie upon. About four of the "clock in the afternoon, my Lord sent unto them two "justices of the peace to examine them, whom he made be-"lieve he would the next morning send them to the gaol. "And to that end he caused the said justices to put their "hands to a Mittimus. As soon as the justices came unto "the house, finding them bound, they caused them to be "loosed, and advised my Lord's men, that kept them, to "suffer them so to continue, saying, that there was no doubt "of the escaping of them.

Conveyed thence to a close.

"But as soon as the said justices were departed, my "Lord sent first Saunder Moor, and then Frank, and "finally Farre, being all three his men, to cause them to be "bound again, and to be laid in several places; command-"ing further all the keepers to come away, saving such as "he had especially appointed for the murder, which en-
372 "sued, whom he had before procured to do the act, pro-

" mising that they should do no more than he himself " would do. About ten of the clock, my Lord sent to Bon- " ham, William Farre, Roger Gough, John Welchman, " and Macute Jacob, commanding them to fetch the said " Hartgyls to the place appointed; warning them, that in " case by the way the said Hartgyls, upon suspicion what " was meant to them, should make any noise, to rid them " of their lives before the coming of them to the said place. " The four above named finding at Bonham Henry Simmes, " who was appointed to watch the house, went into the " same, and brought out the two Hartgyls, and bringing " them into a close joining hard to Sturton, they were " knocked in the heads with two clubs. Wherewith kneel- " ing on their knees, and their hands fast bound behind " them, being at one stroke felled, they received afterwards " sundry strokes, till the murderers thought they had " been stark dead. My Lord, in the mean season, standing " at the gallery door; which was not a good coit's cast " from the place of execution. This done, they wrapped " them in their own gowns, and so carried the bodies among " them through a garden into my Lord's gallery: at the " door whereof they found my Lord, according as he had " promised. And from thence into a little place in the end " thereof, my said Lord bearing the candle before them; " where he that carried old Hartgyl, missing a plank, fell " down into a hole, and the body with him.

And there knocked on the head;

" This place was hard by my Lord's chamber: to which " place the bodies being brought not full dead, they groaned " very sore, especially the elder Hartgyl. Which hearing, " William Ferre, one of the murderers, swearing by God's " blood they were not yet dead, and Henry Simmes saying " it were a good deed to rid them out of their pains, and " my Lord himself bidding their throats to be cut, lest a " French priest, lying near to the place, might hear; the " said Ferre took out his knife and cut both their throats, " my Lord standing by with the candle in his hand.

And their throats cut.

" And one of the murderers then said, ' Ah! my Lord, " this is a piteous sight; had I thought that I now think, " before the thing was done, your whole land could not

Lord Sturton's remorseless words.

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" have won me to consent to such an act.' My Lord answered, ' What, faint-hearted knave, is it any more than " the ridding of two knaves, that, living, were troublesome " both to God's law and man's? There is no more account " to be made of them than of the killing of two sheep.'

The bodies buried in a dungeon.

" Then were their bodies tumbled down into a dungeon, my " Lord walking by up and down. And after, Harry Simmes " and Roger Gough were conveyed down by cords, (for " there were no stairs thereunto,) who digged a pit for them, " and there buried them both together; my Lord often- " times, in the mean time, calling unto them from above to " make speed, for that the night went away.

Digged up.

" The bodies have siththen been digged up by Sir An- " thony Hungerford, sent purposely to the place for that " purpose, and were found in the self-same apparel that they " were taken in, buried very deep, covered first with earth, " and then with two courses of thick paving; and finally " with chips and shavings of timber, above the quantity of " two cart-loads.

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Other misdemeanours of the Lord Sturton.

" In the examination of these matters it is fallen out, that " he caused, not long siththen, a barn of one Thomas " Chaffin to be set on fire by three of his servants. Against " which Chaffin, for that he said, ' It was not done without " the knowledge of the said Lord Sturton, or of some of his " servants,' he took an action upon his case, and recovered " of him an hundred pound damage; for the payment " whereof he took out of his pastures by force twelve " hundred sheep, with the wool upon their backs, and all " the oxen, kine, horses, and mares that he could find in " the said pastures.

" From one Willoughby he caused to be taken, for his " pleasure, an whole team of oxen: whereof two were found, " at this present, a fatting in the stall of his house.

" His other routs, riots, robberies, and murders were too " long to write." And thus ends this relation, which was writ soon after this bloody act done upon the Hartgyls. From whence I transcribed it.